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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE

For the YEAR 1781.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-mall, 1782.





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# P R E F A C E.

**T**H E year of which we treat was so abundant in military event, that if all other memorials of the same nature were lost, it might afford no very imperfect transcript of the art of modern war in all its forms, whether by sea or by land. Though we are not astonished by the appearance of such immense armies as have so often desolated the old world, nor by those actions which have in a day decided the fate of nations and empires, we see as vast though less concentrated, operations of war, conducted upon its most scientific principles. When taken in a general view, the combination of its detached parts forms a great whole, whether considered with respect to action or consequence. We see the war rage, nearly at the same time, in the countries on both sides of the North River, on the Chesapeake, in South Carolina, the Floridas, North Carolina, Virginia, the West Indies, the American the West Indian seas. Through this arrangement, in part fortuitious and in part the effect of design, we are presented with a number of the best conducted and severest actions recorded in history. We behold, in an unhappy contention between Englishmen, the greatest exertions of military skill, a valour which can never be exceeded, and all the

## P R E F A C E.

perfection of discipline exhibited on the one side, and opposed on the other by an unconquerable resolution and perseverance, inspired and supported by the enthusiasm of liberty.

If the soldier finds abundant matter of entertainment and observation in the recital of these events, the statesman and philosopher will not find less room for serious contemplation in the causes and consequences of the contention. They have led to the establishment of a new epocha in the history of mankind; they have opened the way to new systems of policy; and to new arrangements of power and of commerce. To the whole British nation, however dispersed in the old or in the new world, every part of the history of this contention, in all its circumstances and consequences, must at all times be in the highest degree interesting.

It would be trespassing too far on the indulgence of the public, to trouble them with any detail of the unavoidable and unfortunate interruptions which have occasioned the delay of our present publication. We console ourselves in the hope, that those causes will not appear in any degree to have operated with respect to the attention which we have paid to a faithful discharge of our duty in the conduct of the History. The happy return of the public tranquility will, by lessening our labours, enable us to recover our former station in point of publication.

THE



THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
For the YEAR 1781.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
EUROPE.

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CHAP. I.

*Retrospective view of affairs in Europe in the year 1780. Admiral Geary appointed to the command of the channel fleet on the death of Sir Charles Hardy. East and West India convoy taken by the combined fleets, and carried into Cadiz. Loss sustained by the Quebec fleet.. Admiral Geary resigns, and is succeeded by Admiral Darby. M. de Guichen arrives at Cadiz, and the French fleets return to France. Great gallantry displayed in various engagements between British and French frigates. Siege of Gibraltar. Spanish fireships destroyed. Success of General Elliot in destroying the enemy's works. Queen of Portugal refuses to accede to the armed neutrality. Germany. Election of the Archduke Maximilian to the coadjutorship of Cologne and Munster, opposed in vain by the King of Prussia. Correspondence between the King and the Elector of Cologne on the subject. Meeting of the Emperor and the Empress of Russia, at Mohilow in Poland. Proceed together to Petersburgh. King of Sweden visits Holland. Death of the Empress-Queen, and some account of that great princess. Question, by torture, abolished for ever by the French king. Great reform of his household. Loans negotiated by the court of Madrid. Public and private contributions to relieve the exigencies of the state. Humanity of the bishop of Lugo. Duke of Modena abolishes the Inquisition in his dominions.*

THE death of Sir Charles Hardy, about the middle of May 1780, occasioned some difficulty with respect to a proper commander, who would undertake the important charge of the channel fleet,  
[A]

fleet, as the discontents which had so long prevailed in the navy, kept several of our best officers from the service. To remove this difficulty, Admiral Geary, an experienced officer, but who, like his predecessor, had for many years retired from actual service, was prevailed on to abandon his retreat, and to enter anew into the active duties of his profession.

He sailed from Spithead pretty early in June, with 23 sail of the line, several of which were capital ships, and was joined during his cruise by five or six more. In the mean time, the French fleet from Brest had, according to a custom now becoming annual, formed a junction with the Spaniards at Cadiz; by which the allied nations acquired such a superiority, at least in point of number, (though with respect to real force and condition it might perhaps have admitted of some doubt) as afforded them the apparent dominion of the European seas.

Admiral Geary had the fortune, in the beginning of July, to fall in with a rich convoy from Port au Prince, of which he took twelve merchantmen; but a thick and sudden fog checked his success, and along with the nearness and danger of the enemy's coast, afforded an opportunity to the rest, as well as to the ships of war by whom they were guarded, to make their escape. It happened unfortunately, that the satisfaction afforded by this small success was soon overwhelmed and lost, in the contemplation of one of the heaviest blows that ever had been sustained by the British commerce.

But before this event took place, the naval commanders having re-

ceived intelligence, that a detached squadron of French and Spanish ships of war, under the conduct of M. de Beauflet, were cruising on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, the squadron proceeded to the southward, at least to the height of Cape Finisterre, in the hope of intercepting the enemy.

In the mean time, a rich and considerable convoy for the East and West Indies, under the conduct of Capt. Moutray of the *Ramilies*, and two or three frigates, sailed from Portsmouth in the latter end of July, and were intercepted, on the 9th of August, by the combined fleets, under Don Louis de Cordova. The convoy included, besides the merchantmen, eighteen victuallers, store-ships, and transports, destined for the service in the West Indies; one of these was of particular importance, being laden with tents and camp equipage, for the troops designed for active service in the Leeward Islands. The five East Indiamen, likewise, besides arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery, conveyed a large quantity of naval stores, for the supply of the British squadron in that quarter. The five East India ships, and above fifty West Indiamen, including those upon government account, were taken. The *Ramilies*, with the frigates, and a few West India ships, had the fortune to escape.

Such a prize had never before entered the harbour of Cadiz. An English fleet of near sixty ships, led captive by a Spanish squadron, was extremely flattering to a people, to whom naval captures, from such an enemy, were an unusual spectacle. All their antient losses, all



all the insults which their coasts, and that city and port in particular, had formerly endured, seemed now, at one stroke, to be done away.

The appearance of the numerous prisoners, consisting of all orders and denominations, and resembling more the various inhabitants of a sacked city, than the ordinary crews of a fleet, seemed to render even the triumph more complete, and made the sight still more singular. They consisted of 1520 seamen, including their proper officers; of 1255 soldiers, part in the service of the crown, and part in that of the East India company; of 74 land officers; of 149 women; and of 137 passengers, of both sexes, among whom were some married and unmarried ladies of condition. The whole amounting to 2865 persons. The value of the saleable commodities was great; but the loss of the military and naval supplies, both to government and the East India company, was much more considerable, as they could not be replaced in time: and it was rendered the more particularly unfortunate to the latter, by the then very critical (though in Europe yet unknown) state of their affairs in the East.

About the same time an account was received of the loss of a great part of the valuable outward bound Quebec fleet, which was intercepted off the banks of Newfoundland, in the beginning of July, by some American privateers. Some of these vessels were retaken; but about fourteen rich ships were carried entirely off.

These heavy losses, which, in their nearer or more remote conse-

quences, affected all orders of people, spread a general gloom throughout the nation. That dissatisfaction which had long prevailed among many, with respect to the conduct and government of the navy, now became general, and was loudly vented in clamour and reproach. As the combined fleets were known to be at Cadiz, and their putting to sea anxiously apprehended, it was asked, why the convoy was thrown into their mouths, by sending it so close to the coast of Spain? Or if there had been any necessity for sending it that course, (which was, however denied) why was it not better guarded? Why trust so immense a property, and of such peculiar importance, to a single man of war and two frigates? Could the western, or grand fleet, as it was called, have been better employed, than in guarding so valuable a convoy till it was out of danger?

When to these questions it was answered, that the cause of the convoy's taking that course, was in order to accommodate the merchants, and the East India company, who wanted to take in wines at Madeira; it was, in the first place, replied, that it was by no means necessary to steer so close to the continent of Europe, in order to touch at Madeira; as there was not a force sufficient for the protection of the convoy, the course should have been varied, and suited to the emergency and danger. But it was insisted, that the accommodation of the merchants, in so very trifling a particular, was by no means to be admitted as a reason for touching at all at Madeira, when so great a prize was at stake, and its safety thereby in any



degree hazarded. The merchants might have provided their wines in another manner. They were no politicians. The consideration of such matters, belonged properly and solely to the ministers at large, and to the admiralty in particular. They possessed, or ought to possess, superior political knowledge, and they had all the means of information fully in their hands. It was their business and duty, in all such cases, to cure the ignorance, or to correct the selfishness of the merchants. Such were a few of the topics used at that time upon the subject.

Aug. 18. Upon the return of the  
1780. fleet to Portsmouth, Admiral Geary chose to resign the command. The former difficulty again recurred. It was offered to Admiral Barrington, who had been his second upon the late cruise, and of whose abilities every body was convinced. From whatever cause or causes it proceeded, that those professional honours and distinctions, which at all other times had been emulously sought after, and even grasped at with the utmost avidity, were now avoided, so it was, that that brave and excellent officer declined the command. He, however, offered his services, to assist and second whoever should be appointed. In these circumstances, it was bestowed on Admiral Darby, who stood next in rank to Mr. Barrington.

The grand fleet sailed again, a little before the middle of September, but was detained by contrary winds for some time at Torbay. In the mean time, (as we shall hereafter more fully explain) the Count de Guichen, instead of directing his course from the West

Indies to America, as had been expected and intended, found his ships so shattered, and his crews so extremely sickly, that he judged it necessary, to proceed directly, with the great convoy under his charge, to Europe. It is probable, that his apprehension of falling in with the British fleet, was the motive of his directing his course to Cadiz, where he arrived towards the latter end of October, with eighteen sail of the line, and several frigates. There he found M. de Estaing, with a large fleet, in readiness to receive and conduct him and his convoy to the French ports. The French united fleet was now numerous; amounting to thirty-six sail of the line, two fifties, and a cloud of frigates. Notwithstanding which, as the British fleet under Admiral Darby, was now known to be in the way, the Spaniards conducted them almost as far as Cape Finisterre. It is indeed said, that all the enemies fleets were in very bad condition; and that those which had scarcely gone out of sight of Cadiz during the campaign, had little more to boast of in that respect, than the ships which had gone through so much hard service with Guichen in the West Indies.

After being driven back into port, by a storm which threw them into the greatest disorder, and which rendered their condition still worse, the French took their final departure from Cadiz, on the 7th of November. What would in other times and circumstances have been fatal, now produced no effect; this was no less, than their falling in, after the separation of the Spanish fleet, with Admiral Darby. But his force amounted only

only to twenty-two sail of the line, and two fifties. This great superiority, as we could not be quite certain of the ill condition of the enemy, must necessarily have checked all well-governed adventure. It has, however, been thought, (and the opinion received a considerable sanction, from what was held out by the first lord of the admiralty upon the subject in parliament) that their condition, in every respect considered, encumbered and divided as they were by their convoy, an attack would, in all human probability, have been attended with the most decisive consequences. It was reported, that the hostile fleets were for some days so near each other, that it was a matter of some care and nicety to prevent their being entangled in the dark, an event, the consequences of which, both sides were equally studious to avoid.

In the course of this year, an extraordinary number of well-fought and desperate actions took place, both in the old and the new world, between the British and French frigates; in which, though the former had constantly the advantage when upon equal terms, and that the latter were frequently taken; yet there were such instances of professional skill, courage, and dexterity, continually displayed on the part of the enemy, as were before unknown in the French marine. It is probable, that no naval history of any age, could, in an equal space of time, afford so many instances of single combat between ship and ship, in which the points of professional and national honour were so nobly sustained, and such nu-

merous acts of bravery performed on both sides. It is with singular pleasure, and no small pride, we likewise record, that in these hard and bloody trials of virtue, the humanity, liberality, and generosity of the British officers, rose in proportion to the gallantry of their vanquished enemies, and far exceeded all examples of past times. Indeed, the generous regret expressed for those who had bravely fallen, the kind attention paid to those who survived, and the public acknowledgements made of the valour of both, rather excited images of what we imagine might have passed in the gallant contention of heroes at a tournament, than of the usual ferocity and cruelty of war.

The siege of Gibraltar still continued. The blockade on the land side commenced in the month of July 1779; and the place was soon after invested as closely by sea, as the nature of the gut, and the variety of the wind and weather would permit. The Spaniards likewise laboured incessantly in the construction of works, as well for the cover and security of their camp at St. Roque, as for the furtherance of their future intended operations. All the capital efforts of the Spanish nation seemed to be directed towards that object; and fortunately it happened for this kingdom they were so directed.

We have seen in our last volume, the signal success which attended Sir George Rodney, in his voyage to administer supplies to that garrison; a service which he effectually performed. From that time the vigilance and industry of the Spaniards, in their endeavours



to cut off all relief by sea, was redoubled; and the difficulty of supplying the garrison was continually increasing. In the mean time, the presence of the Panther and Experiment ships of war, and of a royal sloop, which lay in the bay, was a grievous eyefore to the enemy; and greatly checked the ardour of their enterprize, in attempting to cut off, on their nearer approach, those vessels, which had the fortune to elude their more distant vigilance.

A scheme was accordingly laid by the Spanish commanders, for burning this little squadron, with some ordnance transports which lay under their protection. The design was not ill formed. A very dark night, between the 6th and 7th of June, was fixed upon for the execution of the project. Seven fire-ships were excellently prepared for the purpose. These were supported by a crowd of row boats and gallies, filled with men, and with every kind of offensive arms. At a greater distance, a squadron of ships of war, under the Admiral Don Barcello, stood off and on at the entrance of the bay; not only to cover and embolden the attack, but to intercept any vessels which might attempt to escape. The wind and weather were highly favourable, and the darkness of the night seemed to insure success.

The British commanders had not the smallest notice of their danger, until they were alarmed at one in the morning, by the approaching flames of the burning fire-ships. Without surprize or consternation at so dangerous an appearance, they, with the most immediate presence of mind, in-

stantly manned all their boats; and the officers and seamen with their usual intrepidity, met, and grappled the fire ships; and then, amidst the bursting of shells, and all the horrors of a scene which teemed with instant destruction, boldly towed them off, and run them on different parts of the shore. They had scarcely got clear of this first set of fire-ships, when two large vessels were perceived bearing down directly on the Panther; but they were received with so fierce a cannonade, that they were soon set on fire, and disposed of like the former.

During the whole time, a heavy fire from the ships and the town batteries, was kept up against the gallies and boats; but the darkness prevented any certain knowledge of the effect. By the remains of one of those vessels, which were examined in the morning, she appeared to have been about the size of a fifty gun ship; and from the quantity of unconsumed materials and combustibles which were found in that and others, it was evident, that much labour and expence were bestowed upon their fitting out and equipment. Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the conduct of the Captains Harvey, of the Panther, Leslie, of the Enterprize, and Faulkner, of the St. Firmin. The masters and crews of the transports, (as upon all other occasions of the present war, where the opportunity offered) behaved admirably. The undaunted intrepidity displayed by the officers and men in the boats, can only be equalled, but can never be exceeded, even by British seamen.

The town and ships had the satisfac-



tisfaction of beholding at break of day, Don Barcello's baffled squadron going back into Algefiraz. It should surely be an incentive to resolution and bold enterprize to learn, that not a single man was lost on the British side, in an affair which carried so dreadful an appearance. It is evident, that the Spaniards, at least in the seven first fire ships, wanted resolution and firmness to bring their vessels near enough, before they set them on fire. Upon the whole, it will probably be found, that, excepting some very peculiar situation, or a conflict with some contemptible enemy, it will require all the professional boldness and dexterity, and all the natural fortitude of British seamen, to manage fire ships in such a manner, as will render them productive of any great advantage. The fortune of the Russians at Chisne, in the late war, will hardly be found an exception.

Though the Spaniards laboured hard in pushing on their works towards the fortress, they had frequently the mortification of seeing, when they were nearly compleated, the fruits of much time and labour destroyed in a few hours by the weight of fire from the batteries. Indeed it seemed to be nearly a standing maxim with Gen. Elliot, to let them proceed without interruption to the point we have mentioned, and then at once to throw all their hopes to the ground. Some judicious and successful sallies, were likewise occasionally, though sparingly, made by the garrison; in one of which, they brought three pieces of cannon into the fortress, from a work

which they had taken with some slaughter of the enemy.

Time, the leisure of a long blockade, with the constant contemplation of so near an object, and the vexation of being baffled by a handful of men, who seemed almost to be abandoned to their own fortune, at length whetted the invention of the Spaniards to a project, which soon afforded much trouble to the garrison; and in its process, produced the utter destruction of the town, the ruin of the unfortunate inhabitants, and infinitely increased the difficulties and dangers of the defence. This was the framing a number of gun boats, of a construction calculated to carry very heavy cannon and mortars, for the purpose of cannonading and bombarding the town and works in the night; whilst their own lowness, with the difficulty of perceiving, as well as of hitting the object, preserved them, in a very great degree, from the fire of the batteries. The total want of a naval force gave effect to this measure, by disabling the garrison from encountering the enemy in their own way. But its being a work of labour, time, and experiment, prevented the effect of these floating batteries from being, until the following year, fully experienced.

While all the rest of Europe were entering into a confederacy, calculated for the subversion of the British naval power, the Queen of Portugal alone, had virtue to persevere in her friendship, and refused to accede to the armed neutrality. This refusal was the more generous and exemplary, as it was in effect rendering herself liable to



the dangerous weight of resentment, of the whole united House of Bourbon, at a time when the ability of England for her protection became every day more precarious.

It was much to be regretted, that this friendship was in some degree weakened, and in danger of being lost, through the imprudence of some British officers on the coast of Portugal; who not contented with the advantages which they derived from the free use of her ports, and the security thereby afforded to their prizes, are said to have proceeded to equip and fit out cruizers in the river of Lisbon, in order to act against the enemy. This produced an order from that court, prohibiting the privateers of all nations from entering her ports, excepting in cases of real and apparent necessity; and forbidding even then their stay, for any longer time than the continuance of the necessity.

A scheme adopted by the court of Vienna, and which was not unfolded until this year, seems to have awakened in no small degree, the, perhaps well founded, jealousy of the Prussian monarch. This was the making a provision for the Archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor, by procuring him to be elected coadjutor to the elector of Cologne, in his two great and princely bishopricks of Cologne and Munster, with the consequent reversion of the electorate annexed to the former. The Prince Maximilian, was already coadjutor of the Teutonic order; and if he gained this election, whenever the whole fell solely into his hands, he would, as well

as of great opulence, become possessed of great weight, influence, and power in the empire. The election lay in the two chapters, and in the reigning elector; but subject to his negative, as well as to his influence and affirmative. Both that prince, his chapters, and even his subjects at large, seem to have adopted the views, and to have been entirely in the interests of the House of Austria. As the election for Munster was to be preliminary, the King of Prussia wrote an argumentative letter to that chapter, strongly urging the inconveniencies which would result to the empire from their choice of the Archduke and therefore endeavouring by all means to persuade them from adopting so pernicious and dangerous a measure.

This business likewise opened a direct correspondence between that monarch and the Elector of Cologne. The latter, in answer to a letter and message (with the particulars of which we are not otherwise acquainted) from the king, supposes, that the court of Vienna had already acquainted him with the wishes of the archduke, and had amicably intreated his powerful support in his favour. He dwells much upon the princely virtues and eminent qualities of the archduke; states the predilection in his favour, and confidence placed in him on that account, by his own chapters and subjects. Declares, that it is his own wish, as well as his duty, to establish the welfare and happiness of his subjects, as far as lies in his power; and that, as he thinks, this cannot be so effectually done as by the election of the archduke, he



he has, upon mature deliberation, determined on that measure. That the right of election is lodged in himself and his bishopricks by the constitution of the empire; that in the exercise of this undoubted right, it shall be conducted according to the strictest rules of a free election; and that he cannot at all conceive any room for apprehending, that the archduke's connections, should render his being chosen, at all liable to endanger the peace and happiness of the empire; the more especially, as his chapters, and the states, were always consulted, in cases of that nature and great importance.

The king, in his reply, after fully acknowledging all the virtues and great qualities attributed to the Prince Maximilian, informs the elector, with some asperity, that the court of Vienna hath not given him the smallest intimation of its intentions with respect to the coadjutorship of those two bishopricks, although it had communicated the design to other courts and states, which were much less interested in the subject. He had no objection to the election; but he could not be indifferent as to the person in whose hands, and under whose government, these bishopricks were placed. He strongly urged and stated, the dangerous consequences which might arise to the Germanic constitution, from the dignities of two electorates being united in the House of Austria, and an archbishoprick, with a bishops see, in the person of one of its princes. It would greatly influence the affairs of the empire, and render those bishopricks too much dependent. They would be en-

tirely governed by the measures, and their interests would at all times be blended with the views, of the court of Vienna; they would be drawn into every feud and war, and into every political dispute, in which the House of Austria might take a part; they would lose all the confidence of the neighbouring states, from their being considered only as provinces depending on that house.

The king observed, that the true welfare, liberty, and independence of the German episcopal sees, and on whose preservation the constitution of the empire partly depended, required, that they should be governed by prelates, who had no particular power or interest, but what was derived from their bishopricks. He therefore gave the preference greatly to the chapters choosing bishops from among their own capitulars, rather than from great and powerful families. His intentions and views, he declared, were pure and sincere: he was as far from recommending a candidate to the chapters, as he would from forcing one upon them. Instead of wishing to limit the liberty of election, he would, if others attempted it, protect the chapters against intrusions. Whoever, in the present instance, they should choose out of their own body, would be acceptable to him; and if they made no choice, it would be equally agreeable; as the moderate age and good health of the elector, prevented the measure from being at all necessary. To conclude a long course of argument, and a masterly discussion of the subject, by again repeating, that considering the situation of his dominions, parti-



particularly of those in the circle of Westphalia, he could by no means be indifferent as to the election of a prince to those bishopricks, of so powerful a house as that of Austria. He therefore earnestly intreated the elector, not to be in too great haste in a matter of so much concern; rather to reconsider the business; to prefer the welfare of the empire, of his circle and bishopricks, to all other considerations whatever; to quiet the minds of himself, and of other princes, who held the same opinion with him; and thereby to continue their usual friendly and neighbourly intercourse.

The King of Prussia's logical powers did not produce all the effect in this controversy, which his arguments of a different nature had usually done in others. The elector, however, seemed to have had enough of the contest, for he left him in full possession of the field. But without making any reply, he adhered firmly to his resolution; and the election of the Archduke Maximilian accordingly took place at Munster about the middle of August. The foregoing circumstances sufficiently shew, the deep jealousy which still subsists, between those great rival and neighbouring powers.

The peregrination of princes out of their own dominions, with their visits, meetings, and conferences, are things now become so common, that they scarcely at all draw the public attention, much less excite any alarm. When they were rare, the conjunction of such meteors, especially if they were of a superior magnitude, was deemed portentous to mankind; and the effects generally justified the prognostication.

Neither the particular novelty of the affair, nor the magnificence with which it was, on one side at least, attended, were able to draw much of the public attention, to the interview which took place this year, between the Emperor of Germany, and the Empress of Russia. The latter having accompanied the Great Duke and Duchess of Russia, on their way to make the tour of Europe, proceeded, according to the concerted appointment, to Mohilow in Poland, where the meeting of those great potentates took place, in the month of June 1780. Form, etiquette, or ceremonial, were no parts of, nor no interruption to, the satisfaction which these illustrious personages received in each others conversation and acquaintance. After some stay at Mohilow, the emperor accompanied the Czarina on her return to Peterburgh, where he continued for some time; and where he was received with all the magnificence peculiar to that court, and so different from the plainness and simplicity of his own habits, manners, and mode of living. His private life was, however, spent as usual.

Whether this visit, and the consequent intimacy and friendship which it might be supposed to produce, awakened any suspicion or jealousy in the breast of a great and powerful neighbour, can only be a matter of surmise. The return of the emperor from Peterburgh, was, however, soon succeeded, by a visit which the Prince Royal of Prussia paid to that capital; a circumstance, which might seem to give some countenance to such an opinion.

After



After what we have seen of the imperial meeting at Mohilow, and the accompaniment on the return to Peterburgh, it will scarcely be supposed, that the visit which the King of Sweden made about the same time to Holland, and his tour in examining the particularities of that singular country, either caused any alarm, or excited much notice.

This year was particularly marked, by the death of Maria Teresa, Empress of Germany, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, hereditary Archduchess of Austria, and natural sovereign of all the widely extended dominions appertaining to that great house. She departed this life at Vienna, on the 29th day of November, 1780, and in the 63d year of her age. This great princess inherited, along with a vast but disputed patrimony, all the spirit, magnanimity, and firmness, of any of the most renowned of her ancestors. These were, however, accompanied with many other virtues and good qualities. In the course of her life she experienced great vicissitudes of fortune. On the death of her father, many of the first powers in Europe, excited by the weakness of her sex, and still more by that of a long ill-ordered government, in contempt of treaties, and guaranties, rushed on at once, as to a common prey, to swallow up the whole of her ample dominions. Scarcely any thing was left unclaimed. The only difficulty seemed to rest in the division of the spoil. From the extremity of distress, and a state of such imminent danger, that she herself doubted, whether she could retain the possession

of any place capable of affording a refuge during her lying-in, she had the courage and fortune, not only to surmount all these difficulties, and to triumph over her enemies, but to raise the house of Austria to a degree of real power, which it had not before known since the reign of Charles the fifth. A clear and manly understanding, an happy temper, and the able tuition of necessity, enabled her to throw off the ungracious, but characteristic haughtiness of her family. To this she owed much of her fortune and greatness. Charmed by a popular affability, and a captivating condescension, of which they had not before an idea, she gained the hearts of her subjects in such a degree, that they never thought they could act or suffer too much for her service. In other respects, as a sovereign, excepting perhaps her inconsiderate engagement in the late war, she was the common parent of her people. She had many amiable and estimable qualities in private life. She was eminently religious and humane. In the characters of a wife and a mother she stood unrivalled. She was highly blessed in a numerous progeny, not more distinguished by the perfections or beauties of nature in mind or in person, than by a peculiar goodness of heart; which pervades the whole family. And she had the fortune and happiness to leave her vast possessions in the hands of a darling son, who seemed formed by nature and application, to advance the happiness of his subjects, and the power and grandeur of his house, to their highest pitch of attainment.

The



The French King, this year dignified, and for ever rendered memorable his name-day, by a present to his subjects, worthy the humanity and magnificence of a great and enlightened monarch. This was neither the remission of taxes or duties, a general pardon to criminals, nor the allotment of great funds for the indigent. It was of a superior nature even to these. It was no less than the abolishing for ever of the inhuman custom, *of putting the question*, as it was called, by torture; a custom, which had been so established and rivetted, by the practice and concurrence of ages, that it seemed to us an original and indivisible part of the constitution of their courts of justice. It was in vain, that the wisest and honestest lawyers and judges, as well as the soundest philosophers, fully perceived, and deeply lamented, the total inefficacy as well as cruelty of this barbarous mode of criminal jurisprudence. They had not only the obstinacy of ancient prejudices to surmount; but this practice was so favourable to the views of despotism, and was falsely supposed to contribute so much to the security of the state, that all attempts for its removal, would have been not only ineffectual but dangerous.

This relick of barbarism, which had so long been the opprobrium of the christian name, and a standing disgrace to the most civilized and learned quarter of the globe, might still have lingered in France, if a patriot prince, feeling the happiness of living in the affections of his people, and discerning, that all possible security was founded in those affections, had not

from thence renounced all defences inconsistent with that which is so much more solid. We hope, and indeed it is now scarcely to be doubted, that the time is not far distant, when a trace of this inhuman practice, will not be found in any part of the western world.

However interesting and valuable the following transaction may be considered in point of political œconomy, and however it may even contribute to lessen the burthens of the people, it is not by way of placing it in any degree of competition with the former measure, that we in this place take notice of the prodigious reform which was made in the French King's household; that monarch, in pursuance of the new plan of œconomy adopted in his court, having this year at one stroke abolished, no less than 406 offices in that department.

The attempts (mostly ineffective) made by the court of Spain to raise money by loans in foreign countries, afforded sufficient evidence how much its treasures had been already exhausted, by the extraordinary expences of this naval war, as well as of the apparently fruitless siege of Gibraltar. Although the war is said to be entirely against the sense and liking of the Spanish nation, who considered it as a ruinous measure, founded merely upon Bourbon views and principles, yet the influence of the court, and a sense of national honour prevailed so far, that cities, communities, and even individuals, contributed largely to relieve the exigencies of the state. Of these, the Archbishop of Toledo afforded a singular instance, which in a war of another



another nature, might have been justly admitted, as a demonstration of true patriotism. That prelate magnanimously appropriated to the use of the war, the whole of his vast revenues during the time of its continuance. Thus wisely choosing a road to fame, in which he was sure of not being disturbed by rivals or competitors, and of not having his heels trod upon by imitators. The bounty and kindness, extended by the Bishop of Lugo, to the British prisoners in Spain, (acknowledgments of which have been given in the public prints) deserves every degree of praise and gratitude. Although some of their commanders behaved otherwise, the Spanish nobility and merchants, in general, have shewn very extraordinary marks of kindness, friendship, and even affection, to those English gentlemen who have fallen in their way during the present war.

Among those remarkable circumstances which distinguish the year 1780, the conduct of the Duke of Modena, in abolishing the inquisition in his dominions, should by no means be overlooked. It indeed affords a new instance of the progress, which liberal ideas with respect to toleration, are now making throughout Europe. A farther extension of the same ideas, may be hoped to reach to the civil and religious rights of mankind, as well as to a bare sufferance of their opinions. That prince, upon the death of the Grand Inquisitor at Reggio, immediately ordered that tribunal to be for ever abolished; its revenues to be applied to other, and more laudable purposes; and the prisons, and other buildings, which could preserve any memorial of its having ever existed, to be entirely demolished.

## C H A P. II.

*Retrospective view of affairs in America and the West Indies, in the year 1780. State of the hostile armies on the side of New York, previous to, and at the arrival, of General Sir Henry Clinton from the reduction of Charles Town. Short campaign in the Jerseys. Connecticut farms. Springfield. Unexpected effect produced by the reduction of Charles Town, in renewing and exciting the spirit of union and resistance in America. Great hopes founded on the expected co-operation of a French fleet and army in the reduction of New York, and the final expulsion of the British forces from that continent. Marquis de la Fayette arrives from France. M. de Ternay, and the Count de Rochambeau, arrive with a French squadron, and a body of land forces, and are put into possession of the fortifications and harbour of Rhode-Island. Admiral Arbuthnot blocks up the French squadron. Dispositions made by Sir Henry Clinton for attacking the French auxiliaries. Gen. Washington passes the North River, with a view of attempting New York. Expedition to Rhode Island laid aside. Great difficulties experienced by Don Bernard de Galvez, in his expedition to West Florida. Besieges and takes the fort at Mobile. Great land and naval force sent out from Spain, in order to join M. de Guichen*



*in the West Indies. Junction of the hostile fleets, notwithstanding the efforts of Admiral Sir George Rodney, to intercept the Spanish squadron and convoy. Sickness and mortality in the Spanish fleet and army, with some other causes, preserve the British islands from the imminent danger to which they were apparently exposed by the great superiority of the enemy. These causes operate still farther in their consequences; which affect the whole face and nature of the war in the new world, and entirely frustrate the grand views formed by France and America, for the remainder of the campaign. Spanish fleet and army proceed to the Havannah; and M. de Guichen returns from St. Domingo, with a convoy, to Europe. Great preparations made by the Americans for effectually co-operating with the French forces on the arrival of M. de Guichen. Washington's army increased, for that purpose, to 20,000 men. Invasion of Canada intended, and preparatory proclamations issued by the Marquis de la Fayette. Causes which prevented M. de Guichen from proceeding to North America. Sir George Rodney arrives, with a squadron, at New York.*

THE hostile armies on the side of New York were so nearly poized, both with respect to offensive force and defensive strength, that their mutual situation, and comparative circumstances, afforded no great opportunity of exertion or enterprize to General Sir Henry Clinton, upon his return from the taking of Charles Town. The advantages however, derived from the possession of the islands, their vicinity to the continent, the quick and silent movements of a great number of frigates, and other smaller armed vessels calculated for the purpose, and master of all the channels and intercourses, as well as of the adjoining sea, together with the unexampled length of ill connected posts which were to be guarded by the Americans, afforded, almost, continual opportunities, of hasty descent and successful surprize, by which much blood was spilt, and mischief done, without producing any effect, or at least any good one, with respect to the main objects, and great purposes of the war.

This kind of service, except where the object was more considerable than ordinary, was left entirely to the Refugees; who having arms in their hands, nothing else to do, little other provision, and being edged on by the most implacable animosity against their countrymen, eagerly embraced every adventure, which afforded any hope of profit, or what was perhaps still sweeter, of revenge. They were now grown so numerous, that they were strangely permitted to set up a sort of a distinct government in New York, under the conduct of a jurisdiction of their own creation, which they called, the Honourable Board of Associated Loyalists. This Board, it is said, was authorized from home; but this is hardly credible; and having a common stock, and their infant excursions at sea, having proved extremely successful, they became every day more numerous and powerful, and possessed something like a fleet, of small privateers and cruizers. Their enterprizes were bold, well conducted, and frequently successful;



in which their intimate knowledge of the adjoining coasts, creeks, and villages, afforded them great advantages. But their want of any effectual discipline or government, along with their peculiar, and frequently, personal animosity, leading them to excesses; whilst the summary retribution on the other side, falling into the hands of those, who were either smarting under their own immediate losses, or acting under the impulse of grief and revenge, for the destruction or slaughter of their friends and relations, and who were likewise actuated by no less strong political prejudices, than their adversaries, the feelings of humanity were suspended, and mercy at an end on both sides. Thus the adjoining coasts of the continent, and particularly the maritime, and nearer part of the Jerseys, became scenes of waste and havock; and this predatory war tended neither to subjugation or reconciliation.

A few days previous to the arrival of Sir Henry Clinton, the Generals Knyphausen, Robertson, and Tryon, with a view of attacking some of Washington's advanced posts, passed over by night, with five or six thousand men, from Staten Island, to Elizabeth Town in New Jersey.

June 6th. On the following morning, they advanced a few miles to a settlement called the Connecticut Farms, from its having been planted and settled a few years ago, by some inhabitants of that Province. In their march, they were boldly and continually fired at, wherever the ground, or cover of any kind admitted of their approach, by scattering parties of the neighbouring militia. The

burning of that new and thriving settlement, (although it did not contain many houses) and of the presbyterian church, together with the unfortunate death of the clergyman's wife, who sitting with her children and family, was shot dead, through the window, in one of her own rooms, afforded new ground of clamour to the Americans, and served not a little, to increase that aversion to the British government and name, which had already taken too deep a root.

It was said on our side, and with superior probability, that this unfortunate lady was killed, without design, by a random shot; but the contrary was strongly urged by the Americans. Her husband's being particularly obnoxious at New York, from the active part which he had taken, in the support of the American cause, was brought as a corroborating circumstance; and a piteous letter written by himself, and published, could leave no occasion for any farther testimony, with those who were but too much disposed to listen to evidence so correspondent to their own opinions. It is certain, that no degree of good government and discipline in armies, can prevent the nature of particular individuals, from breaking forth into acts of enormity, when those opportunities offer, in which their crimes may escape detection; especially under the ill habits acquired in the outrage and malice of a civil war.

From thence the army marched towards Springfield, being, as before, continually annoyed on their march by the militia; but now with greater effect, as they continually grew more numerous; they found



found the American General, Maxwell, at the head of the Jersey brigade, and reinforced by all the militia which in a few hours could be collected, well posted at that place. Whether it proceeded from Maxwell's good countenance and position, or from whatever other cause, so it was, that the army halted; and continued on the same ground until night, without advancing. The Americans, however, though inferior in strength, did not permit them by any means to hold their post in quiet; and a very considerable and continual firing, without coming at any time to close action, was kept up during the day. The report in the British line was, that they only waited for the coming up of the waggons and necessaries which were in the rear.

Whatever the cause was, the design of attacking Springfield was given up, and the army returned to Elizabeth Town in the night. They were pursued by the enemy, as soon as day rose, all the way to that place; and they were now grown so eager and confident, as boldly to attack the 22d regiment, which was posted at some small distance in the front of the line. That regiment being ordered to fall back on their approach, was pursued with great rapidity by the enemy, who considered it as the rear-guard of a retiring army, whose van, they supposed, was then passing over to Staten Island. The reception they met, and the appearances they discovered, soon convinced them of their error, and they retired with precipitation.

It is not easy to account, for the inaction in the first instance at

Springfield, any more than for the subsequent retreat. Undoubtedly, so much resolution on the part of the Americans, was not expected; and it appears from subsequent circumstances, that although no direct attack had been made, the afternoon of that day was busy and warm. It was said, that intelligence had been received, of Washington's having detached a brigade from Morris-town for the support of Maxwell; that the appearances at his head-quarters indicated a determination of making that support effectual; that Maxwell had already been reinforced by some neighbouring regiments; and that the country was every where in motion. The expedition itself had probably its origin from some of those delusive representations, which had so often led to mischievous or unreputable pursuits, concerning either the favourable disposition of the country to the royal cause, or the supposed weak and contemptible state of the American forces.

It was reported at New York, that the Hessian General Knyphausen, was strongly of opinion, and eagerly disposed, to attack the post at Springfield; but that he had been over-ruled by another commander; and this report received so much credit, that it was made the foundation of some ill-natured pasquinades upon the subject. However these things might be, the Jersey militia and brigade, with whatever other corps were concerned on the occasion, received public acknowledgments and high praise from Washington, for their behaviour in that day's service.

The arrival of Sir Henry Clinton,



ton, which happened immediately after, made no change in the situation of the royal forces, who still maintained their post at Elizabeth Town. That commander, on the contrary, determined to improve on the original design, and to afford them an opportunity of acting with effect. For this purpose, troops were embarked at New York, and such movements took place among the shipping, and such preparations were made, as indicated an immediate expedition up the North River. This produced the desired effect in alarming Washington; who being exceedingly apprehensive for the safety of West Point, and other strong holds in the Highlands, immediately marched with the greater part of his army, to secure those, to him, invaluable posts.

June 23d. This point being gained, the forces at Elizabeth Town, again advanced on their former track towards Springfield. Whatever the original design might have been, the general's views seemed now to have been extended, to the getting possession, during the absence of Washington with his main force, of the strong country of Morifania, which had so often afforded a secure retreat, and an inexpugnable camp, to that commander. At any rate, if it was not found convenient to retain posts at such a distance, the destruction of his stores, magazines, and defences in the mountains, would have been no inconsiderable object.

On the part of the Americans, General Greene, with Stark's and the Jersey brigades, supported by the neighbouring militia, were

left to guard those difficult hills and defiles, which constitute the strength of the country. Springfield lay at their feet; and led directly to some of the principal passes. The royal troops advanced with rapidity to this place; where they found the bridge, which led to the village, occupied by a small party of about 170 men, under the conduct of a Col. Angel. That officer, turning all the advantages afforded by his situation (which were many) to the best account, defended his post with great gallantry. With that handful of men, he obstinately maintained the bridge, against a prodigious superiority of force, and the most spirited attacks, for a quarter of an hour. Finding himself at length overpowered, and no relief appearing, he still found means to carry off the remainder of his detachment, and even to save the wounded; nearly one fourth of his whole number being by that time killed or disabled. The British troops suffered more in this trifling affair than could have been expected.

Greene lay, at that time, at Short Hills, about a mile above Springfield. But his troops were so divided in guarding their respective posts, and the attack so unexpected and sudden, that he could not make any detachment, in time, and sufficient for the support of Angel, without hazarding the security of the much more important post which he himself occupied. Whether it proceeded from indignation and resentment, at the resistance and loss which the troops unexpectedly met at the bridge, or from whatever other cause it was, Springfield



field experienced the same fate with the connecticut farms; the whole village, excepting four houses, were reduced to ashes.

This conflagration closed the enterprize. The strength of Greene's situation, the difficulties of the approach, an ignorance, probably of the state of his immediate force, (which, at that time, amounted only to about a thousand men) and perhaps, the bold defence made at the bridge, all concurred, in preventing the British officers from attempting the pass at Short Hills. It is likewise probable, that the day was considered as being too far advanced, to admit of their profiting properly of any advantage which they might obtain; and that it was deemed too great a hazard, to involve the army during the night in the fastnesses of a dangerous country; and surrounded on every side by enemies, whose force, position, and distance, were all equally unknown. The troops were besides without cover or necessities; and the keeping of a communication open with Elizabeth Town, might have been not less impracticable than dangerous.

Under some or all of these impressions, the royal army made a second retreat from Springfield, and returned on that evening to Elizabeth Town; they being pursued with great spirit, and redoubled animosity, by the country militia, who were highly enraged at the conflagration which they had just beheld; but a strong and well conducted rear-guard, rendered their efforts in a great measure ineffective. The royal forces passed over on the same night to Staten Island; while Washington

continued to be amused for some days longer, with the appearances of an expedition up the North River, which probably had not been at all intended.

Thus ended the short campaign in the Jerseys. These ineffective attempts, by a force which would once have been deemed capable of sweeping the whole continent before it, sufficiently manifested, that the practical habits of service and danger, without any thing near absolute perfection in discipline, will place all troops nearly upon an equality. It was now evident, that the British forces had an enemy, little less respectable in the field than themselves to encounter; and that any difference which yet remained in their favour would be daily lessened. In a word, it was now obvious, that all that superiority in arms, which produced such effects at the beginning of the contest, was, in a great measure, at an end; and that the events of the war must in the future depend upon fortune, and upon the abilities of the respective commanders.

Such were the unwelcome truths, which if not now first discovered, were at least now fully established. Washington shewed no small degree of exultation in his public orders, upon the great improvement in discipline of the troops and militia, with the happy effects which it hath produced, and the greater which he still hoped. But he did not augur greater benefits from the perfection or courage of the troops, than from that unequalled ardour, which, he said, at present animated all orders of the people.

The matter of fact was, that the



the loss of Charles Town produced a direct contrary effect to that which might have been naturally expected. For instead of depressing and sinking the minds of the people, to seek for security by any means, and to sue for peace upon any terms, the loss being now come home to every man's feelings, and the danger to his door, they were at once awakened to a vigour of exertion, scarcely to be expected in their circumstances; and which had hardly appeared in the same degree, since the first, or at most, the second year of the contest. For in the intermediate time, the first heat of passion being over, men who were not actively concerned, were fond of recurring to their wonted ease, and soon resumed their usual habits of life; and the din of war being faintly heard at a distance, they were contented to contribute to its support by opening their purses, without much tormenting their minds in the contemplation of an odious subject. And as the bitterness of contention was allayed, and the traces of past grievance or injury faded on the memory, so the spirit of enterprize had proportionally slackened; particularly in those colonies where it was not kept alive by immediate hostility.

Many concurring causes and circumstances served to increase and support that spirit which now appeared among the Americans. The very loss of Charles Town, became a ground of hope, and an incitement to vigour, from the wide separation which it had caused in the British forces, and the consequent incapacity of their divided armies to support each

other. But the expectation of a strong naval and military force from France, by the aid of which, they hoped to retaliate on New York for the loss of Charles Town, and even to clear the continent entirely of the British forces, could not but have had a much greater effect.

In the mean time, their principal leaders, as well as the Congress, omitted no means to encourage and to profit of the rising spirit, and to cherish in the people the most sanguine hopes. Letters were written by the committee of that body, which were strengthened and enforced by those from the commander in chief, General Reed, and some other popular commanders, to the different executive governments, to the people at large, and to particular colonies, stimulating them by every motive to the speedy furnishing their respective quotas. The disgrace of appearing contemptible in the eyes of their great ally, and the mischief and ruin which must be the consequence, of their being incapable to benefit of his intentions in their favour, were strongly urged. And the people were passionately called upon, not to suffer the curse of another campaign to rest upon America! The eyes of all Europe were upon them; and their future independence, fortune, and happiness, as they said, depended upon their present exertion.

These remonstrances produced a considerable effect upon the different governments, and seemed to operate no less upon individuals. Many arts were used to keep up the spirit. Large subscriptions were made by private persons



persons for giving energy to the public service. The ladies in Philadelphia first set the example to their own sex, and were distinguished by the fums, which they gave themselves, and procured from their male acquaintance, to be applied as gratuities, in particular instances, and as a general augmentation to the pay of the private foldiers of the army. The example was soon followed, in their own, and in other provinces.

It could scarcely be expected, in the midst of all the confusion and danger, of an uncommonly destructive war, raging no less in the bowels, than in the extremities of a country, that arts, or learning, those happy concomitants of ease and security, should at all be thought of, or almost remembered. It is to the honour of the Americans, that it was under this pressure of circumstances, and amidst all the anxiety of the present season, that the council and assembly of Massachusetts Bay, sitting at Boston, in the beginning of the month of May, established, by a public law, a new and learned society, to be entitled, “The American Academy of Arts and Sciences.” The act, after enumerating several particular objects of their pursuits, adds, “and, in fine, to cultivate every art and science, which might tend to advance the interest, honour, dignity, and happiness, of a free, independent, and virtuous people.” In the same spirit at Philadelphia, after a pompous celebration of the anniversary of American independance, on the 4th of July, the Congress, accompanied by the French minister, with all the officers of the state, at-

tended a commencement for the conferring of degrees in the university of that city. In the public charge delivered by the provost upon that occasion to the students, he gave the reins to a warm imagination, and wandered far in the paths of speculation, painting the rising glories of America in arts and letters, as well as in commerce and arms.

Notwithstanding the apparent penury and misfortune of the times, a bank was instituted, during the present summer, in Philadelphia; and the scheme was so well supported by the principal men of the province, that the allotted capital, of 300,000 Pennsylvania currency, to be paid in hard money, was subscribed in a few days. The public service was, however, the principal, if not the only object of this bank. They were to receive the congress money, that is to say, the amount of the taxes, and the supplies remitted by the other colonies; and they were, on the other hand, to answer the public demands, and particularly to furnish the supplies for the army, in the most prompt and efficacious manner; and for the procuring of sufficient resources of cash, they were enabled to pass notes, and to borrow money at 6 *per cent.* interest. To turn, however, this bank to any considerable advantage, a much greater stability in government, and a much greater care in their finances, is undoubtedly necessary.

Previous to the arrival of the French succours, the Marquis de la Fayette, who had been so much distinguished by the early part which he took in the American cause, long before his court had  
thrown



thrown by the mask, or even, perhaps, determined on the part which she has since taken, returned from France. His early engagement, and great zeal and activity in the American service, in which he held an high rank, caused him to be received with distinction by Washington, and on his going to Philadelphia, he conveyed a letter, full of the most flattering encomiums, from that commander to the Congress. The result was, a public complimentary resolution of welcome from that body, highly applauding his zeal, and no less acknowledging his eminent services.

July 11th. To the further encouragement of the Americans, M. de Ternay at length arrived at Rhode Island from France, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and two armed vessels. His own ship, *Le Duc de Bourgogne*, carried 84 guns, and 1200 men; two others were seventy-fours; and four, carried 64 guns each. He likewise convoyed a fleet of transports, with five old French regiments, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to about 6,000 men, under the conduct of lieutenant-general the Count de Rochambeau.

The French auxiliaries were received by Major General Heath; who, for the security both of the troops and squadron, against any attempts from New York, put them in possession of the numerous forts and batteries of that island; which, with the diligence and industry peculiar to their country in that respect, they soon put in a high state of defence. In a few days after their arrival, they were

attended by a committee, from the general assembly of that state, with an address of congratulation to the Count de Rochambeau, in which they expressed the most grateful sense of the generous and magnanimous aid afforded to the United States, by their illustrious friend and ally, the French monarch; and said they looked forward, with warm hope and expectation, to the end of a campaign, which, through that aid, might prove the happy means of restoring the public tranquility. They concluded, with an assurance of every exertion in the power of the state, for the supply of the French forces with all manner of refreshments and necessaries, and for rendering the service, as happy and agreeable, as it was honourable, to all ranks of the army.

Rochambeau declared in his answer, that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force which was destined for their aid; and that he was ordered by the king, his master, to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support. The French troops, he said, were under the strictest discipline; and, acting under the orders of General Washington, would live with the Americans as brethren. He returned their compliments by an assurance, that, as brethren, not only his own life, but the lives of all those under his command, were entirely devoted to their service.

In the mean time Washington, in order to cement the union between both nations, and to prevent those jealousies, which were too much to be apprehended on both sides, issued a requisition, in public orders, to the American



officers, soliciting, and strongly recommending to them, the wearing of black and white cockades, (the ground being of the first colour, and the relief of the other) as a compliment to, and a symbol of friendship and affection for their generous and magnanimous allies.

It was, indeed, highly grievous, not only to native Englishmen, but to those Americans, who, though equally determined upon liberty and independence with the most violent, yet still looked wishfully forward, to the renewal of ancient amity, and friendly connections, though upon equal terms, with the mother country, to perceive, not only the influence which France was gaining in the counsels of America, but the progress likewise which she was continually making, in the opinion, and, it is to be feared, in the affections of the people.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New York : so that instead of being able to cope with the French squadron, he was under an expectation of being himself attacked in that harbour. This state of things,

July 13. was, however, soon changed, by the arrival of Admiral Graves with six sail of the line, from England. The British commanders, having now a decided superiority of force, lost no time, after the newly arrived ships had repaired or supplied the consequences of the voyage, in proceeding to Rhode Island, intending, after taking a near view of the situation of the enemy, to act as circumstances might invite or admit, whether with respect to a direct attack, or to the government of their future operations.

They soon discovered, that the French were in such force, and had already put the fortifications in such condition, that an attack by sea was impracticable. In the mean time, Sir Henry Clinton meditated a joint attack by sea and land ; a measure, which it would seem, that the admiral did not approve of ; or at least, that he did not heartily concur in. After some delay, occasioned by his not being furnished in time with transports, the general, at length, embarked 6000 of his best troops, with which he proceeded as far as Huntingdon Bay in Long Island. Some unfortunate disagreement began at this time to appear, and continued long after to prevail, between the commanders in chief by sea and land. Their dispatches teemed with ambiguity and jealousy, which became more glaring by time. Dislike, was rather more than hesitated ; and blame, on one side at least, was more than once implied, if not directly laid. In fine, it soon became evident, that they were little disposed to mutual confidence or concert ; and that the strained correspondence between them, was rather the irksome result of necessity, than the spontaneous effect of choice or inclination. Under these untoward circumstances, the troops were re-landed at White-Stone.

In the mean time, Washington, who was strictly attentive to all that was passing, hoped to profit of Sir Henry Clinton's absence with so great a body of the troops, by some rapid motions, suddenly crossed the North River, at the head of 12,000 men, and marched directly towards King's Bridge,



with an apparent intention of attacking New York. The failure of the expedition to Rhode Island, and consequent detention of the troops, necessarily frustrated his design.

It does not appear probable, in the present view of things, that the expedition to Rhode Island, even supposing the most cheerful co-operation of the fleet and army, could have been attended with any success or benefit, sufficient to counterbalance the danger to which it was unquestionably liable. Besides the natural advantages of situation which that island possesses, and the strength of its forts and batteries, the New England provinces were in readiness to pour in their whole force to the support of the French. They were now impelled to action by other motives than those which usually operated; for they burned with eagerness to have so early, and, what they deemed, so happy an opportunity, of impressing their allies with a high sense of their power and valour. Accordingly, upon the first bruit of the design, above 10,000 of their militia and six-months-men, were suddenly in arms, and advanced towards Providence; and it is not to be doubted, but that number would have been far more considerable, if it had been actually carried into execution. With these direct impediments in the way of the design, it will not be supposed that New York, thus stripped of its best troops, and of the protection of the fleet, could have been exempt from danger, under the vigorous attack intended by Washington.

We have seen in our last vo-

lume, the early success which had attended Don Bernard de Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, in his unexpected expedition against the British settlements and forces on the Mississippi. The success of that enterprize, with a knowledge of the weakness which the number of prisoners he had taken, necessarily induced in the defensive force of the province, could not fail to extend his views farther; but still thinking himself too weak for the designed purpose, he concerted a plan of operation, with the governor of the Havanna, towards the latter end of the year 1779, in pursuance of which he was to be reinforced and supported, by a considerable embarkation from that place, early in the present year.

The appointed time being arrived, and De Galvez supposing that the expected force from the Havanna was of course on its way, and being himself impatient of delay, he embarked all the force he was able to raise in his government at New Orleans, and proceeded, under the Jan. 14. 1780. convoy of some small frigates and other armed vessels, on his expedition, expecting to be followed or met by the force from the Havanna.

The delays, difficulties, and dangers, which they encountered on the passage to Mobile, would appear almost incredible to those who considered only the distance, without taking into the account, the stormy disposition of the climate at that season, the dangerous nature of that inhospitable coast, and the numberless shoals which embarrass, and nearly choke up the mouths of its vast rivers.



After a continued struggle with adverse weather, and the various other impediments we have mentioned, for near a month, the better part of the fleet were driven a-shore, and several of the vessels at length totally wrecked, in the bay of Mobile. By this misfortune, the commander had the mortification of seeing all reasonable hope of success apparently frustrated; 800 of his men being cast away on a naked beach, with the loss of the greater part of their cloaths, arms, and necessaries of every sort.

The Spaniards bore their misfortunes with that patience, which has at all times been a characteristic of their nation. Instead of shrinking under the difficulties and discouragements they had experienced, they endeavoured, so far as it could be done, to convert their loss into a benefit; breaking up their wrecked vessels, and framing their timber and plank into ladders, and other machines, necessary for an escalade; as they had sustained too great a loss of artillery and other materials, to attempt a formal siege. Those who had preserved their arms, were obliged to divide them, in such a manner as would render them most useful, with those who had none; and those who still remained unarmed, undertook the laborious service of the army.

It happened very unfortunately on the side of the English, who were besides far from strong, that an account of the Spanish shipwreck was received at Pensacola, with the additional falsehoods, that 700 of their people had perished, and that the expedition was entirely laid aside.

The Spanish commander had no reason to repent his perseverance. He was strengthened by the arrival of four armed vessels from the Havanna, with a part of the regiment of Navarre on board. Although these brought an account, that the principal embarkation was still retarded, yet the arrival of so many ships and fresh men, with the artillery, stores, and various necessaries which they were capable of supplying, suddenly caused a new face of affairs, and afforded a renovation of vigour and life to every thing. The former troops were speedily re-embarked, and after a further encounter of other storms, difficulties, and dangers, the whole were landed with- Feb. 25. in three leagues of Mobile.

Mr. Durnford, a captain of engineers, and lieutenant-governor of West Florida, commanded the poor garrison, which was to defend the fort, or castle (as the Spaniards call it) of Mobile. This consisted of 97 regulars of the 60th regiment; of 16 loyal Marylanders, 3 artillery men, 60 seamen, 54 inhabitants, and 51 armed negroes, which, with two surgeons and a labourer, amounted to 284, of all sorts. The enemy attacked the fort by sea and land; and began to open ground on the 9th of March.

On the 12th of March the Spaniards opened their battery, consisting of eight 18, and one 24 pounder. Their fire seems to have had some considerable effect, on the embrasures and parapets of the two faces which they attacked; and two of the garrison guns being dismounted, they at sun-set hung out a white flag. The capitulation



tion was not, however, signed, until the 14th in the morning, when the fort was given up, and the garrison surrendered prisoners of war.

This surrender, which appeared inevitable, was however attended with circumstances which rendered it exceedingly vexatious. For Major General Campbell had marched from Pensacola, with (as the Spaniards say) 1100 regular forces, and some artillery, for its relief; and was besides accompanied by some Talapuche Indians; a people, who being excessively ferocious and cruel, and the inveterate and mortal enemies of the Spaniards, are by them regarded with a very peculiar dread and horror. The van of Campbell's force was arrived within sight of the Spanish camp, at the very instant that the fort was surrendered: and they accordingly used the utmost expedition in taking possession of, and covering themselves with the works, under the strong apprehension of an immediate attack. De Galvez boasted, that the British forces in the field and garrison were superior in numbers to his own; and did not scruple openly to declare, that, with the smallest activity and vivacity in their works, the latter might have made good the defence, until the arrival of the succour.

It seems upon the whole face of the affair, as it appears at present, that the lieutenant-governor had not, from the beginning, the smallest idea of any attempt being made for the relief of the place; and that he accordingly, from the first appearance of the enemy, considered its loss as a matter of

course and inevitable necessity. The regular force was certainly such, as to give little encouragement to a very vigorous defence. Thus the province of West Florida, with a weak and divided force, was reduced piecemeal, without its being able any where to make that effectual resistance, which might have been expected, if it had been concentrated in some one good point of defence.

During these transactions on the continent of America, the Spaniards sent out so great a force to join the French in the West Indies, as seemed sufficient to change the whole fortune of the war in that quarter, and to threat the British fleets and islands with the most imminent danger. In the latter part of April, Don Joseph Solano sailed from 18th. Cadiz upon that service, with 12 sail of the line, and several frigates, which convoyed a fleet of 83 transports, having eight regiments of Spanish infantry, of two battalions each, and a considerable train of artillery on board; the whole land force, including 100 engineers, amounting to 11,460 effective men. The island of Jamaica was generally supposed to be the great object in view; to facilitate the reduction of which, the giving of a decisive blow to Rodney by the way, would have been an useful, if not necessary preliminary.

It seemed to happen fortunately, that the Cerberus frigate, Capt. Mann, having fallen in with the Spanish fleet at sea, and that officer judging rightly of their destination, from their course and other circumstances, he with great propriety considered, that the public



lic utility, and the importance of the object, should supersede, or supply, the defects of, at least, general orders, and that no object of his cruise could possibly stand in any degree of comparative value, with the proper application of that knowledge, which he had now accidentally acquired; he accordingly, instantly proceeded, with the utmost expedition, to the West Indies, in order to communicate the intelligence to Sir George Rodney. That commander, who was then at Carlisle Bay in the island of Barbadoes, whither, we have formerly shewn, he had repaired, after his last action with, and long pursuit of, M. de Guichen, in order to victual, water, and refit his fleet, upon receiving this intelligence by the Cerberus, used the utmost diligence in putting to sea, in order to intercept the Spanish fleet and convoy, before they could join the French, who were then in Fort-Royal Bay, Martinique, and had not yet recovered the effects of the late rough encounters.

Nothing could have been more happy, signal, or decisive in its consequences, than this design, if it had taken effect. But the views and hopes of the British commander were frustrated, through the caution of the Spanish admiral. Had he proceeded directly to Fort-Royal Bay, which was his object, and the appointed place of rendezvous to all his squadron and convoy, he could scarcely have avoided falling in with the British fleet, and the event would not admit of a doubt. But Don Solano, apprehensive, though not informed of the danger, prudently stopped short, on his approach to the

nearest islands, and dispatched an expeditious sailing frigate, to inform M. de Guichen of his situation, and to require a speedy junction of the fleets where he then was. The French commander immediately sailed from Martinique, with 18 ships of the line, being all that were yet in readiness, and keeping close to leeward of the islands, June 10. joined the Spaniards under Dominique.

The combined fleets, when all united, amounted to no less than 36 sail of the line; which, with their combined land forces, formed such an apparent superiority, as nothing in those seas or islands, seemed at all capable of resisting. The danger of Jamaica appeared to be great indeed; and the other islands, which are called leeward, from their situation with respect to Europe and North America, though windward with respect to that, could scarcely hope for any other security, than what might arise from the pursuit of a greater object. But it happened fortunately for the British interest, that this great hostile force, carried within itself the sources of inefficacy, weakness, and decay. The Spanish troops being too much crowded on board their transports, that circumstance operating with the length of the voyage, the change of climate and diet, and above all, with their peculiar laziness, and want of cleanliness, the whole of those combined causes generated a most mortal and contagious disorder, which first infecting their own seamen, at length spread, though not entirely with so fatal an effect, through the French fleet and land forces.



forces. Besides a great mortality on the passage, the Spaniards had landed no less than 1200 sick, on their first arrival, at Dominique, and a much greater number afterwards, at Guadaloupe and Martinique. Thus, the spirit of enterprize was not only damped, but some part of the means were taken away. This in part accounts for their not having taken all the advantages against us, that was dreaded from the junction of the fleets: but it does by no means clear the matter sufficiently. It has been said, that the Spanish admiral had no orders to co-operate in any offensive measures with the French. This is not the only instance, in which the want of concert between those allies has saved Great Britain.

Sir George Rodney, upon the junction of the enemy's fleets, retired to Gros-Islet Bay, in St. Lucia, where he was equally well situated, for observing their motions, for counteracting, so far as he was able, their designs with respect to the other islands, whenever they should become manifest; and for self-defence, if their superiority should prompt them to venture upon an attack.

The air and refreshments of the French islands, did not produce the good effects with respect to the Spanish sick, or in restraining the progress and violence of the disorder, which had been expected, or were even usual, in such cases. The distemper was little less contagious or fatal than a pestilence; and if the mortality was apparently lessened, it seemed only to be restrained by the decreased number of the victims. In these distressing circumstances, the Spanish

commanders re-embarked their people, and the combined fleets proceeded, before the middle of July, with the Spanish convoy to the westward. It appeared afterwards, that M. de Guichen, having escorted the Spaniards as far as the island of St. Domingo, and knowing there was no enemy in the way, he left them to proceed singly to the Havanna, while he put in himself at Cape François.

In the mean time Commodore Walsingham had arrived from England at St. Lucia, with a few ships of the line, and four regiments under his convoy for Jamaica. The commander in chief, who was in the dark as to the designs of the enemy, but informed of their departure from Fort-Royal, sailed with the whole fleet, as well to observe their motions, as to see the convoy well on their way. Being soon satisfied as to the immediate destination of the enemy, he dispatched Admiral Rowley, along with Mr. Walsingham and the convoy, to Jamaica; these commanders taking ten sail of the line along with them, to reinforce Sir Peter Parker, and thereby insure the security of that island. Sir George Rodney kept the remainder of the fleet, in order to observe the future motions of the enemy, and to cover the Leeward Islands.

The sickness among the Spaniards, with the apparent want of concert between the fleets, went far beyond, in their consequences, the immediate scene, and near views of action. In a word, they were the means of overthrowing the whole scheme and design of the campaign, not in the West Indies only, but in North America



rica likewise; and seemed to change, in no small degree, the fortune and nature of the war.

France had designs for the earlier part of the campaign in the West Indies, in which the co-operation of Spain would be necessary. She concerted another with the Americans, which was to take place, on their side, in the latter; and both together went to the direct annihilation (and with a very sufficiently apparent force for the purpose) of the British power, in both parts of the New world. The success of the scheme was founded upon many strong grounds of hope and expectation; but like all complex machines, it was liable to be disordered in the whole, by the failure only of some of its parts. It was expected, that the great superiority of the combined fleets would have enabled them, without much loss or damage, entirely to crush the British naval force in the West Indies; that, with the great land force, which it was supposed would be in their hands, the reduction of Jamaica would not be an object of much difficulty or delay; that some or all of the smaller islands would follow of course; but that, without spending too much time upon lesser matters, M. de Guichen should proceed with his whole force to the coasts of North America, where, being joined by Ternay's fresh ships, and Rochambeau's fresh troops, they should, in concert with Washington, attack New York by sea and land. As the Americans would strain every nerve on the occasion, no doubt of success in that part of the design could be entertained; and the reduction of Lord Corn-

wallis's forces, with the driving of the British finally from the continent, were considered only as matters of course.

It was undoubtedly in consequence, and for the rounding and completion of this scheme, that preparations were made by the Americans for a winter expedition to Canada, the conduct of which was to be committed to the Marquis de la Fayette. That officer published accordingly a preparatory memorial addressed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them by all the antient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural and fervent desire of recovering their own freedom, to be in preparation to assist, join, and support him upon his arrival; but holding out all the severities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to those, if any such there could be, who blindly perverse to their own interests, and forgetful of all those ties and duties, should in any manner oppose the arms, or impede the generous designs of their deliverers. The failure, with respect to the great objects of the design, occasioned the laying by for the present of this detached part.

It is not to be wondered at, that the near contemplation of such vast objects, and the flattering light in which they appeared, should wonderfully elevate the spirits of the Americans, and greatly invigorate their measures and counsels. Washington's army was accordingly recruited and filled up with such diligence, that it was said to exceed 20,000 men; and the northern provinces were in readiness to send their militia, and



and every denomination of military, to take share, along with him and their French allies, in the final overthrow of New York. Nor was it even apprehended, that the failure of the preliminary parts of the plan in the West Indies, could at all have affected the main object with respect to North America.

But it was impossible that any judgment formed at a distance, could interfere with M. de Guichen's knowledge of the state and condition of his own force. Besides the sickliness of his people, he was sensible that his ships had suffered so much by long service in the West Indies, as well as in the several engagements, that they were not by any means in a condition to encounter, either the roughness of the service or of the climate, which they must necessarily undergo in the North American campaign. This knowledge, and the determination founded upon it, were, however, strictly reserved to himself, or to those in his immediate confidence. And when he took a great convoy from the French islands under his protection, it was still thought or expected on all hands, that as soon as he had seen them so far on their way as to be out of danger, he would then proceed to the coast of America, for the accomplishment of the projected enterprize. But that commander proceeded directly to Europe with his fleet and convoy; and the bad state of his ships, when he arrived at Cadiz, sufficiently justified his conduct.

Nothing was ever more galling to the Americans than this disappointment. It is even said, that Washington himself, could not

entirely preserve that command of countenance, and equanimity of temper, by both of which he is so much distinguished. All the views of France and America, with respect to the campaign, were now finally shut up; and the force sent by the former to Rhode Island, with a view of general co-operation, was now reduced to act only upon the defensive as a garrison. Undoubtedly, Great Britain had a wonderful escape from the dangers of the present campaign; and the island of Jamaica has experienced a singular fortune in the various hair-breadth risques, which she has encountered during the war. Through all this course of transaction, the Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves, kept the French squadron as closely blockaded at Rhode Island, as the advantage derived from the occasional shelter of some neighbouring islands could afford, and the uncertainty of the winds and seas would admit.

In the mean time, Sir George Rodney being aware of the original design against New York; and apprehensive that both the British land and naval force would be entirely overwhelmed by the vast superiority of the enemy, as soon as he had received certain intelligence of the departure of M. de Guichen from Cape Francois, immediately sailed himself, with eleven capital ships, and four frigates, to their supposed assistance and relief. Although he found, soon after his arrival at New York, that this effort of zeal for the public service, which had arisen from the spur of the occasion, might have been dispensed with; yet he discovered in the end, that he had no cause  
to



to regret the trouble which he had taken; as it proved the fortunate means of saving the squadron under his immediate command, from

the unknown but dreadful calamity, which was to take place in the West Indies.

## C H A P. III.

*Dreadful hurricane in the West Indies. Destruction and calamity in Barbadoes. St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincents. Great losses sustained, and dangers encountered, by the British naval force in those seas. French islands. Humanity of the Marquis de Bouille. Hurricane in Jamaica. Town of Savanna la Mar overwhelmed. Large tract of rich country, in a great measure destroyed. Distresses, and great losses of the inhabitants. Bounty of the crown and parliament. Liberal benefactions of individuals. New York. Negotiation, between Sir Henry Clinton, and the American General Arnold. Major Andre employed in the completion of the scheme. Is taken in disguise on his return from the American camp. Avows his name and condition in a letter to Gen. Washington. Gen. Arnold escapes on board the Vulture ship of war. Various letters written, and means ineffectually used, in order to save Major Andre from the impending danger. He is tried by a board of American General Officers. His candour and magnanimity on the trial: is sentenced on his own confession, and the testimony of the papers which were found upon him. Liberality with which he was treated, and his sense of it. His untimely death closes the tragedy. Unusual sympathy which he excited in the American army. Gen. Arnold is appointed to a command in the British army. Publishes an address to the inhabitants of America; and a proclamation, directed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army. Distresses in the American army, and some of their causes.*

**T**HE West Indies were now doomed to experience the weight of an enemy, far more irresistible and terrible, than any which the malice, or power of their own species, could arm against them. This was a hurricane of so dreadful a kind, that it seemed to be rather one of the last pangs and convulsions of nature, than any of those customary exertions, in which she happily produces general good, though at the expence of some partial evil.

Although this tremendous scourge of Providence, seemed to sweep the seas and the land with wild and

undistinguished fury, yet the anti-ent colony, and till then flourishing island of Barbadoes, was more particularly the marked victim of its rage. The hurricane began in that island on the morning of the 10th of October, 1780; and continued, with little intermission, about 48 hours. In the afternoon of the first day, the ships were driven from their anchors, and obliged to encounter all the horrors of the most outrageous sea that the oldest seaman had ever beheld. They could not, however, have envied, if they had known their condition, the situation of those whom



whom they had left behind on shore.

In the course of that dreadful night, Bridge Town, the capital of the island, was nearly laid level with the earth. The history of the government house, will give some idea of the fate of the other buildings in that town, and of the state of their inhabitants. That building, which, from its unusual strength, seemed calculated to brave all the outrages of seasons, was nearly of a circular form, and its walls above three feet in thickness. No means were neglected, besides in the evening, to barricade the doors and windows in such a manner, as should render them proof to all outward violence. But before ten o'clock, the irresistible force of the tempest burst its way through different parts of the house; and having in some time carried off the roof, and the ruins tumbling on all sides, the governor's family were obliged to fly for refuge to the souterrains; but they were soon driven from that asylum by the bursting in of the water, which, through the continued torrents of rain that fell, threatened nothing less than a deluge.

Nothing now remained, but an endeavour to gain the fields; an attempt, than which, except their present situation, nothing could appear more dreadful or dangerous. It, however, so far succeeded, that they gained some temporary shelter, amongst the ruins of the foundation or platform, on which the flag-staff had been erected. But these, however massy, became so obedient to the increased violence and astonishing force of the wind, as to threaten instant de-

struction to the distressed fugitives, who were again compelled to encounter all the open horrors of the tempest. The governor, and such others as had strength and recollection enough to keep together, after being frequently blown down, and rolled about in the mire and wet, at length gained a battery, and took shelter under the gun carriages; where they sat in continual apprehension of being crushed to pieces, so terribly were the cannon moved by the storm.

The other houses of the town being much earlier destroyed, the surviving inhabitants were of course exposed to the miseries of a longer night of continued danger and horror. Numbers were buried in their houses; and the dreadful uproar of the tempest, was intermixed with the groans of the dying, the cries of those who were incapable of dragging their maimed and wounded bodies from the ruins, and the screams of women and children, whose fate seemed only to be deferred for greater horrors, whilst they were lamenting, or calling for help to their lost friends.

The day light presented such a scene of desolation as has seldom been equalled. That beautiful island, so lately glowing in the richest bloom and verdure of continual spring, now presented the image of those broken and dreary polar regions, whose dismal wastes are buried in eternal winter. The smaller towns experienced a similar ruin with the capital. It was said, that not one house or building in the island, however strong or sheltered, was exempt from damage; but that, in general, they were levelled to the ground, the planta-



plantations destroyed, and the produce of the earth so totally torn up and dispersed, as not to leave a trace behind. To increase the calamity, most of the living stock of the island, particularly of the horned kind, perished. And reputable and opulent families were, in common with the most indigent, exposed to the still unexhausted fury of the tempest, without food, raiment, or cover.

The loss of human lives was great, even among the Whites; but including the Blacks, amounted to some thousands. The numbers could not, however, be accurately estimated. Besides those who fell victims to the violence and inclemency of the weather, and whose bodies were easily found, many were entombed in their own houses, and in the ruins of others, who could only be discovered by time. Many were whirled by the force of the tempest into the sea: many carried off by the waves, which being driven over their customary mounds invaded the shore; and perhaps, not a smaller number, by the torrents of fresh water which poured from the clouds. As the first object of the survivors, next to the providing of immediate food and shelter, was the guarding against a pestilence, by the speedy interment of those dead bodies which were easily found, their number was little attended to, in that scene of hurry, distress and confusion.

Perhaps there is not in history a more extraordinary instance of the united force of the winds and waves, than was shewn upon this occasion, in the removal of a cannon of twelve pound ball, from the south to the north battery:

being a distance of one hundred and forty yards: a circumstance which we should have been afraid of relating upon any less authority, than that of a public document, transmitted to the secretary of state by the governor of the island.

It happened most fortunately, and probably saved Barbadoes from utter ruin, that Gen. Vaughan, with a considerable body of troops were then on the island. For besides that the Blacks were in a ratio of four or five to one with respect to the Whites, they were incumbered with above 800 prisoners of war; who, as well as the worst and most dangerous members of their own community, were all set at large by the destruction of the prisons. The general's house being early destroyed, he and his family underwent a full share of the dangers and calamities of the night; his secretary's thigh was broken, and he did not escape himself without many bruises.

Such are the happy effects of order and discipline, that although the barracks and hospital were blown down, the loss sustained by the troops was very inconsiderable; and though the rapine of the negroes during the general confusion, kept pace with the violence of the tempest, yet the activity of the officers, and the alacrity of the private men, succeeded so happily, as nearly to save all the stores and provisions destined for the service of the army and navy. It was no less fortunate, at a time when famine was staring the whole island in the face, and that the most dreadful consequences were to be apprehended from its effect upon the negroes, that the quantity



tity of the latter was very considerable.

It should be remembered, to the honour and praise of Don Pedro St. Jago, a captain of the regiment of Arragon, and of the other Spanish prisoners at Barbadoes, who were all under his immediate direction, that they acted the kind part of friends, instead of behaving like enemies, or even with indifference, in this season of calamity; and that they omitted no labour or service within their power, for the assistance of the distressed inhabitants, and the preservation of public order.

The islands of St. Lucia, Granada, and St. Vincent, were likewise laid nearly desolate. In the first, all the huts and barracks for the troops, as well as the other buildings of the island, were blown down. At Granada, the devastation was proportioned to the superior cultivation and improvement of that island; and of St. Vincent's, it was said, that not a house was left standing. Dominique, likewise suffered greatly.

Most of the ships of war were driven out to sea from St. Lucia, in the beginning of the hurricane. The Vengeance, which was moored within the Carenage, a place, ever till now, considered as affording the utmost security in all winds and weather, was, notwithstanding that, and every immediate effort for her further safety, driven upon the rocks, and her escape from utter destruction, exceeded all hope and expectation. The transports, victuallers, and traders, were at best dismasted, and mostly driven on shore.

Of the ships of war which were driven out to sea, the Montague

returned, without mast or bowsprit standing, and eight feet water in her hold—the Ajax, greatly damaged—the Beaver's prize, of 18 guns, was wrecked on the back of the island, and all the officers and crew, except 17 men, perished. The preservation of the Amazon, after being overset in the utmost violence of the hurricane, notwithstanding the praises justly due, to the undaunted resolution, and the unequalled efforts and activity of the officers and crew, seems so little short of being miraculous, that, at a greater distance of time, it would have been deemed incredible. The Andromeda and Laurel, of 28 guns each, were not so fortunate; they were both lost on the coast of Martinique, none of the officers, and very few of the crews being saved. The Deal Castle, of 24 guns, suffered the same fate; and the Egmont of 74, arrived at Jamaica, without a mast, and in all other respects little better than a wreck.

The squadron under the command of Admiral Rowley, which convoyed the Jamaica trade on its way to Europe, experienced no less calamity, and sustained still greater loss. Of this squadron, the Admiral, with five more, returned to Jamaica, mostly dismasted, and all disabled. The Berwick, being separated, and dismasted, found it less difficult, or thought it less dangerous, to proceed alone to England, than to return. But the Stirling Castle, of 64 guns, was totally lost on the coast of Hispaniola, and only about 50 of the crew saved. The solitary fate of the Thunderer, of 74 guns, under the conduct of



Commodore Boyle Walsingham, was still more calamitous; she being so completely swallowed up in this conflict of the elements, that no memorial or particulars of her catastrophe can ever come to light.

The *Phoenix*, of 44 guns, Sir Hyde Parker, was wrecked on the island of Cuba; but the officers, and most of her crew, were happily saved. The *Barbadoes* and *Victor* sloops of war, with the *Cameleon*, *Scarborough*, and *La Blanche* frigates, became likewise, upon different services, and with a partial or total loss of men and officers, victims to the rage of this merciless season.

The French islands, seem to have suffered even more than the English, excepting only *Barbadoes*. At *Martinique*, the beautiful town of *St. Pierre*, built upon the shore, was said to have been entirely overwhelmed and washed away: and the town of *Bassaterre*, in *Guadaloupe*, was reported to have shared the same fate. About sixty sail of transports from France, which had arrived that morning at *Martinique*, with stores, and 2,500 troops on board, were all driven out to sea: and both ships and soldiers suffered extremely. Several were entirely lost; and some were taken, by those who had themselves just escaped the danger, and who were still suffering under the effects of the common calamity. The *Experiment* of 50 Guns, and the *Juno* of forty, with some other Royal French frigates, were entirely destroyed; and 19 sail of loaded Dutch vessels, were dashed to pieces on the island of *Granada*. Nor did the Dutch island of *St. Eustatius*, escape the general effects of the hurricane; the damage there

being estimated at not less than 150,000*l.* sterling.

The humanity of the Marquis de Bouille, affords some relief to these scenes of horror and devastation. That governor sent 31 British sailors, (being the poor remains that were saved of the crews of the *Laurel* and *Andromeda*) under a flag of truce, to Commodore Hotham, at *St. Lucia*, accompanied with a letter or message, in which he declared, that he could not consider in the light of enemies, men who had so hardly escaped in a contention with the force of the elements; but that they, having, in common with his own people, been partakers of the same danger, were, in like manner, entitled to every comfort and relief which could be given, in a season of such universal calamity and distress. He only lamented, he said, that their number was so small; and particularly, that none of the officers were saved. Thus did that eminent commander, and magnanimous enemy, sustain the high character which he had so justly attained, as well with the English as his own nation, in the course of the present war; and to which, or more properly, to those great qualities from which it is derived, he is perhaps no less beholden for some of his acquisitions, than to the superiority of his arms.

When it is recollected that the hurricanes of this season, swept the coasts of Europe and America as well as the West Indies; and that even a beautiful part of the country, on both sides of the Thames, between London and Richmond, suffered very much (about the time of the devastation in the Leeward Islands) by a hurricane



ricane of so peculiar and dreadful a nature, as had not been frequently experienced in this climate and country, it will afford no cause of wonder, that Jamaica should partake deeply of the common calamity.

The hurricane in Jamaica, was, however, different in many respects from the others. It was earlier in point of time by a week, than that at Barbadoes; and was more complex, being accompanied by an earthquake, and a most extraordinary swell of the sea, which rendered it still more terrible, as well as fatal. But its effects were happily more confined; and it seems to have been only the tip of its eastern wing, which swept the western point of that island. The two large districts, which are called parishes, of Westmoreland and Hanover, which include the whole breadth of Jamaica in its western extreme, were accordingly the principal victims of its rage; although their nearest eastern neighbours, in the parishes of St. James and Elizabeth, felt no small share of its fury.

Whilst the unhappy inhabitants of Savanna la Mar (then a considerable trading town on the south  
Oct. 3d. side of the island, in Westmoreland parish) were gazing with astonishment, at such a swell of the sea, and agitation of its waves, as had never been before beheld; on a sudden, at once, bursting through all bounds, and surmounting all obstacles, it overwhelmed the town; and swept every thing away so completely on its retreat, as not to leave the smallest vestige of man, beast, or habitation behind. About

300 persons, of all colours, perished in this dreadful irruption. The sea flowed at half a mile beyond its usual fixed limits; and so sudden and unavoidable was the destruction, although it took place at noon day, that of the inhabitants of one gentleman's house, consisting of ten whites, and about forty negroes, not a soul of either sort escaped.

This was only the prelude to immediate and more extensive calamity. Where the sea, in its present degree of force, could not reach, the business of destruction was nearly as effectually carried on by the succeeding earthquake and hurricane. Between both, scarcely a house or building of any sort was left standing in the two first parishes we mentioned, any more than in a considerable part of the two others; particularly that of St. James, which stood in the next degree of suffering. A great number of the white inhabitants, and of necessity, a much greater of the negroes, perished during the course of the hurricane. The provisions were entirely destroyed; and the live stock escaped little better. But the calamity was not confined to the fruits of the earth, nor to its immediate inhabitants. The rich and cultivated soil, was in many places covered with heaps of sterile matter, which could not be removed by any profitable labour, and which it was not in the power of culture to reclaim. Thus a people, who had generally been in a state of high affluence, were in an instant reduced to the extreme of want and misery. Their remote situation rendered their condition the more deplorable.



There was no friend or kind neighbour to fly to for an asylum, where all were equally wretched.

The damage in the parish of Westmoreland only, was estimated at 950,000*l.* Jamaica currency, amounting to near 700,000*l.* sterling. In that of Hanover, one fourth part of the absolute property, was said to be lost for ever. The damage in the other two parishes was very considerable.

The merchants of Kingston, the metropolis of the island, generously subscribed 10,000*l.* for the immediate relief of the unfortunate sufferers; the value of which was speedily transmitted to them, in those articles of cloathing and provision which were most urgently necessary. But the bounty of the crown and parliament of Great Britain, would afford a lasting testimonial of the beneficence, liberality, and grandeur of this country, if all other memorials of its generosity and greatness were forgotten. In the height of a losing and most unfortunate domestic and foreign war; a war, not less distinguished from all others by the greatness of its losses, than by its unparalleled expences; yet, in this state of public and private calamity, the house of commons instantly granted 80,000*l.* for the relief of the sufferers in Barbadoes, and 40,000*l.* for those in Jamaica. The generous benefactions of individuals kept pace with the public munificence.

Whilst the West India islands were doubly suffering, under all the evils of war, and under some of the greatest calamities of nature, the continent of North America enjoyed some tolerable respite

from the one, and had pretty well escaped the other. Admiral Arbuthnot still continued his station about Gardner's Bay and Block island, to watch the motions of M. de Ternay; whilst the industry of the French was quickened, in completing the fortifications, and increasing the defences of the harbour, at Rhode Island, from an apprehension of the great superiority of naval force, which the arrival of Sir George Rodney had thrown into the scale on the British side.

Whether it proceeded from a knowledge that the fortifications at Rhode Island were now in such strength on the land side, as to bid defiance to any force which Sir Henry Clinton could with safety draw from New York, whether the harbour was so well fortified as not to admit the approach of the fleet, or whether the season was so far advanced, that it would not be prudent to expose the ships to the dangerous uncertainty of the weather, we do not know; but however it was, no attempt was made to derive any advantage from the present naval superiority. The critics upon military affairs, with whom New York, nearly from its first coming into our hands, peculiarly abounded, were as bitter in their censures, and reviled the commanders with as little mercy and decency upon this occasion, as they had both themselves and their predecessors upon many others.

During this apparent calm, and a sort of tacit cessation of hostility, produced only by the peculiar situation and circumstances of the parties on both sides, a scheme of the utmost importance was in agitation,



tion, calculated, if it could have taken effect in its full extent, totally to change the face of affairs in America, and to bring the war to a speedy, if not immediate conclusion.

Every reader is sufficiently acquainted with the figure which the American General, Arnold, made, during the whole course of the war. In peaceful occupations he was not so happy. Retired from the army, on account of the wound he received in the cause of America, and which endeared him to that whole continent, he soon lost the affections of his countrymen, which he had purchased at so dear a rate. His conduct in the government of Philadelphia, to which he had been appointed upon the retreat of the British army, was of such a nature, or so represented by his enemies, as drew upon him, not only the odium of the inhabitants of that city, but of the province in general. He was charged with oppression, extortion, with exorbitant and enormous charges upon the public in his accounts, and with applying the public money and property to his own private use. Many of the particulars appear in the publications of the time.

He appealed from the judgment of the commissioners who had been appointed to inspect his accounts (and who had rejected above half the amount of his demands) to the Congress; and they appointed a committee, of their own body, to examine and settle the business. The committee not only confirmed the report of the commissioners, but were of opinion, that they had allowed him more than he had any right to expect or demand. Mr.

Arnold shewed himself highly irritated by this determination; and uttered invectives against the Congress, not less violent than those that he had before thrown out against the commissioners.

He was, however, soon obliged to abide the judgment of a court-martial, upon the various charges of malversation in office, exhibited against him by the executive government of Philadelphia, as well on the grounds we have mentioned, as on some others. This court found his conduct (in general terms) highly reprehensible, and ordered that he should be reprimanded by General Washington. This sentence gave no satisfaction to the accusers. They said, that the consideration of General Arnold's former services had rendered his judges too favourable. On the other side, the party accused attacked them as giving a general censure, because they were resolved to find him guilty, and yet could fix on nothing specific.

He who had held so large a share of popularity, could not but severely feel, that loss of public opinion and private esteem which he now experienced. He was not of a disposition to be silent in such circumstances. He complained loudly; and made as little scruple of charging his countrymen in general with ingratitude, as their governors of injustice.

A calm, however, on all sides, seemed to have succeeded to these violent storms. His favour with Gen. Washington seems to have continued; and he was soon after his reprimand taken again into actual service in the principal army, in a situation of considerable



rank and trust. In the temper of mind described, and in that situation, he carried on a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton for the purpose of returning to his allegiance, and of delivering up the post and part of the army which he commanded to that General. How the ice was first broken, the negotiation conducted, or how long it had been in agitation, are matters which do not appear, and are of little consequence. Its failure was marked by the unhappy fate of Major André, adjutant-general of the British army; a rising young officer of great hope, and of no common merit.

This was the gentleman employed, at least, in the completion of the measures taken in concert with Gen. Arnold. Objects of vast importance, will necessarily occasion a deviation from all general rules, if not from the principles of action. That now in view, was the most momentous that could well be offered. It held out, along with the conclusion of a doubtful and dangerous war, no less than the final subjugation, without condition or treaty, of the revolted American Colonies. It is not then to be wondered at, that the near apparent grasp of so great a prize, should banish all lesser considerations; and prove such a spur to enterprize, as no risk, danger, or possible consequences, could be capable of counteracting. André, who by his open bravery, high ideas of candour, and disdain of duplicity, was not so fit for an employment, which along with great mechanical boldness, required a proportionable degree of dissimulation and circumspection, yet possessed other qualities, which

seemed fully to counterbalance that deficiency. His fidelity and honour were fixed and unalterable; and these were qualities not much to be expected in those, who in other respects might seem much fitter for the purpose. Besides, his place, character, and the confidence of the commander in chief, which he was known fully to possess, afforded a weight to his negotiation, the want of which in meaner agents would have been attended with many difficulties.

The failure of the French fleet with respect to the attack on New York, having overthrown all the schemes of active operation on the side of the Americans for the present season, Washington stationed his army (which was now considerably reduced in number and strength) in the strong holds of the Highlands, on both sides of the North River, for the winter; where its situation, besides security, afforded an opportunity of watching the motions of the British forces, and of repressing the incursions from New York. In this arrangement of the American forces, the strong and very important post of West Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a wing, or very considerable division of the army, were entrusted to the custody and conduct of Major-General Arnold.

Washington's absence in Connecticut, was probably deemed a favourable opportunity for the final completion of a negotiation, which it is evident had for some time been in hand. The Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River, at such a distance from Arnold's posts, as, without exciting suspicion, would



would, however, serve for carrying on the necessary communication. It appears likewise that a written correspondence, by other means, and through other channels, had been carried on, between Arnold and Major André, at New York, under the borrowed names of Gustavus and Anderson.

The outlines of the project were, that Arnold should make such a disposition of the wing of the army under his command, as would enable Sir Henry Clinton completely to surprize their strong posts and batteries, and throw the troops so entirely into his hands, that they must inevitably either lay down their arms, or be cut to pieces on the spot. Besides the immediate possession of those strong holds, thus cheaply obtained, and the cutting off so great a part of the enemy's best force, without loss or difficulty, the consequences would have reached much farther; for the remainder of Washington's army, would then have been laid open in such a manner, to the joint exertion of the British forces by land and water, that nothing less than slaughter, rout, dispersion, and final ruin, could have been the result with respect to the Americans. Such a stroke could not have been recovered. Independent of the loss of the artillery, magazines, and stores, such a destruction of their whole disciplined force, and of most, if not all of their best officers, must have been immediately fatal.

The necessary arrangements being made, Major André was landed at night from the Sept. 21. sloop of war, without the American posts, where he found Arnold waiting for him

on the shore. The latter conveyed him into camp; where he continued with him, during that night and the following day. In that time it was very unfortunately found necessary to change the British uniform of his regiment, which he had hitherto worn under a furtout coat, for some common dress. From some alarm, apprehensions, or causes, which do not appear, Arnold could not fulfil his promise to André, of sending him back, by the same way that he came, in order to get on board the Vulture. On the contrary, he was conveyed the second night, through a remote part of the camp, and then left to pursue a journey of some length, and alone, to New York. He was, however, furnished with a horse, and with passports from Arnold; and being now quite clear of the different guards and posts of the camp, all of which he had passed under the name of Anderson, he could not but think himself in tolerable safety.

But fortune was not in so favourable a mood. In passing through a place called Tarry Town, on the following day, he was stoppt by three young volunteers or militia men, who do not seem to have been upon any particular service or duty. His passport seemed at first to produce its intended effect; and after a perusal, they suffered him to proceed without farther trouble. But he had not passed many yards, when one of them, upon a little recollection, was so forcibly struck, by the impression of some particularity, which he conceived he had perceived in the stranger's manner or countenance, that he peremp-



torily insisted with his companions, upon their examining him more strictly. This recollection was decisive and fatal. André was not used to, nor prepared for such encounters. Or, as he said himself in his letter to Washington, "I was too little versed in deception, to practise it with any degree or hope of success." He offered the captors a considerable purse of gold, and a very valuable watch, for letting him pass; and it would appear from the American accounts, and indeed seems confirmed by the very high praises which they bestowed, upon the virtue and patriotism, as they called it, of three simple young men, in the humblest walks of life, who nobly disdained, besides the immediate temptation, the very fascinating offers of permanent provision, and even of future promotion, which were made them, on condition of their conveying and accompanying the major to New York.

Upon André's first examination, he still supported the name and supposed character of Anderson, a real or imaginary inhabitant of New York; and though the papers that were found in his boot, subjected him to instant execution, in the usual summary way practised with spies, yet he nobly chose to encounter that immediate danger, and ignominious fate, rather than let any thing come out which could involve Arnold, until he had time to provide for his safety. The papers were all in Arnold's hand-writing; and contained exact returns, of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences, at West Point, and its dependencies, with the artil-

lery orders, critical remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of men that were ordinarily on duty to man them, and a copy of some very interesting matters, which had been lately laid before a council of war by the commander in chief.

Several circumstances attending this transaction were highly fortunate to Arnold. Particularly the delay occasioned by its happening at a distance from the camp; as well as through the indecision, which so new and extraordinary a case, that seemed beyond their reach and authority, necessarily produced in those inferior officers or country magistrates, by whom André was first examined.

General Washington returned from Connecticut, about noon on the 25th; André having been then full 48 hours in custody, without any knowledge of the transaction having yet reached the camp. At Arnold's quarters, the general was informed that he had been out for some hours, and was supposed to be gone to West Point, whither he accordingly went, and discovered to his surprize that he had not been there that day; this was, however, increased upon his return, when he found that he was still absent from quarters. But every thing now was upon the point of being cleared up. A packet arrived, with an account of the capture of John Anderson, and enclosing the papers which were found upon him; accompanied likewise, with a letter from the prisoner himself to the general. He was now also informed, that Arnold had received a letter, which threw him into  
some



some visible degree of agitation, just before his departure from quarters in the morning. Washington immediately issued orders, to prevent, if possible, his escape; but it was then too late; for Arnold, upon the discovery of his danger, without even waiting to secure or destroy his papers, had abandoned every thing; and proceeding down the river, under the cover of a flag, was then safe on board the Vulture ship of war.

The vindication of his honour, and not the preservation of his life, was the great object with André, in his letter to Washington; in which he avowed his name and character. The imputation of treachery, and the dread of being considered in the base condition of a spy, were worse to him than death. He accordingly laboured to shew, that he did not properly come within that description; that he had held a correspondence with a person under the orders of his general; that his intentions went no farther, than the meeting of that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence; but that he was circumvented or betrayed, within the American posts; and that being then in fact a prisoner, he was obliged to submit to such measures as were concerted for his escape, by quitting his uniform; and thus was forced into the condition of an enemy in disguise. His only solicitation was, that to whatever rigour policy might devote him, a decency of treatment might be observed, which would mark, that though unfortunate, he was branded with nothing dishonourable, and that he was involuntarily an impostor.—In a word, his enemies

acknowledged, that the letter was conceived, in terms of dignity without insolence, and of apology without meanness.

Washington had immediate measures to take, in order to protect his camp and works from the unknown, but possible consequences of General Arnold's desertion; nor could he be entirely free from apprehension, that the treachery had spread farther than he was yet aware of. It soon appeared, however, that he had no party in the army to support his design; and that if he had any confidants or associates, they were few in number, and men of no great consequence. But though the design was defeated, the idea was alarming in point of precedent; and the contagion of example was still to be dreaded.

Arnold wrote a letter to Washington, from on board the Vulture, on the very day of his escape. In this, he does not enter much into any defence or explanation of his conduct, but seems to rest satisfied in an internal consciousness of rectitude. He declares, that the love of his country, which had been the ruling principle with him through the whole contest, had operated equally upon him in his present conduct, however inconsistent it might appear to the world, who, (he observes) very seldom judge right of any man's actions.—But the great object and design of his letter, was to interest Washington's humanity in the protection of Mrs. Arnold, from the mistaken vengeance of his country; that, he said, ought to fall only upon himself; for she (he exclaimed in the language of passion) “is as good



good and as innocent as an angel, and is incapable of doing wrong."

On the same day, Col. Robinson, who was likewise on board the Vulture, and seems so far to have accompanied André on this enterprize, sent a letter to Washington, reclaiming him on the following grounds, viz. That he had gone under the protection of a flag, upon public business with Gen. Arnold, and at his particular request; that he likewise had his licence and passports for returning to New York; that every step he had taken, and even that of assuming a feigned name, had been under the direction of Arnold, which of course freed him from any censure in the transaction; and that, under these circumstances, his farther detention, would be a gross violation of the sanction due to flags, and contrary to the established military customs and usages of all nations.

The following day brought a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, reclaiming André upon the same grounds, of a flag, passports, his own permission, and Arnold's request. It likewise contained an inclosure from Arnold to Sir Henry, stating the circumstances, as he wished them to be understood; assuming to himself the whole guidance and direction of André's conduct, and consequently, as being only responsible for those parts of it that appeared most unfavourable in his present situation; and strongly asserting his own right at that time, as acting in the American service, and being commanding general of West Point and its dependencies, to send his flag of truce for André, to afford him protection by

his passports and otherwise, and to return him, by such way, and in such manner, as should, to himself, appear most convenient or proper.

In the mean time, Washington had appointed a board of fourteen general officers, of whom were the two foreign majors general, the Marquis de la Fayette, and the Baron de Steuben, with the assistance of Laurence, the judge advocate general, to examine into, and to report, a precise state of André's case; to determine what light he was to be considered in, and to what punishment he was liable.

This excellent young man, Sept. 29. disdaining all subterfuge and evasion, and only studying, by the magnanimity which he should now display, and the intrepidity with which he would encounter the expected sentence, to throw such a lustre over his character, as might prevent the smallest shade of that imputation which he so much dreaded, voluntarily confessed more than he was asked; and sought not to palliate any thing that related to himself, whilst he concealed with the most guarded and scrupulous nicety, whatever might involve others. He acknowledged—that the boat in which he came on shore carried no flag;—that he wore a furtout coat over his regimentals;—that although it was understood when he left the Vulture, that he should return that night, it was afterwards doubted; but that he was promised to be concealed on shore, in a place of safety, until the following night, when he was to return by the same way that he came. He likewise



wife acknowledged his change of dress in the camp; with all or most of the other circumstances which we have already stated; as well, as that Arnold's papers were found concealed in his boot; and that a letter from New York, signed John Anderson, was his own hand writing. Being interrogated by the board with respect to his conception of coming on shore under the sanction of a flag, he with a noble frankness said, that it was impossible for him to suppose he had come on shore under that sanction; adding, that if he had, he certainly might have returned under it.

The board were exceedingly struck with his candour and magnanimity; and sufficiently shewed how much they felt for his situation. Besides every possible mark of indulgence, and the utmost attention and politeness, they treated him with so scrupulous a delicacy, as to desire at the opening of the examination, that he would not answer any interrogatory whatever, which could at all embarrass his own feelings. André, was himself, deeply sensible of the liberality of their behaviour, particularly in this last instance; and declared to a gentleman, (who we'll suppose to be an American officer) that he flattered himself he had never been illiberal; but that if there were any remains of prejudice in his mind, his present experience must obliterate them.

The board did not examine a single witness; but founded their report merely upon his own confession. In that, after a recital of a few of the principal facts, particularly his passing, under a feigned name, and in a disguised

habit, their works at Stoney, and Verplanks Points, on the evening of the 22d, they then declare, that Major André, adjutant general to the British army, ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and, that agreeable to the law and usage of nations, it is their opinion, he ought to suffer death.

Washington wrote a short answer to Sir Henry Clinton, on the day after the sentence, in which he stated, that although Major André had been taken under such circumstances, as would have justified the most summary proceedings against him, he had, however, determined to refer his case to the examination and decision of a board of general officers, whose report, founded on his free and voluntary confession and letters, was enclosed. That from these proceedings it was evident, that Major André was employed in the execution of measures very foreign to the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant, in the most distant degree, to authorize or countenance; and that gentleman himself, had with the greatest candour confessed, it was impossible for him to suppose, that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag.

This drew another letter from Sir Henry Clinton; who, under a presumption, that the board of general officers could not have been rightly informed of all the circumstances on which their judgment ought to be founded, proposed to send Lieut. Gen. Robertson, the governor of New York, and two other gentlemen, as well to give his excellency a true



true state of facts, as to explain and declare to him his own sentiments and resolutions upon the subject. The gentlemen were to be at Dobb's Ferry on the following morning, to wait for Gen. Washington's permission and safe conduct, and to meet himself, or whoever else he should appoint, in order to converse upon the subject. He particularly urged it, as a matter of the highest moment to humanity, that the general should fully understand the whole state of the business, before he proceeded to carry the judgment of the board into execution.

Gen. Greene, the president of the late board, was appointed to meet Robertson; but his companions, Mr. Elliot, the lieutenant governor, and Mr. Smith, the chief justice of the province, were not permitted to come on shore. Gen. Robertson used his utmost ingenuity in this conference, upon the grounds which we have already seen, to shew, that André did not come within the character and description of a spy; dwelling particularly on his going ashore under the sanction of a flag; and that being then in Arnold's power, and in effect a prisoner, he was not accountable for his subsequent actions, which were all compulsory.

As Greene was far from admitting either his facts or conclusions, Mr. Robertson wished, that in an affair so interesting to humanity, and of so much consequence to both armies, as well as to his friend, who was so immediately concerned, the opinions of disinterested gentlemen, who were versed in the laws of war and na-

tions, might be taken on the subject; and he proposed Gen Knyphausen, and the French General Rochambeau, as proper persons to whom the business might be referred.

Humanity was the last string touched; but on which more hope seemed to be rested than any other. He said, he wished an intercourse of such civilities between the contending parties, as might lessen the horrors of war; quoted instances of Sir Henry Clinton's merciful disposition, and said that he had never put any person to death for a breach of the laws of war, although he now had, as well as at former times many labouring under that predicament in his power. He held out, that Major André possessed a great share of the general's esteem; and that he would be infinitely obliged for his liberation; and he offered, if the former was admitted to return with him to New York, to engage, that any person whatever who was named, should be set at liberty in return. He observed, that under the present circumstances, much good might arise from humanity, and much evil from the want of it.

Previous to this meeting, Arnold had written a second letter to Gen. Washington: which contained a declaration, that he considered himself no longer as acting under the Congress; and that his commission, which lay among his papers at West Point, might be disposed of as he thought proper. In this, as in the former, he took no small pains to convince that commander, of the  
since-



sincerity, as well as of the invincible nature, of his attachment to the true interests of his country.

Gen. Robertson presented now also, a long letter from him, tending to the exculpation of Major André, by rendering himself the author of every part of his conduct; and particularly insisting, on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had sent for the purpose. After a long statement and representation of circumstances, he declared, that if the board of generals, should notwithstanding adhere to their former opinion, he should suppose it dictated by passion and resentment; and if that gentleman should suffer the severity of their sentence, he should think himself bound by every tie of duty and honour, to retaliate on such unhappy persons of their army as might fall within his power, so that the respect due to flags, and to the law of nations, might be better understood and observed.—He also observed, that forty of the principal inhabitants of South Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which had hitherto been only spared through the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton; but who could no longer, in justice, extend his mercy to them, if Major André suffered; an event, which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt.—He abjured Washington, by his own honour, and for that of humanity, as well as from his love of justice, not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of André. But if that warning should be disregarded, and André notwithstanding suffer, he called hea-

ven and earth to witness, that he alone would be justly answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt in consequence.

It may well be doubted, whether any thing at that time could have increased the danger of the unhappy predicament in which André already stood; and Gen. Arnold's interposition must have been well intended; but letters from him, in the then state of things, it was evident could be of little service.

The succeeding day Oct. 2d. was to close the tragedy.

André was superior to the terrors of death; but that disgraceful mode of dying, which the usage of war had annexed to his unhappy situation, was, to him, infinitely dreadful. He equally wished to die like a soldier, and that, so far as it was possible, every trace and memorial of the cause which led to his fall might be erased. He had accordingly written a pathetic letter, fraught with all the feelings of a man of sentiment and honour, to Washington, imploring a mitigation in that respect. How far a relaxation of the rigid maxims and usages of war might upon this occasion with propriety have been indulged, is a question that involves too many considerations, for us to enter into. But as it was not deemed fitting to grant the request, it was thought humane to evade giving a direct answer. He encountered his fate with a composure, dignity and fortitude, which equally excited the admiration, and melted the hearts of all the spectators.

The sympathy which André excited in the American army, is perhaps



perhaps unexampled, under any similar circumstances. It was said, that the whole board of general officers shed tears, at the time of drawing up and signing the report; and that even Washington's eyes were not dry, upon hearing the circumstances of his death. His first request to that commander, of being treated with the distinction due to his rank and character, without regard to his then apparent condition, was, in every instance, excepting only what related to the mere manner of dying, most fully complied with. All those about him, or that he ever saw, treated him with the most marked attention, with the greatest tenderness, and the most scrupulous delicacy. The account of him given by Col. Hamilton aid de camp to Washington, seems rather the elegant eulogium of a warm friend, than the narrative of an enemy, describing the consequences of an attempt which he could not but abhor, and which in its success, would have gone to the destruction of himself, his party, and friends.

This sacrifice, which, in their situation, it is probable the Americans thought absolutely necessary, concluded this unfortunate transaction. Washington transmitted Mrs. Arnold to her husband at New York; who found himself obliged to acknowledge in one of his letters, the protection and kindness which she had received from that commander, as well as the obligations she was under to the gentlemen of his family. He likewise sent him his cloaths and baggage, which Arnold had written for. But with

respect to all other matters, his letters were passed over without the smallest notice.

The failure of Arnold's grand project, the unhappy event of which it was productive, (and which deeply affected the whole British army) with the other peculiar circumstances in which he was involved, seemed to render it indispensably necessary, that he should either perform such signal service, as would serve to spread a lustre upon his present situation, or at least take such irreconcilable measures with respect to his old friends, as should convince his new, that he left no room open for a future retreat. He was made a brigadier general in the British army in America; and it was hoped, that with the aid of the Loyalists, and the discontented of all sorts, under the allurements of British pay and promotion, he could raise a considerable body of forces, to act under his own separate command. If this could be compassed, he might again appear with eclat in the field, justify his defection by success, and by splendid action, dispel the clouds which hung upon his character.

His first public measure, was the issuing an address directed to the inhabitants of America.—In this piece, he takes a review of his own former conduct, assigns the motives on which it was founded, and then justifies his present, by declaring those which had induced him to join the king's arms. He had first encountered the dangers of the field, upon a conception, that the rights of his country were in danger, and that duty and honour called him to her



her defence. A redress of grievances was his only object. He however acquiesced in the declaration of independence, although he thought it precipitate. But the many plausible reasons which were urged to justify that measure could no longer exist, when Great Britain, with the open arms of a parent, offered to embrace them as children, and to grant the wished for redress. From the refusal of those proposals, and the pretended French alliance, which was made the ground of that refusal, all his ideas and opinions, with respect to the justice and policy of the war, were totally changed; and he from thence became a confirmed loyalist.

He throws a vast weight of censure upon the Congress, their leaders at large, and that class of undefined men, who are said to be criminally protracting the war, from sinister views, at the expence of the public interest. He talks of the thousands, who are suffering under the tyranny of the usurpers in the revolted provinces. He repeats many of the arguments which had been used by the late commissioners in America, and by the writers at that time on the British side, to shew the impolicy, tyranny, and injustice, which, along with a sovereign contempt of the people, had operated on the ruling powers, in studiously neglecting to take their collective sentiments on the British proposals of peace; and likewise to shew, that the treaty with France was not then by any means binding. He equally attacks France, and condemns the alliance; laments that the great in-

terests of that country were dangerously sacrificed, to the partial views of a proud, ancient, and crafty foe; calls her offer insidious; regards her as too feeble to establish their independency; charges her with being the enemy of the protestant faith; and with fraudulently avowing an affection for the liberties of mankind, while she holds her native sons in vassalage and slavery.

He seems to think that a great multitude, if not the body of the people, hold the same sentiments with respect to public affairs, which he had himself now avowed; and to account for his having so long acted directly contrary to this avowal, he openly acknowledges, that in those principles, he had only retained his arms and command for such an opportunity as he thought fitting for surrendering them to Great Britain; and that, (according to his own explanation) “in concerting the measures for  
“a purpose, in his opinion, as  
“grateful as it would have been  
“beneficial for his country, he  
“was only solicitous to accom-  
“plish an event of decisive im-  
“portance, and to prevent, as  
“much as possible, in the exe-  
“cution of it, the effusion of  
“blood.”

This was followed in about a fortnight, by a proclamation, inscribed *to the officers and soldiers of the continental army, who have the real interests of their country at heart, and who are determined to be no longer the tools and dupes of Congress, or of France.*

Under a persuasion, that the principles he had so lately avowed, animated the greatest part of the continent, he rejoiced in the opportunity



portunity he now had, of inviting those whom he addressed, to join his majesty's arms. He was authorized to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who with respect to pay, cloathing, and subsistence, were to be upon the same footing, with the other troops in the British service. As an allurement to the private men, they were to receive a bounty of three guineas each, besides payment, at the full value, for horses, arms, and accoutrements; and as he had the appointment of the officers, he should with infinite satisfaction embrace the opportunity of advancing men whose valour he had witnessed. It was, however, expected, that they should either bring in or recruit in a reasonable time, a certain number of men in proportion to their rank.

Great as these encouragements, he said, must appear, to those who had suffered every distress, of want of pay, hunger, and nakedness, from the neglect, contempt, and corruption of Congress, they were nothing to the motives which, he expected, would influence their brave and generous minds. He wished to lead a chosen band of Americans, to the attainment of peace, liberty and safety, and with them to share in the glory of rescuing their native country from the grasping hand of France, as well as from the ambitious and interested views of a desperate party among themselves, who had already brought the colonies to the very brink of destruction. Could they now want evidence, that the funds of their country were either exhausted, or that the managers had applied them to their own private uses? And, in either case,

could they any longer continue in their service with honour or advantage? The tyranny of their rulers, had robbed them of their property, imprisoned their persons, drags them to the field of battle, and is daily deluging their country with their blood.

He asked, what America was now, but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars? Even their last stake, religion, he represented to be in such danger, as to have no other security, than what depended upon the exertions of the parent country for their deliverance. In proof, or illustration of this, he asserted a fact upon his own knowledge; viz. That he had lately seen their mean and profligate Congress at mass, for the soul of a Roman Catholic in purgatory, and participating in the rites of a church, against whose anti-christian corruptions, their pious ancestors would have witnessed with their blood.

On this the writers in the American papers remarked, that no other man in America, had ever paid so marked an attention to, or ever entered into such close habits of intimacy and apparent friendship with the French agents, consuls, and residents in that country, as he had uniformly done. That his fine house at Philadelphia was not only at all times devoted to their service, but that he had maintained Monsr. Gerard, with his whole family and suite, for several weeks in it, in the most sumptuous manner, until the Congress were able to provide one proper for his reception. And that his constant magnificence and expence, in concerts, balls and entertainments, for the Gallican strangers,



strangers, were in a stile far superior to any thing of the sort before known in that part of the world; so that the French themselves considered him, as one of the warmest friends to their country on the whole continent. How far this is true, we are totally unable to determine. According to our custom, we fairly state the representations on both sides; and laying facts together, we do our best to enable the reader, to judge of the true condition of America, and the value of our expectations from the state of parties there.

The only public notice taken of Arnold's defection, on the side of America, was a proclamation issued by the executive power of the state in Pennsylvania, wherein his name was placed at the head of a list of ten supposed traitors, and of whom five were no higher than the rank of yeomen; who were all summoned to surrender by a given day, in order to abide trial for the treasons wherewith they were charged; or, in case of failure, to be subjected to all the pains penalties, and forfeitures, of high treason.

However disappointed by the failure of Gen. Arnold's original design, and of his subsequent proclamations, hopes were still entertained of the dissensions and distresses which prevailed in the revolted provinces; and which these proclamations appear by no means to have exaggerated. The depreciation of their paper currency was arrived at its ultimate pitch, and it produced all its natural consequences. Some of the earlier emissions of that currency, fell infinitely below their nominal value; that is, one hundred silver

dollars, produced as much value at market, as eight or ten thousand paper ones. And even the later emissions, or those which were most valued, had fallen at the rate of forty to one. At the same time, that the circumstances of the war, had raised the price of all foreign commodities, and of many of the most essential articles, to the most enormous pitch. Without supposing very much of mal-administration, we must suppose such a depreciation the inevitable consequence of vast paper emissions, without an adequate money fund to give them strength, and currency.

This particularly affected, and was indeed exceedingly ruinous to the American officers; for although the soldiers were ill clad, and otherwise greatly distressed, they were, however, on the whole, well supplied with provisions. But many, if not most of the officers, had been under a necessity of mortgaging their small estates, to the utmost which they could raise upon them, in order to support the enormous expences of the service. These grievances they had long and repeatedly remonstrated upon, both to the Congress, and to the governments of their respective states; nor were the complaints confined to subalterns, but proceeded equally from the field and general officers. After long waiting, with most astonishing patience, the issue of hopes and promises which were never realized, it was at length so much exhausted, and their wants became so urgent, that a great number of the officers were upon the point of throwing up their commissions, and said they must preserve themselves from

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utter



utter ruin, by returning to the care and management of their estates and private affairs. That they had hitherto freely spent their blood, and dedicated their lives, to the defence of their country; but that it would be most unreasonable to expect, that they alone, of all the members of the community, should be likewise destined to the sacrifice of their whole private fortunes for its service.

It may then be well considered as a singular circumstance, in this state of great discontent, and of no less real grievance, that such vast offers held out to them, should not have produced some very considerable effect in the American

army. And yet, the matter of fact is, that the example of a man of the highest military fame among them, so far from being the means of bringing over, even any small body or detachment of troops, does not seem to be fairly chargeable with the desertion of a single soldier, much less of an officer. It may not be easy to trace many instances in history, of an ill paid, and every respect ill provided army, however veteran in service, and elated by former success, and however knit together by many bands of union here wanting, which could have been proof to such a trial and temptation.

#### C H A P. IV.

*War in South Carolina. State of affairs after the battle of Camden. Inaction caused by the sickly season. Sequestration of estates. Col. Ferguson defeated and killed on the King's Mountain. Gen. Sumpter routed by Col. Tarleton. Brig. Gen. Leslie sent on an expedition from New-York to the Chesapeak. Proceeds to Charles Town, and joins Lord Cornwallis. Gen. Greene arrives in North Carolina, and takes the command of the Southern American army. Colonel Tarleton dispatched to oppose General Morgan, who advances on the side of Ninety-six. Tarleton defeated with great loss. Unfortunate consequences of the destruction of the light troops under Ferguson and Tarleton. Lord Cornwallis enters North Carolina by the upper roads. Leaves Lord Rawdon with a considerable force at Camden, to restrain the commotions in South Carolina. Vigorous, but ineffectual pursuit of Morgan. Destruction of the baggage in the British army. Admirable temper of the troops. Masterly movements by Lord Cornwallis for passing the Catawba. General Williamson killed, and his party routed. Militia surprised and routed by Tarleton. Rapid pursuit of Morgan, who notwithstanding passes the Yadkin, and secures the boats on the other side. British army march to Salisbury; from whence Lord Cornwallis proceeds with the utmost expedition to seize the fords on the river Dan, and thereby cut Greene off from Virginia. Succeeds in gaining the fords. Rapid pursuit of the American army. Their escape, by unexpectedly passing the Roanoke. Extraordinary exertions and hardships of the British army. Proceeds to Hillsborough. Expedition from Charles-Town*



*Town to Cape Fear River. Wilmington taken, and made a place of arms and supply. Gen. Greene, being reinforced, returns from Virginia; and the British army marches to Allemance Creek. Skirmish between Tarleton's corps, and Lee's Legion. Greene falls back to the Reedy Fork. Strange defect of intelligence, experienced by the British general in North Carolina. American army being farther reinforced, Gen. Greene again advances. Movements on both sides, preparatory to the battle of Guildford. Account of that severe and well-fought action. British officers killed and wounded. Col. Webster dies of his wounds. Gen. Greene retires to the Iron Works on Troublestone Creek. Lord Cornwallis obliged to march to the Deep River, through the want of provisions and forage. Necessities and distresses of the army, oblige Lord Cornwallis to proceed to Wilmington for supplies. Unusual consequences of victory.*

**D**URING these transactions on the side of New York, the excessive heats, and great unhealthiness of the season in South Carolina, had laid an insuperable restraint upon the arms and activity of Lord Cornwallis, for no small time after the battle of Camden. In the mean time he issued Sept. 16th. a proclamation for sequestrating the estates  
1780. of those persons within the province, who were either actually in arms with the enemy, who had abandoned their plantations with a view of joining or supporting them, or who, by an open avowal of rebellious principles, and other criminal acts, should manifest a desperate perseverance in opposing the re-establishment of his majesty's government. To give effect to this purpose, he appointed a commissioner to take possession of such estates and property, the annual product of which, excepting the part allotted for the maintenance of the families of those defaulters and absentees, was to be applied to the public service, in contributing to defray the expences of the war.

During this sickly season, by

which the army, notwithstanding its cessation from toil, was much affected, Lord Cornwallis had dispatched Col. Fergusson, with his own corps of light infantry, and a body of militia, likewise of his training, which was attached to it, to make incursions on the borders of North Carolina. If no great matter was expected from this expedition, yet, as he was neither incumbered with baggage or artillery, and that his troops were particularly distinguished by their activity and alertness; as little danger seemed to be hazarded in the experiment with a broken and dispirited enemy; and misfortune was farther guarded against by the instructions given to the commander, immediately to return upon the apprehension of any superior force; though in fact, none such was reasonably to be expected. There were several sufficient motives for this expedition. For besides, that the nature of that sort of troops, requires their being kept in almost continual motion and action, it seemed necessary to keep the war alive in some degree upon the frontier; as well to check the confidence of the



enemy, as to prevent the spirits of the loyalists in that province (where there were many more of the description than in any other) from sinking under the unavoidable delay and slow movement of the army.

Ferguson was tempted to stay longer in the mountainous country which partly borders on, and partly forms a part of, Tryon county in North Carolina, than was absolutely necessary, under the hope of cutting off a Col. Clarke, who was returning with his detachment from an expedition into Georgia; and was the more encouraged in this delay, from his not having an idea, that there was any force in the country at all able to look him in the face. A numerous, fierce and unexpected enemy, however, suddenly sprung up in the depth of the deserts. The scattered inhabitants of the mountains assembled without noise or warning, under the conduct of six or seven of their militia colonels, to the number of 1600, daring, well mounted, and excellent horsemen.

Col. Ferguson had already received orders from Lord Cornwallis for his return, and was on his way to pass the Catawba for that purpose. But discovering as he crossed the King's mountain, that he was eagerly pursued by a thick cloud of cavalry, he took the best position for receiving them which time and the place would admit of; and which happened to be by no means a bad one. But his men being neither covered by horse nor artillery, and being likewise dismayed, and astonished, at finding themselves so unexpectedly surrounded and attacked on every side by this cavalry, were not at

all capable of withstanding the impetuosity of their charge. A total rout ensued. The colonel, with 150 of his men were killed upon the spot; about the same number were wounded; and the prisoners, including the latter, exceeded 800. The Americans say they took 1500 stand of arms; and state Ferguson's force at 1400 men.

The fall of this officer, who possessed very distinguished talents as a partizan, and in the conduct of irregular warfare, was independently even of his detachment, no small loss to the service. He was perhaps the best marksman living; and probably brought the art of rifle shooting to its highest point of perfection. He even invented a gun of that kind upon a new construction, which was said to have far exceeded in facility and execution any thing of the sort before known; and he is said to have greatly outdone even the American Indians, in the adroitness and quickness of firing and loading, and in the certainty of hitting the mark, lying upon the back, or belly, and every other possible position of the body. It is not certain, that these improvements produced all the effect in real service, which had been expected, from those astonishing specimens of them that were displayed in England. Humanity cannot, however, but wish that this barbarous mode of hostility, was by universal consent, banished from the warfare of all nations. It has been reported, that Gen. Washington owed his life at the battle of Germantown to this gentleman's total ignorance of his person; as he had him sufficiently within



within reach and view during that action for the purpose.

This was the first reverse of fortune which Earl Cornwallis had experienced in his military career; but she seemed now to take vengeance for the delay; for the state of his force, and the nature of the war considered, few things could have been more peculiarly unlucky in the present juncture. It was, however, in some degree apparently recompensed, by the severe blow which Sumpter, not long after, received from Col. Tarleton.

Gen. Sumpter having raised about a thousand men, advanced towards Ninety-Six, with a view of attacking some of the posts in that neighbourhood, if not the place itself. Tarleton was then at such a distance, as afforded no room for apprehension of him, until, at least, some considerable part of the business was effected; but his motions were so sudden and unexpected, and he passed the Wateree, and the Broad River with such rapidity, that he had nearly surprized his too secure enemy on the South banks of the Ennoree, before he had the smallest apprehension of his danger. This being, however, prevented, by the lucky information of a deserter, Sumpter had barely time to pass that river with the utmost precipitation; but could not save his rear-guard from being cut to pieces.

He continued his flight to the River Tyger, and was pursued by Tarleton, with the cavalry of his legion, and the 63d regiment mounted on horseback, with the utmost rapidity; the infantry of the legion, with the artillery,

consisting of a single three pounder, being several miles behind. Sumpter perceiving the danger of attempting to cross the Tyger, with an enemy, flushed with success, close upon his rear, and having also received intelligence that Tarleton had come forward without his infantry, he took a strong position at a place called Black-Stocks, a little short of the river, and confiding in his own superiority of number, determined to stand his attack. This Tarleton did not then intend; for he only wanted to interrupt the flight of the enemy, and keep them in play, until he was joined by the rear; but the eager coming up of the 63d, and their being instantly attacked as they threw themselves from their horses, obliged him, at no small hazard, to put all at the issue, and to fall on directly with his cavalry. Notwithstanding the cover of some log houses, and the natural advantages of the place, the enemy were driven from their strong post, and forced to pass the river in the utmost disorder.

The Americans lost about 120 men, killed, wounded, or taken. Three of their colonels were among the slain. and Sumpter himself was dangerously wounded. They were certainly fortunate in bringing on the action before the arrival of the rear, as the whole party must otherwise have been inevitably cut off. Of the British troops above fifty were killed or wounded; among the former were some promising and gallant young officers. Tarleton pursued the blow, as soon as he had provided for the wounded; and crossing the river, did not



quit the pursuit until he had entirely dispersed Sumpter's corps.

It has perhaps produced no small effect on the fortune of the American war, that every considerable success obtained in its progress, has been eagerly considered at home as decisive and final, at least with respect to that quarter or part of the continent where the advantage was gained, if not to the whole. Nor has repeated experience of the mischief of such confidence, been able to prevent its revival when any new occasion was offered.

The victory at Camden seems to have been considered, even in America, as decisive with respect to the southern colonies; and no obstacle seems to have been understood in Lord Cornwallis's way from thence to the Chesapeake. North Carolina was only considered as the road to Virginia; the determined resistance, and the opposition in every instance of the inhabitants, do not appear to have been any more thought of, than the unconquerable disaffection of those in South Carolina. It must have been under these persuasions, that the commander in chief at New York, dispatched Brig. Gen. Leslie, with a corps of near 3000 choice troops, about the middle of October to the Chesapeake, in order to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis's operations in Virginia. It was likewise farther in view, that Leslie, with the aid of the marine by which he was conveyed, might, by taking proper stations towards the head of the Chesapeake, or in the vast rivers which fall into it, traverse any succours which were sent from the northern army to the south-

ward. But in all cases, he was to act entirely according to the orders which he should receive from Lord Cornwallis.

The troops were landed at Portsmouth, and other neighbouring places in Virginia, where they found some tobacco and stores; but the vessels which were seized in the harbours and rivers, were the most valuable part of the booty. This was, however, by no means an object to compensate for the delay, which the expedition in the Chesapeake, instead of proceeding directly to Charles-Town, necessarily occasioned to the operations of the southern army.

Lord Cornwallis being at too great a distance to profit of any operations upon the Chesapeake, and it being impossible to form a junction with Leslie's corps by that way, as soon as he had received advice from Sir Henry Clinton of the circumstances, immediately dispatched instructions to the fleet and troops, to proceed without delay to Charles-Town; where they arrived about the middle of December, and Leslie found orders in waiting, that he should immediately march with about 1500 of his men to join the army; the remainder, it seems, being deemed necessary, for the security of the capital, and the support of the communications.

Towards the close of the year, whilst Lord Cornwallis was making every preparation for a vigorous irruption into North Carolina, Gen. Greene was sent from the northern army by Washington, to take the command of the southern; Gates being now entirely retired; but, as we have here-



heretofore observed, not only without any mark of censure, but with an honourable testimonial of his zeal and services from the assembly of Virginia. Greene stands so high with the Americans as an officer, that he holds the next place to Washington in their military estimation; and, what does not always happen in such cases, is at the same time the great favourite of that commander. He brought no troops from the northern army; depending upon the resources of the southern colonies for their own defence; but was accompanied by Col. Morgan, a brave and distinguished partizan, who had commanded those riflemen in the northern war, that besides being fatal to many brave officers, became so terrible to the Indians under Gen. Burgoyne, and were so far superior to them in their own way, that, to use his own expressive words, they could not be brought within the sound of a rifle shot.

Early in the new year of 1781, Lord Cornwallis advanced with the army towards the borders, keeping his course between the Broad, and the Catawba rivers, until he arrived at a water, called Turney Creek, which falls into the former. Greene had by this time assembled his principal force in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina. In order to impede the progress of the royal army, which he was yet in no condition to encounter in the field, he thought it necessary to make a diversion on their left; and for that purpose, an attack was made upon the important, and now far from weak post of Ninety-Six; while to favour and support the diversion,

Morgan advanced, with about 500 regular troops (mostly belonging to Virginia) and some hundreds of militia, with a detachment of one hundred cavalry, under Col. Washington, upon the Pacolet river.

Tarleton was already on that side, with the legion, consisting of about 300 cavalry, and as many infantry, with the first battalion of the 71st, which was now annexed to it, and one three pounder; and being joined by the 7th regiment, which was marching with another three pounder to the relief of Ninety-Six, he received instructions from the commander in chief, to strike a blow, if possible, at Gen. Morgan; but at all events, to oblige him to pass the Broad River, and thereby prevent all future embarrassment on that side. Morgan retreated, and Tarleton pursued; a state of things, which naturally increases confidence and ardour on the one side, and generally depresses them on the other. Morgan at length found his enemy so close upon him, that he could not pass the Broad River, especially as the waters were exceedingly out, without exposing his troops to greater danger, than he thought he should hazard by an encounter. He accordingly, without hesitation, determined at once upon the part which he should take; and choosing his ground, boldly prepared for battle.

Tarleton came up with his enemy at Jan. 18th. 1781. eight in the morning, and nothing could appear more inviting than the prospect before him. They were drawn up on the edge of an open wood without defences;



defences ; and though their numbers might have been somewhat superior to his own, the quality of the troops was so different as not to admit a doubt of success ; which was still farther confirmed by his great superiority in cavalry ; so that every thing seemed to indicate a most complete victory. His line of attack was composed of the 7th regiment, with the foot of the legion, and the corps of light infantry annexed to it ; a troop of cavalry covered each flank. The first battalion of the 71st, and the remainder of the cavalry, formed a second line.

Morgan shewed uncommon ability and judgment in the disposition of his force. Seven hundred militia, on whom he placed no great confidence, were exposed to open view, as we have seen, in the first line, on the edge of the wood ; but the second, composed of the continental and Virginia troops, was out of sight in the wood ; where they were drawn up in excellent order, and prepared for all events.

The militia were little capable of sustaining the impetuosity of their assailants ; and were soon broken, routed, and scattered on all sides. It is not to be wondered at, that those troops who had been so long used to carry every thing before them, almost without resistance, now meeting with the usual facility, should at once conclude the day to be their own, and pursue the fugitives with the utmost rapidity. In the mean time, the second line having opened on the right and left in the wood, as well to lead the victors on, as to afford a clear passage for the fugitives, as soon as the

former were far enough advanced, poured in a close and deadly fire on both sides, which took the most fatal effect. The ground was, in an instant, covered with the killed and wounded ; and those brave troops who had been so long inured to conquer, were, by this severe and unthought of check, thrown into irremediable disorder and confusion.

A total defeat was the immediate consequence. The 7th regiment lost their colours ; and the brave men of the royal artillery, who attended the two pieces of cannon, with the characteristic intrepidity and magnanimity of their corps, scorning either to abandon or surrender their guns, were cut to pieces by them. The loss every way, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeded 400 men. Tarleton, in the midst of defeat, exhibited a trait of his character and spirit. When all was lost, he notwithstanding rallied a part of his routed cavalry, who were still ashamed to abandon an officer who had so often led them to victory ; with these he unexpectedly charged and repulsed Washington's horse ; and had the fortune of retaking the baggage, the slender guard in whose custody it was left being cut to pieces. This, however, from the impossibility of carrying it off, he was obliged mostly to destroy.

This blow, coming so closely upon that at the King's Mountain, produced effects worse than could have been feared from such partial disasters. Indeed they seemed seriously to have influenced all the subsequent operations of the war, and deeply affected its general fortune. The loss of the  
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light troops, especially of the cavalry, could scarcely be repaired; and the nature of the war, rendered this sort of force one of its most effectual arms.

It was the more grievous to Lord Cornwallis, from its being one of those unexpected events, which as it could neither be foreseen nor apprehended, no wisdom could possibly provide against. Most of the troops that were now defeated, had been much distinguished, and constantly successful. It is not even clear that there was any disparity in point of number; and if there had, from long and confirmed experience, it could not have been a matter of much consideration. Nor was it even to be supposed, that Morgan would in any possible circumstance have ventured an engagement; for Greene had already, upon the advance of Lord Cornwallis, abandoned Mecklenburgh county, and retired to the eastern side of the Pedee; which increased the distance so much, that his retreat, under the consequences of an action, seemed extremely hazardous.

The plan adopted by Lord Cornwallis for the winter campaign, was to advance to North Carolina, by the upper, instead of the lower roads, or in other words, to make his way on the western side, instead of keeping the central course through both provinces. Among other motives for this choice, was the hope of cutting Morgan off, or if that failed, at any rate to drive him entirely out of South Carolina, and thereby to relieve Ninety-six, and all that side, from trouble and danger while he pushed for-

ward. Another motive not less cogent for taking the upper road was, that it kept nearer the heads of the rivers, and accordingly led to the fords, which generally lie above their forks; whereas the great rivers were at that season, nearly, if not entirely impassable below the forks, which was the course that the lower road took.

The objects in view with Lord Cornwallis were, by rapid marches, to get between Gen. Greene and Virginia, and by cutting off his reinforcements from that country, either reduce him to a necessity of fighting with his present force, or of giving up the cause altogether, by abandoning North Carolina with precipitation and disgrace. In either case, as he had no doubt of success in the former an opportunity would be afforded, and encouragement given to the loyalists, to fulfil their promises of a general rising, in order to assist in the re-establishment of the British government. In this flattering state of things, government being established, and the province competent to the maintenance of its own internal security, it would likewise prove the means of securing the tranquility of South Carolina. And thus every thing being secured behind, he might then well look forward, with the warmest hopes, and with every prospect of advantage, to the prosecution of his intended operations in Virginia, Maryland, and even still farther northward.

Lord Cornwallis was not less attentive to the security of South Carolina during his absence, than he was to the providing for the active operations of the army under his own immediate command.

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For this purpose, besides the stationary force at Charles-Town, he left a considerable body of troops under the conduct of Lord Rawdon; whose central situation at Camden, was equally calculated to repress the insurgents within the province, and to maintain the frontiers. A measure indeed that greatly lessened his active force, already too much weakened by the late losses; but which the situation of affairs rendered indispensibly necessary. For Green's situation, hanging with his force upon the eastern banks of the Pedee, whose waters covered him from all near danger, would have afforded him such a command of a great part of the southern frontier, when the main army had pushed on to the northward, as would have endangered, at least, all the eastern side of the province, without such a check as was now provided. And to this was to be added, that South Carolina itself was still torn to pieces by internal commotions, which indeed seemed rather to increase than to lessen with loss and defeat; and that, as Sumpter, Marion, and their other leaders, had now made it a rule to mount all their adherents, and to act entirely on horseback; it became a matter of no small difficulty, either to repress or to punish their irruptions.

Lord Cornwallis, with his usual alertness, immediately dispatched a part of the army, unincumbered with baggage, in the hope of intercepting Morgan, or at least of recovering the prisoners; while he staid behind a day with the remainder, for the purpose of collecting the remains of Tarleton's corps. Nothing could exceed the

exertions made by the pursuing troops; but such was the celerity of the enemy, and such the difficulties they encountered, from violent and continual rains, and the consequent swelling of the numberless creeks in their way, that all their efforts were fruitless; and Morgan had gained the upper fords on the Catawba, before they could possibly reach them.

Upon the failure of intercepting Morgan, the army was assembled on the 25th of January, at Ramfoure's Mills, on the south fork of the Catawba. And as the loss of the light troops could only be remedied by the general activity of the whole army, Lord Cornwallis spent two days in the destruction of all the superfluous baggage, and of every thing whatever, which could retard the celerity of the troops, and which was not absolutely necessary to their existence or action. Upon this principle, all the waggons, excepting those loaded with hospital stores, salt, or ammunition, and four empty ones, reserved for the sick or wounded, were destroyed. The temper with which they submitted not only to this, but to a number of other unusual trials and hardships, does infinite honour to every part of that army. They beheld the destruction of their most valuable, and even much of their most necessary baggage; they beheld their spirituous liquor staved, at a season when it would be most wanted, and upon the entrance of a service, which cut off every prospect and hope of a future supply; and the moderate pittance of flower, which they were able to procure and to carry along with them, was their only certain resource for subsistence;



ance; yet these difficulties and evils, new and strange as they were, were submitted to with the most general and chearful acquiescence. It seemed indeed the less irksome, as the example was set by the commander in chief himself with the utmost rigour. It was a new phenomenon in a modern army, to behold the general's quarters incapable of affording a glass of wine, or of any kind of strong liquor, and his table as destitute of any thing orderly or comfortable, and even of furniture, as the common soldier's.

The north fork of the Catawba, had been rendered impassable for several days by the rains; and all the fords for more than forty miles above the fork, were besides vigilantly guarded by detachments of the enemy; composed not only of Morgan's corps, but of the militia of the two neighbouring counties of Rowen and Mecklenburg, (both of which were peculiarly inimical to the royal cause) under the conduct of a General Davidson. Lord Cornwallis approached the river by short marches during its height, and by several movements and feints, which indicated a design of forcing his way at different fords before they were yet passable, endeavoured to divide and distract the attention of the enemy. In the mean time, he spared no pains to procure all possible information, as well of the nature of the river, and of the country on the other side, as of the state and condition of the enemy. His plan being settled, and the waters somewhat fallen, he detached Colonel Webster, with a part of the army, and all the remaining baggage, to a ford

called Beattie's, which lies six miles higher up the river, than another principal ford, which is known by the name of M'Cowen's. General Davidson, was supposed to be posted with 500 militia at Beattie's; and Webster had instructions to make every possible demonstration, as well by cannonading as by manœuvres, of his determination to force a passage at that ford.

While Webster was gone upon this service, Lord Cornwallis with the remainder of the army, consisting of the brigade of guards, the regiment of Bose, the 23d, 200 cavalry, and two three pounders, began his march Feb. 1st. about one in the morning, to a private ford, about a mile from M'Cowen's, which was the real object of attempt. The morning being very dark and rainy, and part of their way being thro' a wood where there was no road, the artillery were so embarrassed in a swamp, that the line of march was pushed on to the ford without them; where the head of the column arrived just at the opening of the day. The general soon perceived by the number of fires on the other side, that the ford was much better guarded, and the opposition would consequently be greater than he expected. This rendered the delay of the artillery the more vexatious. But as he knew that the rain then falling would soon render the river impassable, and had before received intelligence, that Greene was on full march from the Pedee, with his whole force, to join Morgan, he saw that something must necessarily be hazarded at the present.



to avoid greater future difficulties; and being likewise full of confidence in the zeal and gallantry of Brig. General O'Hara, and of the brigade of guards under his command which formed the head of the column, he determined on the attempt; and directly ordered them to march on through the river, and to prevent confusion, charged them not to fire, until they had gained the opposite bank.

The guards, and their commander, fully justified the high opinion which Lord Cornwallis had entertained of them. The terrors and difficulties of an untried river, upwards of five hundred yards wide, with a strong current, a rocky bottom, water up to the middle, and exposed through the whole passage, to the deliberate aim, and continual fire of the enemy, were equally incapable of making any impression on their cool and determined valour, and of, in any degree, affecting the excellency of their discipline. The light infantry of the guards, being the first that were landed, instantly formed, and in a few minutes killed or dispersed every thing that appeared before them. Gen. Davidson, who unexpectedly, and for himself unfortunately, had arrived at this post, with 300 militia on the preceding evening, was, with some other officers, found among the slain. Colonel Hall of the guards, was the only officer who fell on the British side; and though a good many private men were wounded, yet the loss in every respect would appear incredibly small to those, who are not accustomed to consider the prodigious difference between real and

estimated danger, in many parts of military action.

In the mean time, the rear of the column being come up, and the whole passed with the utmost expedition over the river, Colonel Tarleton was dispatched with the cavalry, supported by the 23d regiment, in pursuit of the fugitives, and likewise to scour and examine the country. Having received intelligence from the prisoners, that three or four hundred of the militia, were to assemble that day at a place about ten miles distant, he eagerly seized that opportunity, as well of avenging, as of effacing the memory of the late disaster. He therefore, immediately quitting the infantry, proceeded thither at the head of the cavalry with the utmost expedition; his arrival being so sudden and unexpected, that a complete surprize, great execution, and total dispersion, were almost the instantaneous consequences. This severe stroke, along with the preceding defeat at the ford, had such an effect upon the militia, who had hitherto only heard of the rigours and dangers of war, that they not only immediately abandoned all their posts on the river, but were so totally cowed and dispirited, that they did not once after, in any manner, make the smallest attempt to interrupt the progress of the army in its march to the Yadkin, although its course lay (to use Lord Cornwallis's own words) through one of the most rebellious tracts in America.

Though the enemy had abandoned Beattie's Ford, yet the continual fall of rain, and swelling of the river, had rendered the passage



stage both tedious and difficult to Colonel Webster. It was, however, at length accomplished towards the evening; and he was enabled to join the commander in chief, in some time after dark, at about six miles distance from the ford.

Intelligence being received, that Morgan had commenced a forced march in the afternoon, which it was afterwards found that he had continued through the night, to the northward, towards Salisbury, the desire of retaliating on that commander, was so strong with the army, that they pursued him in the morning with the utmost spirit and vigour; hoping, notwithstanding the distance he had gained, by dint of exertion, still to overtake or intercept him while he was entangled among the rivers. But the difficulties of bad roads, bad weather, and swelled creeks, which they had to surmount, were so great and so numerous, that it could not possibly be done, with the effect that was wished. Morgan had arrived at the trading fort on the Yadkin, in the night between the second and third of February, and during the remainder of that, and in the course of the following day, had passed the body of his infantry, with the cavalry, and most of the waggons over the river; so that when the guards, by a course of the most strenuous exertions, had come up in the evening, they could only rout and disperse his rear, and take the few remaining waggons.

Morgan having secured the boats on the other side, and the ford through which he had passed his waggons and cavalry being now rendered impassable by the sudden

rise of the river, Lord Cornwallis determined to march to the upper fords, which, as we before observed, are generally passable; but he was under a necessity of making some short delay by the way at Salisbury, for the procuring of a hasty and scanty supply of provisions. In the mean time he received intelligence, that Morgan had quitted the banks of the Yadkin, and that Greene was marching with the utmost dispatch to form a junction with him at Guildford. The British commander knowing that Greene had not yet received his reinforcements from Virginia, nor even had time to collect the North Carolina militia, was sensible, that he would by all possible means avoid an engagement in the latter, and of course endeavour to make his way into the other where his support lay. To counteract this design was therefore his great object; and he accordingly endeavoured with the utmost diligence, and every degree of exertion, to get before him to the river Dan; for that river, and the Roanoke into which it falls, form the boundary between the two provinces; and by seizing the upper fords on the first, he hoped to reduce Greene to a necessity either of fighting, or of abandoning his communication with, and all hope of succour from Virginia; while, in the latter case, he would run no small risque of being inextricably enclosed and hemmed in, between the great rivers on the west, the sea on the east, and the forces under the Lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, on the north and south.

It was now a trial of dispatch between both, armies which should first



first gain the northern frontier. The British succeeded, and cut Greene off from the upper fords; and Lord Cornwallis being assured, that the lower were impracticable, and that the country could not afford any number of boats, at all sufficient for the passage of Greene's army, thought he could not now escape without a decisive blow, and accordingly pursued him with the utmost expedition. This was, however, impeded by great and numerous difficulties. The intelligence to be obtained, was not only extremely defective, but seems to have been intendedly delusive; the want of light troops was now severely felt; and the enemy by their abundance of them, were enabled to break down all the bridges in the line of march, and to throw numberless other impediments in the way of the army. Upon their arrival at Boyd's Ferry, they discovered to their inexpressible grief and vexation, that all their toil and exertions had been vain, and that all their hopes were frustrated. The enemy had been furnished with boats sufficient, (in direct contradiction to all the intelligence received by the British general) to convey their whole army and baggage, on the preceding day and night, over the river.

Nothing ever exceeded, except the vigour and perseverance with which they were encountered and surmounted, the hardships, and difficulties, which the army endured in this long course of march, from Salisbury to the Dan, and then in the pursuit of Greene to Boyd's Ferry. Their wants and distresses were not less than their toils and

fatigues. They traversed a country, which was alternately a wild and inhospitable forest, or inhabited by a people, who were at least highly adverse, however they might venture, or not, to be hostile. When to these we add all the possible inconveniences, incident to bad roads, heavy rains, want of cover, and the continual wading through numberless deep creeks and rivers in the depth of winter, we shall still form only very faint and inadequate ideas of the sufferings which they endured.

The army being in no condition to venture the invasion of so powerful a province as Virginia, in the present circumstances, and North Carolina being in a state of the utmost disorder and confusion, Lord Cornwallis, after giving the troops a day's rest, led them by easy marches to Hillsborough, where he erected the royal standard, and issued a proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it, and to take an active part in assisting him to restore order and constitutional government to the colony.

During these transactions, Colonel Balfour, who commanded at Charles-Town, equipped a small force for an expedition to Cape Fear River, not only to co-operate with Lord Cornwallis by a diversion on that side, and by gaining possession of Wilmington, but likewise to make that way a conveyance for the furnishing his army with those necessary supplies, which, in the present state of the war, could scarcely be done in any other manner. Major Craig, with about 300 land forces, was dispatched upon this service towards the latter end of January; and the men were



were convoyed and supported by Capt. Barclay, in the Blonde frigate, with the Otter and Delight sloops of war; the marine force and the troops, being equally partakers in the fortune of the enterprise.

Capt. Barclay landed all the marines, in order to supply the weakness of the land force, about nine miles short of Wilmington; the inhabitants sent a deputation to propose terms, which were not listened to; and the town being abandoned by its defensive force, consisting of about 150 men, was taken without resistance. The inhabitants delivered up their arms, were admitted to parole, and secured in their property. The British commanders being informed, that several vessels loaded with provisions, amunition, and the effects of those who were in arms, as well as of some Spaniards and French, who had lately settled at Cape Fear, had escaped up the north-east branch of that river, pursued them both by land and water; four or five were accordingly taken, and some others burnt by the enemy. The batteries being closed in, and the works repaired or completed, Wilmington was made a post of some sort of strength, and continued for some little time to be of importance.

Lord Cornwallis being informed, that a considerable number of loyalists inhabited the country between the Haw and the Deep rivers, he dispatched Col. Tarleton with the cavalry, and a small body of infantry, to prevent any interruption in their assembling or moving. But it happened most

unluckily, that a part of the enemy's light troops had entered the country on one side, at the very time that the British detachment entered it on another; and that they fell in with a body of about 200 of these people, who under the conduct of a Colonel Pyle, were on their way to join the royal army at Hillsborough. These unfortunate royalists, who had notice of Tarleton's approach, mistaking the enemy for his detachment, and not being yet apprehensive of the wiles and circumvention of war, suffered themselves, without the smallest effort, to be enclosed and surrounded; when, without resistance, and it is said, crying out for quarter, a number of them were most inhumanly put to the sword!

In the mean time, Lord Cornwallis having received intelligence, that Greene being reinforced in Virginia had repassed the Dan, he thought it necessary to collect his force by recalling Tarleton; and forage and provisions growing scarce in the neighbourhood of Hillsborough, and the position being too distant to afford countenance and protection to the well affected upon the advance of the enemy, he thought it expedient to make a movement to the Haw River, which he passed, and encamped near Allemance Creek; having pushed Tarleton a few miles forward towards the Deep River, with the cavalry, the light company of the guards, and 150 of Webster's brigade. Greene's light troops soon made their appearance; upon which Tarleton received orders to move forward, and, with proper precaution, to make what discovery



discovery he could of the motions and designs of the enemy,

March 2d. Tarleton had not advanced far when he fell in with a considerable corps of the enemy, whom he instantly attacked, and soon routed; but being ignorant of their force, how they were supported, and grown circumspect from experience, he with great prudence restrained his ardour, and desisted from the pursuit. He soon learned from the prisoners, that those he had defeated were the corps called Lee's legion, with three or four hundred Back Mountain men, and some militia, under a Colonel Preston. He likewise discovered through the same intelligence, that Greene, with a part of his army, was at no great distance.

It appeared afterwards, though it does not seem to have been then known to the British general, that Greene had yet only received a part of the reinforcements he expected; and that a more considerable body were then on their way to join him from Virginia. This induced him to fall suddenly back to Thompson's House, near Boyd's Ford, on the Reedy Fork. It is remarkable, and deserving of particular notice, that although this part of the country, where the army now was, was considered and distinguished, as being peculiarly and zealously attached to the British cause and interest; and yet, that Lord Cornwallis should have had occasion pathetically to complain, that his situation was amongst timid friends, and adjoining to inveterate rebels; and, that between them, he had been totally destitute of information; by which

means, he lost a very favourable opportunity of attacking the rebel army.

Though Greene had thus fallen back with his main body, he left his light troops and militia to forage and occupy the country in the front of the British army; and those, in defiance of repeated examples, which might well have served to keep them constantly alert and upon their guard, seeming totally to forget the sort of enemy, to whose eyes and observation they were exposed, were dispersed, and posted carelessly at several plantations, consulting only their convenience, and the facility of subsistence. This situation induced Lord Cornwallis to put the army suddenly in motion; with a view, not only of beating up their quarters, and driving them in upon the army, but of attacking Greene himself, if any fair opportunity should offer. He completely succeeded in the first part of his design; and at Weitzell's Mill, on the Reedy Fork, where they ventured to make a stand, the Back Mountain men, and some Virginia militia, suffered considerably; and the second part only failed, through Greene's making a timely and precipitate retreat over the Haw River.

The vicinity of the fords on the Dan, which lay in the rear of the enemy, and the extreme difficulty of subsisting the army, in the intermediate exhausted country, rendered it in vain for the British general to pursue them over the Haw, under any hope of being able to force them to action. He thought therefore, the most eligible course which he could in the present



present state of things pursue, was, by effectually covering their country, to afford the friends of the royal cause time and encouragement to assemble, and to join the army; keeping an eye at the same time to Cape Fear River; the communication with which it would soon become indispensibly necessary to open, through the grievous distresses of the army, which were now become nearly insupportable, under the want of supplies of every species. He was, however, determined to fight the enemy in the mean time, if their army at all approached, under a full conviction, that nothing less than a clear and decided superiority in arms, could answer the great purpose and end of their exceedingly toilsome and arduous winter campaign, which was to draw forth into action, the supposed numerous loyalists who inhabited that province.

In pursuance of this plan, the army encamped, on the 13th of March, at the Quaker Meeting-house, within the forks of the Deep River. On the following day, Lord Cornwallis was informed, that General Butler, with a body of North Carolina militia, together with the unexpected reinforcements from Virginia, had all joined Greene; this was accompanied with a very exaggerated representation of his force, which was stated at no less than nine or ten thousand men; an intelligence, which was considerably nearer the truth, that he was in full march to attack the British army. On the same evening he received authentic intelligence, that Greene had advanced to

Guildford, which was only about twelve miles from the British camp.

Lord Cornwallis being now pretty well persuaded that the enemy intended to venture an engagement, thought it necessary to send the waggons and baggage, under a stronger escort than he could well spare, to Bell's Mill, which was considerably lower down on the Deep River, in the heart of the well-affected country; and on the following morning, March 15. at day-break, he marched with the remainder of the army, either to meet the enemy on the way, or to attack them in their encampment. About four miles from Guildford, the advanced guard, under Col. Tarleton, fell in with Col. Lee's legion, and those other light troops whom they had before engaged. These Tarleton again attacked and routed; and the army continuing its march, soon discovered the enemy drawn up in order of battle, upon a rising ground, about a mile and a half from Guildford courthouse. The light troops who had been defeated, having been several days entirely detached from Greene's army, the prisoners now taken could give no manner of account, of the order, numbers, or disposition of the enemy; and the country people, who were examined as to the nature of the ground, whether from stupidity or design, were so exceedingly inaccurate, if not unintelligible in their descriptions, as to afford very little satisfaction upon the subject. Indeed the difficulty of procuring intelligence, and the little reliance to be placed upon that



which was obtained, seem to be among the distinguishing features of the war in this province.

Under these embarrassing circumstances, the British General was obliged to adopt his dispositions and measures, principally, to the apparent face of the country and disposition of the enemy. The country in general presented a wilderness, covered with tall woods which were rendered intricate by shrubs and thick underbrush; but which was interspersed here and there, by a few scattered plantations and cleared fields. In the space immediately between the head of the column and the enemy, was a considerable plantation, one large field of which, was on the left hand of the line of March, and two others, with a wood, of about two hundred yards broad, lying between them, was on the right of it; and beyond these fields, the wood continued for several miles to the right. In the front, beyond the plantation, was another wood, of about a mile in depth; and its back opened into an extensive space of cleared ground which surrounded Guildford courthouse. The woods on the right and left, were reported to be impracticable for cannon; the enemy's first line appeared drawn up on the skirts of that in the front.

The wood on the right, appearing to be somewhat more open than its opposite, induced Lord Cornwallis to direct his attack against the enemy's left wing; and the artillery were brought up the road to cannonade their center, whilst he was making his dispositions in the followieg order. On the right, the Hessian regiment of Bose, with the 71st British, were

led by Major-general Leslie, and supported by the first battalion of guards. On the left, the 23d and 33d regiments, were led by Col. Webster, and supported by the grenadiers, and the second battalion of guards, under the conduct of Brigadier-General O'Hara. The German yagers, with the light infantry of the guards, remained in the wood, on the left of the guns; and the cavalry, under Col. Tarleton, were drawn up in the road, in readiness to act as circumstances might require.

Gen. Greene's army was drawn up in three lines; the front line, which was only in sight, was composed of the two North Carolina brigades of militia, under their own Generals Butler and Eaton. The second line, drawn up at a proper distance in the wood, was composed of two brigades of Virginia militia, commanded by the Generals Stephens and Lawson. But the hope and main strength of the army, was placed in the third line, which consisted of two brigades of Virginia and Maryland continental (or regular) troops, under the conduct of Gen. Huger and Col. Williams. Col. Washington, with his dragoons, a detachment of continental light infantry, and Lynch's regiment of riflemen, formed a separate corps to cover the right flank; and Col. Lee, with his legion, a detachment of light infantry, and Campbell's riflemen, were appointed to cover the left.

It is probable that Greene's whole force did not fall much, if any thing, short of 6000 men; and it seems as probable, from the long service they had gone through, and the consequent thinness of the batta-



battalions, as well as from other preceding and subsequent circumstances, that Lord Cornwallis's forces could scarcely exceed a third of that number. The accounts published at the time on either side, being always calculated to make certain impressions, and to answer immediate purposes, can never afford a clue to accurate estimate in such cases. The similarity between Greene's dispositions on this day, and those which had lately succeeded so well with Morgan, cannot fail of striking every one who attentively considers both; the resemblance will likewise appear in some parts of the action, as well as in the plan or design.

The action began about half an hour past one o'clock in the afternoon; when Major General Leslie found himself so much out-flanked by the enemy's left, that he was obliged to bring the first battalion of guards forward into the line, to the right of the regiment of Bose; after which he was not long in defeating every thing that yet appeared before him. At the same time, Col. Webster, who advanced with equal vigour on Leslie's left, was no less successful in his front; but finding that the 33d was exposed to a very heavy fire from the enemy's right wing, he suddenly and judiciously changed his front to the left, and being supported by the yagers, and light infantry of the guards, attacked and routed them on that side; while the grenadiers, and second battalion of guards, moved forward to occupy the ground in the center, which he had just quitted.

All the infantry being now in the line, Col. Tarleton was di-

rected to keep his cavalry entire and compact, and not to charge by any means without orders, excepting only, the most evident necessity of protecting some corps from defeat or ruin. In fact, notwithstanding this beginning success, all the severity and danger of the action was yet to come. For, although the North Carolina militia, in the first line, had shamefully abandoned their post, and ran away, without at all standing the conflict; the Virginia militia, in the second line, were by no means influenced by their example; they, on the contrary, stood their ground for a considerable time, and fought with great resolution; and when they were at length broken, and driven back upon the continental troops in the third line, the battle then became only the more arduous and doubtful. It was indeed an action of almost infinite diversity. The excessive thickness of the woods, had rendered the bayonet in a great measure useless; had enabled the enemy, however broken, to rally, to fight in detachment, and to make repeated and obstinate stands; it had necessarily and entirely broken the order of battle; and separated and disjoined the British corps, who could know no more of each other, than what they gathered from the greatness, the continuance, or the course of the firing, in different quarters. Thus the battle degenerated into a number of irregular, but hard-fought and bloody skirmishes.

On the right, the first battalion of guards, with the regiment of Bose, after they imagined that they had nearly carried every thing before them, were warmly en-



gaged in front, flank and rear, not only with such parts of the routed or broken enemy who had again rallied, but with a part of the extremity of their left wing, which, through the closeness of the wood, had been passed, unbroken and unobserved. A similar firing was continued on the left, where Webster's corps was engaged. In the mean time, the 71st regiment, with the grenadiers, and the second battalion of guards, which were in the center, being uncertain what was passing on either hand, but hearing the fire advance on the left, continued to move on along the road through the wood, being accompanied by the artillery, which kept pace with them, and followed by the cavalry. The guards first gained the cleared ground, near Guildford Court-house, where they found a corps of continental infantry, formed in the open field on the left of the road.

Though the enemy were much superior in number, the second battalion of guards, glowing with impatience to signalize themselves, instantly attacked, and routed them with such effect, as to take their cannon; but pursuing them with too much ardour into the wood, they were suddenly thrown into confusion by a very heavy and unexpected fire; and being instantly charged by Col. Washington, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, the disorder was irretrievable, and they were driven back, and pursued into the field, with the loss of the two 6 pounders which they had just taken. The fortune of the day, at this instant, seemed only to hang by a single hair. The critical bringing up of

two 3 pounders, and their well-timed and well-directed fire, under the conduct of Lieutenant Macleod of the artillery, served to repulse, or at least to keep at bay, the cavalry for the present, and afforded some leisure for breathing and recovery to the guards. In the mean time, the grenadiers, with the 71st regiment, whose passage had been impeded by some deep ravines they fell in with on their way, began to appear, coming out of the wood on the right; which as it could not fail to damp the enemy, served equally to inspirit the royal troops, and to facilitate the endeavours of Brig. Gen. O'Hara; who, notwithstanding his being sorely wounded, was using the most spirited and successful exertions in rallying the guards. They accordingly, being now confirmed and supported by the coming up of the grenadiers, returned to the charge with fresh ardour; and to render the affair decisive, the 23d regiment arrived at that instant from the left, and Tarleton came sweeping on with his cavalry. Such a conjunction of favourable circumstances could not but produce their effect. The enemy were attacked on all sides; defeated; and not only lost the two first 6 pounders, which they had so lately recovered, but two others, being the whole artillery which they had brought into the field.

About the same time, the 33d regiment, and the light infantry of the guards, after long action, and overcoming many difficulties, had entirely routed the corps which were opposed to them on the left; so that the action being  
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now entirely ended on that side, the 23d and 71st regiments, with part of the cavalry, were dispatched in pursuit of the flying enemy. In the mean time a heavy firing was still continued in the woods on the right, where the first battalion of guards, and the regiment of Bose, had their hands fully engaged with the militia, in a sort of action which was entirely suited to the habits and genius of the latter. The appearance of the cavalry, and the spirited attack made by Tarleton, contributed much to extricate those regiments, and to occasion the dispersion of the militia in the woods.

Thus ended the very sharp, hard-fought, and exceedingly diversified action at Guildford. An action, in which the persevering valour, and admirable discipline of the British troops, were most eminently distinguished. Nothing less, indeed, than an unlimited portion of the one, and an unequalled perfection in the other, could have triumphed against so great a superiority of force, and such insuperable difficulties of ground. Lord Cornwallis declared, in public orders, that he should ever consider it as the greatest honour of his life, to have been placed at the head of so gallant an army; and the merit was so general, that every corps, and almost every officer above the rank of a subaltern, received his public thanks and acknowledgments for their particular and distinguished services. Among these, we must not forget the brave Hessian regiment of Bose, and their gallant commander, Major de Buy.

No public acknowledgment could be made (nor would it have

been adequate if there could) of the noble commander's own merits; which, if possible, were more highly distinguished on this day, than in the most brilliant of his former actions. Notwithstanding an exceeding bad state of health, he seemed to be every where present; and afforded support and relief to every corps that was hard pressed. It was then no wonder, that two horses were shot under him; but it may well be deemed such, that he escaped himself unhurt.

On the other side it must be acknowledged, that several of the American corps disputed the day with great constancy; and that they rallied, returned to the charge, and stood several severe shocks, with a perseverance and courage, which would have done honour to veteran troops. The rebel cavalry very much distinguished themselves. It would likewise seem, that Greene shewed no common share of ability, in the drawing up of his army, the choice of his ground, and such a disposition of his force, as was suited both to its nature and theirs. Nor does any want of generalship appear in the course and conduct of the action. The exceeding bad behaviour of the first line, both with respect to effect and example, was sufficient to have introduced disorder and dismay in any army; and could not but greatly influence the fortune of the day.

The loss on the British side, in any comparative estimate, drawn from the length, circumstances, and severity of the action, would appear very moderate; but if considered, either with respect to the number of the army, its ability to



bear the loss, or the intrinsic value of the brave men who fell or were disabled, it was great indeed. In the whole it exceeded 500 men; of whom, though scarcely a fifth were killed on the spot, many died afterwards of their wounds; and, undoubtedly, a much greater number were disabled from all future service. At any rate, the army was deprived of about one-fourth in number (and that by no means the least effective) of its present force. The guards lost Col. Stuart, with the Captains, Schutz, Maynard, and Goodricke, besides subalterns. Col. Webster, a brave, experienced, and distinguished officer, who commanded the brigade on the left, died of his wounds, to the no small loss of the service, and the very great regret of the general as well as the army. The Brigadier-Generals O'Hara and Howard, as well as Col. Tarleton, and several other officers, were wounded.

The Americans gave no fair state of their loss; which would have been alone a sufficient reason for concluding it to be very considerable. They only published an account of the killed and wounded of the continental troops, who formed but a small part of their army. It was said, that all the houses for many miles round were filled with their wounded. The action was spread through so wide an extent of country, and that so thickly wooded, that the victors could form no estimate of the slain. But whatever that might be, their principal loss consisted in the desertion of that part of the militia who were within any reach of home; for they, according to esta-

blished custom, seized the opportunity of being dispersed in the woods by an action, to make the best of their way, without once looking back. Gen. Greene bestowed great praises upon the bravery of the Virginia militia, and of the light troops under Lee and Washington, as well as of the Virginia and Maryland regulars. In a very modest letter to the President of the Congress, he satisfies himself with attributing the British success to the superiority of their discipline.

Greene retreated with the continental forces, and such part as could yet be collected of the Virginia militia, to the Reedy-Fork River, which he passed; and says himself, that he halted on the other side of the ford, which was only three or four miles from the last scene of action, until he was joined by the stragglers; but by Lord Cornwallis's account, we are to understand, that he did not stop until he arrived at the iron works on Troublesome Creek, 18 miles from the field of battle. Indeed Greene himself dates his letter, on the following day, from those very iron works; but estimates the distance at little more than half what we have stated. Without entering at all into the question, it is sufficient to observe, that however the Americans were routed, the royal forces were in no condition to maintain a pursuit. Besides that the troops were worn down by the excessive fatigue of a considerable march in the first instance, without baiting, and that immediately succeeded by so long and so toilsome an action, their numerous wounded, who were scattered over an extensive space of  
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of country, required the most immediate attention; but to render the impediments to a pursuit utterly insurmountable, the enemy were greatly superior in cavalry, as well as in every species of light troops.

Such was the penury and miserable state of the country, that the troops were without bread for two days that they continued at Guilford; nor could even forage be procured at a nearer distance than nine miles. And though this victory was gained at the entrance of the country in which the loyalists were supposed to be numerous, it does not appear, that it was capable of inducing any body of that people, deserving of name or consideration, to join the royal

18th. army. Under these circumstances, Lord Cornwallis moved with the army to Bell's Mill, on the Deep River; whither the baggage had been sent before the action; and was obliged to leave 70 of the worst of the wounded behind, at the New-Garden, Quaker Meeting-house, with proper assistance and accommodation, but of necessity in the power of the enemy.

A march of two days brought the army to Bell's Mill, where they continued two more, as well to afford rest to the troops, as to procure some scanty supply of provisions. The necessities of the army in general, and the distresses of the sick and wounded, left the marching towards Wilmington, in order to obtain those supplies and accommodations which were indispensibly necessary to both, no longer a matter of choice. They accordingly moved, by such easy marches as suited the ease and con-

venience of the wounded, towards Cross-Creek, upon the north-west branch of the Cape Fear River; being the same, which in its origin, and long after, is known by the name of the Haw. On the way, Lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation, and used every other possible means, as well to conciliate the enemies, and to encourage and call forth the friends of the royal cause, to the taking an active part in its support. It does not, however, appear, that his endeavours upon this occasion were attended, even after a very splendid victory, with any greater effect, than they had hitherto been, in the course of his long peregrination through different parts of that province.

Such was the strange and untoward nature of this unhappy war, that victory now, as we have already seen in more than one other instance, was productive of all the consequences of defeat. The news of this victory in England, for a while, produced the usual effects upon the minds of the people in general. A very little time and reflection gave rise to other thoughts; and a series of victories caused, for the first time, the beginning of a general despair. The fact was, that while the British army astonished both the old and the new world, by the greatness of its exertions and the rapidity of its marches, it had never advanced any nearer even to the conquest of North Carolina. And such was the hard fate of the victors, who had gained so much glory at Guilford, as, in the first place, to abandon a part of their wounded; and, in the second, to make a circuitous retreat of 200



miles, before they could find shelter or rest.

Lord Cornwallis had been taught to expect, from all the information which he received, that Cross-Creek lay in so plentiful a country, that it would be an exceedingly proper place for affording some days repose and refreshment to his troops. But, to his great disappointment, he found, upon his arrival, that this intelligence was of the usual value, and that neither provisions nor forage

were to be procured. This was rendered the more grievous, upon also discovering, that the windings of the river rendered the navigation so tedious, that the troops could not benefit of that mode of conveyance. At length, the arrival of the army in the neighbourhood of Wilmington, on the 7th of April, put an end, for the present, to the unceasing toils, and unspeakable hardships, which they had undergone during the three past months.

## C H A P. V.

*Expedition to Virginia under General Arnold. State of grievances which led to the mutiny in the American army. Pennsylvania line, after a scuffle with their officers, march off from the camp, and chuse a serjeant to be their leader. Message, and flag of truce, produce no satisfactory answer from the insurgents, who proceed first to Middle-Brook, and then to Prince-Town. Measures used by Sir Henry Clinton to profit of this defection. He passes over to Staten-Island, and sends agents to make advantageous proposals to the mutineers. Proposals for an accommodation, founded on a redress of grievances, made by Gen. Reed, and favourably received by the insurgents; who march from Prince-Town to Trenton upon the Delaware, and deliver up the agents from Sir Henry Clinton. Grievances redressed, and matters finally settled by a committee of the congress. Ravages made by Arnold in Virginia, draw the attention of the French, as well as the Americans, to that country. Gen Washington dispatches the Marquis de la Fayette with forces to its relief. Expedition to the Chesapeak, concerted by M. de Ternay, and the Count Rochambeau, at Rhode Island, for the same purpose, and to cut off Gen. Arnold's retreat. Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves encounter the French fleet, and overthrow all their designs in the Chesapeak. Lord Cornwallis's departure to Wilmington, enables General Greene to direct his operations to South Carolina. Situation of Lord Rawdon at Camden. American army appears before that place. Greene attacked in his camp, and defeated. General revolt in the interior country of South Carolina. Difficulties of Lord Rawdon's situation, notwithstanding his victory. Obligated to abandon Camden, and retire to Nelson's Ferry, where he passes the Santee. British posts taken, and general hostility of the province. Great havoc made by the General's Phillips and Arnold in Virginia. Extreme difficulties of Lord Cornwallis's situation at Wilmington. Undertakes a long march to Virginia; arrives at Petersburg, and receives an account of Gen. Phillips's death. Arrival of three regiments*



*from Ireland at Charles-Town, enables Lord Rawdon to march to the relief of Ninety-Six. Gen. Greene, having failed in his attempt to take the fort by storm, raises the siege, upon the approach of the British army, and is vigorously, but ineffectually pursued. Works at Ninety-six destroyed, and the place abandoned. Lord Rawdon marches to the Congarees; is disappointed in the expected junction of Col. Stuart, and narrowly escapes being surrounded by the enemy, who had intercepted the intelligence of Stuart's failure. He forces his way through Congaree creek, and is joined by Col. Stuart at Orangeburgh. Gen. Greene advances to attack the British army, but retires again in the night. Campaign closes, and situation of the hostile forces during the sickly season. Incredible hardships sustained, and difficulties surmounted, by the British troops in the two Carolinas.*

**D**URING these transactions in the Carolinas, Mr. Arnold, who acted as brigadier-general in the British service, was dispatched by Sir Henry Clinton to make a diversion in Virginia; and perhaps likewise under an expectation, that his former name and character would have drawn large bodies of those, who were represented as having a disposition to return to their allegiance, to his standard. His force, upon this expedition, consisted of the Edinburgh regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dundas, estimated at 600 men; of a mixed American corps, composed of horse and foot, called the Queen's Ranger's, of about the same number, under the command of Col. Simcoe; of Col. Robinson's provincials, and of a small corps of 200 men, which Arnold himself had been able to raise at New York; the whole force amounting to near 1700 men. This expedition being conducted and supported, by such a naval force as was suited to the nature of the service, enabled Gen. Arnold, who arrived in the Chesapeak at the opening of the new year, to do infinite mischief on the rivers, and along the coasts of Virginia.

In the mean time, the Americans had many internal as well as external difficulties and dangers to encounter. We have already taken notice of the well-founded complaints, and the great discontents which prevailed in the American army. These in a great measure proceeded from the slowness of several of the states, in furnishing their respective quotas, whether of men, money, provisions, or cloathing, for the supply of the army. This evil was the more intolerable, from the hopelessness of redress; as the nature of their government did not admit of any coercive power, equal to its remedy. But though this was in a great measure beyond the reach of congress, they did not escape much censure with respect to matters which fell immediately within their power as well as cognizance.

Their ignorance in finance, and their many errors in the whole œconomy of the war, were often animadverted on with great severity by their warmest partizans. It is not indeed easy to conceive, how a body annually elected, continually changing in almost all its parts, and drawn from countries remote



remote from the seat and center of business, could avoid falling into many. The annual election secured the fidelity of the deputies; but it necessarily detracted something from the uniformity and system of public business. The fall of the currency was a grievous blow to the Americans, which perhaps no ability could perfectly prevent or remedy. From hence the grievances and distresses of the army equalled, if not exceeded, their complaints and discontents; and occasioned the resignation of many of their best officers, as well as the desertion of some faithful soldiers, who thereby gave up the whole of their long-due arrears, and whom nothing else could have induced to abandon their colours. To render their condition the more grievous, while the troops were little less than literally naked, it was said, that cloathing for 5000 men had been purchased and paid for in France long before; and that through some unaccountable supineness, another large quantity had lain at Cape François for above eighteen months. But the most intolerable grievance to the soldiery, was an act of real injustice, as well as a violation of the public faith! for through the failure of several of the states in not sending their allotted supply of new troops, many of the soldiers were compelled to serve far beyond the term of their enlistment, without being able to obtain any satisfaction, with respect to their arrears, or even any hope of a discharge.

Under all these circumstances, the mutiny which took place in Washington's army, at the opening of the new year, is much less

a matter of surprize, than its not having happened earlier, being more general, and much more ruinous in its consequences.

The Pennsylvania line, which was huttred at Morris-Town, in the Jerseys, unable longer to suppress their discontents, Jan, 1, turned out to the number of about 1300 men, 1781. declaring that they would not serve any longer, unless their grievances were redressed; particularly with respect to their pay, cloathing, and provisions, the two first of which they had not received at all, and there were great deficiencies in the account of the last. The intervention of the officers occasioned a riot, in which one of them was killed, and four wounded; some of the mutineers were likewise wounded. They then collected the artillery, stores, provisions, and waggons, appertaining to their division, with all of which they marched in good order out of camp. As they passed Gen. Wayne's quarters, he sent to request of them to desist, and to remonstrate with them on the fatal consequences which must attend their proceeding any farther. His representations produced no effect; they continued their march until evening, and then chose an advantageous piece of ground for their encampment, with the same caution as if they had been in an enemy's country. They likewise elected officers from their own body; and appointed a serjeant-major, who had been a deserter from the British army, to be their commander, with the rank and title of Major-General; on the following day they marched to Middle-Brook, and on the third



to Prince-Town. A message was sent to them on the second day from camp, desiring to know their intentions; but this they refused to receive. A flag of truce was afterwards sent; but no general or satisfactory answer could be obtained; some said, that they had served three years against their inclination, and would serve no longer; whilst others made a full redress of their grievances, the price of return.

As soon as Sir Henry Clinton had received intelligence of this defection in the army of the enemy, he left no means untried that could turn it to advantage; and indeed it seemed to lead to consequences of no small importance. Three Americans went as agents to the insurgents; and were empowered to make the following proposals to them from the commander in chief, viz. To be taken under the protection of the British government; to have a free pardon for all past offences; to have the pay due to them from Congress faithfully paid, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered; and the only conditions required on their side, were to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. It was also recommended to them, to move behind the South River; and an assurance was given, that a body of British troops should be in readiness for their protection, whenever they desired it. The inability of congress to satisfy their just demands, and the severity with which they would be treated if they returned to their former servitude, were points to be strongly urged by the agents; and the in-

surgents were required to send persons to Amboy to meet others who would be appointed by the general, in order to discuss and settle the treaty, and bring matters to a final conclusion.

In the mean time, the commander in chief, notwithstanding the severity of the season, passed over to Staten Island, with a large body of troops, where they were cantoned in such a manner, as to be in readiness for moving at the shortest notice; while such measures were taken in the naval department, as were necessary for their immediate passing over to the continent, whenever circumstances might require their acting. This was as much as Sir Henry Clinton could yet venture to do. If he had attempted more, it would have been liable to have overthrown every hope in the onset. If he had passed over to the continent, besides exciting a general alarm, it would have been the probable means of throwing the mutineers directly back into the arms of the enemy. The measures pursued, were those only which with safety and prudence could be ventured upon, until the temper and designs of the insurgents were farther known; the revolt was properly encouraged, an asylum, with other advantages, were held out, and it was easily seen that greater would be granted. Various other messages and proposals, but much to the same effect or tendency with the former, were afterwards sent; though the Jersey militia had grown so watchful both of the coasts and the interior roads, that the communication became extremely difficult.

After several days stay at Prince-Town,



Town, the mutineers, instead of returning towards the British boundaries, as was on our side proposed and hoped, gave an unerring indication of the unfavourableness of their disposition, by advancing to Trenton, Jan. 9. on the Delaware; a distance which cut off every idea of connection or of their at all acceding to Sir Henry Clinton's proposals; and a measure which held out a most fatal omen to two of his unfortunate emissaries, who were still in their hands. For, previous to their departure from Prince-Town, a printed paper of proposals for an accommodation, signed by General Reed, the president of the executive council of state in Pennsylvania, was circulated among the insurgents; and on the day after their arrival at Trenton, an answer, in general very favourable, but requiring some auxiliary conditions, (and those not unreasonable) was returned, with the approbation of the whole by the board of sergeants, who formed their grand committee, or council; and as an earnest of their conciliatory disposition, or, as they said, to remove every doubt of suspicion and jealousy, they delivered up the two unhappy emissaries from New York, who were accordingly hanged without ceremony.

A committee of the congress, of which Gen. Sullivan and Dr. Witherspoon were members, was at length sent to treat with them at Trenton, and the matters in difference were finally settled towards the end of the month. Besides a total oblivion with respect to the past conduct of the mutineers, the matters with respect to

pay, cloathing, provisions, and arrears, were adjusted to their satisfaction; and, however grievous it was to the committee, and weakening to the service, they were obliged to consent to the discharge of those, who had duly served out the term of their enlistment. A similar disturbance in the New Jersey line, which was stationed on the same side of the North River, was accommodated in the same manner; but in much less time, and with less trouble.

It was not a little remarkable, that Washington, who was encamped on the New York side of the river, did not make the smallest movement on account of these disorders; nor does it appear that he took any part at all in the transactions or measures that ensued. It seemed either as if he could not rely upon the temper of the troops under his own immediate command, or as if he considered the claims of the insurgents to be well founded, and admitted their wrongs as a justification of their irregularities. Perhaps, upon the whole, he was not sorry that the congress, as well as the governments of the several states, should have been in some degree roused and enlivened by such a spur.

Nothing could afford a more striking instance of the general unfavourable disposition of the Americans, with respect to the British government, than the conduct of the insurgents upon this occasion; who, smarting under their wrongs, in that heat of temper which could alone produce and support their violences, and surrounded by the dangers to which they had rendered themselves liable, yet, not only rejected the



the security and favourable offers held out to them by Sir Henry Clinton, but, as an indelible mark of their irreconcilable enmity, delivered up to destruction the unhappy men who had acted as his agents.

The ravages made by Arnold in Virginia, drew the attention of the Americans, as well as of the French at Rhode Island, particularly to that quarter. The former were now attacked, in their most sensible, as well as most vulnerable part. The havoc made in that country, went directly to the destruction of the very sources of the war, and to the annihilation of all their hopes of independency. With a numerous and warlike people; with considerable resources, more perhaps than any province in America, that country, from its peculiar situation, and from the modes of building, planting, and living, adopted by the inhabitants, is more open and exposed than any other, and, unless protected by a considerable army, is exceedingly weak in every point of defence. In a word, it must in its present state, lie at the mercy, in all its most valuable parts, of whatever enemy is master of the bay of Chesapeake, and consequently of the rivers.

This circumstance was so well understood, that those who censured the conduct of the British commanders, and the plan of the war, had frequently made it one of their principal grounds of attack, that they had not more early adopted operations of a similar nature. They pretended, that a powerful army was kept idle and useless at New York, whilst a

of that force to the southward, would have brought the war to a speedy and happy conclusion. They went so far back in their strictures, as to the time of Lord Cornwallis's being left to prosecute the war in South Carolina, when, they say, that he was not only left in too weak a state to prosecute it with effect and decision, but that he was particularly stripped of the best and most active part of the forces; of that part which was peculiarly suited to the nature of the war and of the country, and which, if not totally useless, could not all be wanted, in that quiet and defensive kind of service which prevailed at New-York. They likewise said, that the expedition under Gen. Leslie should have taken place much earlier, and that the force should have been three times greater than it really was; by which means, as they pretend, Greene would not only have been prevented from passing to the southward, but, if Lord Cornwallis had the force which he ought in the Carolinas, nothing could prevent his junction with Leslie in the heart of Virginia, and the reduction of all the southern colonies, must have been the immediate and inevitable consequence. They even carried their strictures to the present expedition under Arnold; which, they said, should have been committed to Gen. Philips, with a force adequate to the greatness and importance of the object; a measure, according to them, which would in a very considerable degree have compensated for some of the former errors and neglects.

To this it has been answered, that the commander in chief could



not have known, when he returned with part of the army from Charles-Town, that the campaign would have been inactive on the side of New York; and that the measures which he immediately pursued on his arrival, sufficiently indicated an intention of rendering it otherwise. The arrival of the French at Rhode Island, the expectation of the great force under Guichen, and the plan laid between them and the Americans, of putting an end to the war, by a decisive blow upon himself at New York, could not but greatly have affected all his measures, and necessarily restrained his operations. The numerous and extensive posts of New York and its dependent islands, required nothing less than an army for the mere purpose of defence.

Time and events have shewn, that these divided operations which were long called for by several military critics, when at length they were adopted, were far from making good the plausible arguments on which they were undertaken.

The distresses and danger of Virginia obliged Washington, notwithstanding his weakness, to detach 2000 of his best troops, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, to the relief of that, his native country. The French at Rhode Island thought an opportunity now offered of atoning for their past inactivity, by a most essential service to their allies, in cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from the Chesapeake; an event, in which the taking him prisoner would not, perhaps, have been the least pleasing part of the service. Besides some late increase to their naval force, they were the farther encouraged to this enter-

prize, by the misfortune which the British squadron had newly sustained, in a dreadful tempest. In this calamity, the Culloden, a fine new ship of 74 guns, was totally lost; the Bedford, of the same force, was dismasted and much damaged; and the America had been separated, and driven so far to sea, that her situation, and even existence, were for some time matters of uncertainty.

But previous to the intended expedition, in which 2000 land forces were to bear a part, the French dispatched a ship of the line, with some frigates, to the Chesapeake, with a view as well of surprizing the small marine force in that bay, as of discovering the exact state of affairs in Virginia. This small squadron, besides greatly alarming Arnold, who was returned from an expedition up the river James to his principal post at Portsmouth, had the fortune to fall in with and take the Romulus man of war of 44 guns, which was totally unsuspecting of danger.

The Bedford's masts being speedily replaced by those of the Culloden, which had been fortunately saved from the wreck, the British fleet, under the Admirals Arbuthnot and Graves, was much sooner in a condition to oppose the designs of the enemy, than they had by any means apprehended. Count Rochambeau, having embarked with the land forces, the French fleet, under M. de Ternay, sailed from Rhode Island on the 8th of March, and were intercepted off Cape Henry on the 16th, by the English, who had departed two days later from Gardner's Bay. The opposite fleets were well poised



ed in point of strength ; the superiority of a few guns on the side of the English, being more than counterbalanced by the much greater number of men on the other. The line was composed of eight ships on each side, including the *Romulus* of 40 guns in the one, and the *Adamant* of fifty in the other.

A partial engagement took place, in which nearly the whole weight of the action fell upon the *Robust*, *Europe*, and the *Prudent*. The coming up of the ships in the center, at length relieved the van, who had been exposed to the whole of the enemy's fire. The French line being then soon broken, they gave way, and began to form a new one at some distance. The admiral endeavoured to pursue his advantage, by pressing upon the enemy, and renewing the action ; but the three ships which were first engaged had suffered so much in their rigging, that two of them were become so absolutely unmanageable, as to be taken in tow, and even the third was too much disabled, in any degree to sustain a pursuit. These circumstances prevented the Admiral from being able to render the action decisive. The enemy, without an absolute flight, had by their manœuvres gained a distance of three or four leagues in the forming of their line ; and as they were determined not to come to close action, it was now out of his power to force them to it.

He, however, obtained, in part, the essential benefits and the demonstrations of victory. He cut the enemy off from the Chesapeake, who were accordingly obliged to return without landing their troops,

and without effecting any one of the purposes of the expedition ; and they were reduced to submit to the hard necessity and very grievous mortification of seeing the whole plan of the Virginia campaign disconcerted, and all the sanguine hopes and wishes of their allies frustrated.

Such was Arnold's escape from, probably, the most imminent danger in which he had ever been involved. The loss of men was but trifling on the British side, and was almost entirely confined to the three ships which were first engaged ; thirty only were slain, and about seventy wounded. This, like every other naval action in the war, underwent much criticism. It appears that the weather was very squally and unfavourable ; and, besides other, perhaps, more cogent reasons, it has or may be advanced, in favour of the admiral, that there are few circumstances, in which it is not exceedingly difficult to force an enemy to close and decisive action at sea, who is absolutely determined to use all possible means for evading that result ; and that all vigorous attempts for the purpose, must be liable to the risque of engaging under some disadvantage.

The fleet was detained, by the badness of the weather, for some time in the Chesapeake ; which necessarily delayed its pursuit of the enemy. During March 26. that interval, a convoy arrived from New York, with Major-Gen. Philips, and about 2000 choice troops on board. The long durance which that distinguished officer, with his fellows of the convention army, had undergone, having been happily terminated,



nated, by a new cartel, which had been some months before concluded, he was now appointed to take the chief command in Virginia.

The departure of Lord Cornwallis to Wilmington, having left South Carolina open, Gen. Greene did not neglect the opportunity of directing his views to that province. An experiment upon an untried enemy, was satisfactory in the design, and afforded room for hope in the execution; at the worst, he could not reasonably apprehend falling into rougher hands, than those which he had so recently encountered. But it was also, in reality, that vulnerable part, to which a judicious commander must necessarily have directed his operations. He had, however, still, a vigilant enemy to encounter, from whom no advantage could be cheaply purchased.

The communications were so entirely cut off, that Lord Rawdon had no manner of knowledge of the movements of the British army after the battle of Guildford; much less could he have the most distant idea, of the hard necessity which compelled Lord Cornwallis to fly from the arms of victory, abandon the line of operation, and by a most difficult march of 200 miles, retire out of the way to Wilmington. He could not therefore but be astonished at receiving intelligence, that Greene, whom he looked upon as ruined, or at least as having fled to Virginia, was in full march to South Carolina, with a view of attacking him at Camden. He was likewise informed, about the same time, that Col. Lee had

crossed the Pedee, and joined Marion on the Black Creek, or river, with an apparent view of entering the province on the eastern border. Lord Rawdon judiciously conceived, that this movement was only a feint, subservient to the principal design; intending thereby, to induce him to a division of his small force, and to draw him away from Camden, whilst Greene should in the mean time, by forced marches through a deserted country, from whence no intelligence of his approach could be received, surprize that weakened post in his absence. From this right conception of the design, the measure produced a directly contrary effect to that which was intended; for instead of Lord Rawdon's going himself or detaching, to resist the diversion on that side, it occasioned his immediately recalling Lieut. Col. Watson, who had been long employed with a considerable detachment, for the protection of the eastern frontier.

In the mean time, the doubtful reports which had before reached him were now confirmed, and he received clear information of Greene's approach; and though he was totally ignorant of his force, yet being equally in the dark with respect to Lord Cornwallis's situation, and having no particular instructions for his guidance, he thought it his duty, at all events, to maintain his post. In these circumstances it was highly vexatious, that although some of the militia shewed great zeal and fidelity, in coming from considerable distances to offer their services, yet the scanty state of provisions prevented him from being able to benefit of their assistance,



ance, excepting only those, whose particular situation exposed them to suffer from the enemy, and who were, on that account, received within the post.

April 19th. At length, General Greene appeared in full view. The paucity of troops, and the extensiveness of the posts which they had to defend, were sufficient motives with the British commander, for not risking the loss of men, by any attempt to harass the enemy in their approach. The same causes had obliged him to abandon the ferry on the Wateree, although the South Carolina regiment was on its way to join him from Ninety-Six, and that was its direct course. He had however taken his measures so well, as to secure the passage of that regiment, upon its arrival, three days after. In these circumstances, he received a letter from Colonel Balfour at Charles-Town, acquainting him of Lord Cornwallis's situation; and likewise signifying to him, that the commander in chief, being fully sensible of the danger to which he would be exposed in his present position, wished that he might abandon Camden, and retire for security, within the cover of the great River Santee. The necessity of the measure was, upon this information, sufficiently obvious; but the accomplishment of it, was not now within his power.

The efforts made by the enemy to examine the British works, and particularly an attempt to destroy their mill, necessarily brought on some skirmishes. By the prisoners taken in these excursions, Lord Rawdon had the satisfaction to learn, that General Greene's army

was not by any means so numerous as he had apprehended; but that considerable reinforcements were daily expected. To balance this, he received the unfavourable intelligence, that Marion had taken such a position, as rendered it impracticable for Col. Watson to join him, whose arrival he had till then impatiently expected.

In this state of things, it seemed, that some immediate and decisive effort was become little less than absolutely necessary, in order to evade much greater, and not far distant, evil and danger. Greene himself had the fortune to make an opening for the operation of this necessity, in a manner which was, in appearance, far from being consistent with his usual conduct. With a view of a general assault upon the British posts, he had sent off his artillery and baggage, a day's march in the rear of the army; but soon after he abandoned that resolution, and detached all his militia to bring back the artillery. Such irresolution, or indecision of mind, can never be displayed under the eye of a vigilant enemy, without great, if not certain danger.

Lord Rawdon's intelligence was tardy; but he instantly perceived the importance of the occasion, and determined as instantly, if possible, to seize it. By arming the musicians, drummers, and every being in the army that was able to carry a firelock, he mustered above nine hundred for the field, including sixty dragoons. With this force, and April 25th. two six pounders, he boldly marched to attack the assailing enemy in their camp, in open daylight, at 10 o'clock in the

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the



the morning; committing the redoubts, and every thing at Camden to the custody of the militia, and of a few sick soldiers. The enemy were posted about two miles in front of the British lines, upon a very strong and difficult ridge, called Hobkirk's Hill. By filing close to the swamps on their right, the British column got into the woods unperceived; and by taking an extensive circuit, came down on the enemy's left flank; thus depriving them of the principal advantage of their situation. They were so fortunate, and the enemy so shamefully remiss and inattentive, that they were not in all this course discovered, until the flank companies of the volunteers of Ireland, which led the column, suddenly poured in upon their pickets. These, though supported, were almost instantly driven in, and pursued to their camp.

Although the enemy were in much visible confusion, yet they formed with expedition, and received the British column bravely. As if it had been in some measure to countervail the disadvantages incident to their surprize, they were cheered, early in the action, by the arrival of three six pounders; a circumstance, which showers of grape-shot soon announced to the British troops. The attack on that side was led with great spirit by Lieut. Col. Campbell, at the head of the 63d, and of the king's American regiment: but the extent of the enemy's line, soon obliged the commander in chief to push forward the volunteers of Ireland from the reserve. The three corps pushed the enemy with such resolution, that they drove them to the summit

of the hill; and having made room for the rest of the troops to come into action, their rout was then quickly decided. They pursued them about three miles; but the enemy's cavalry being superior to the British, their dragoons could not risque much; and Lord Rawdon, duly considering his inferiority in number, would not suffer the infantry to break their order, for any benefit that might be expected from the pursuit of the fugitives.

During the pursuit, a part of the enemy's cavalry under Colonel Washington, whether by design, or through ignorance of the state of the action, came round to the rear, and exacted paroles from several of the British officers who lay wounded on the field; they likewise carried off several wounded men. The enemy's killed and wounded were scattered over such an extend of ground, that their loss could not be ascertained; Lord Rawdon thinks the estimate would be low if it were rated at five hundred; Greene's account makes it too low to be credited. Above an hundred prisoners were taken; besides that a number of their men, finding their retreat cut off, went into Camden, and claimed protection, under the pretence of being deserters. The enemy's canon escaped by great fortune. Being run down a steep hill, among some thick brush wood, they were easily passed without notice, in the warmth of the pursuit, by the British troops; and before their return they were carried clean off by Washington's cavalry.

This defeat was attributed by Gen. Greene to the misconduct of  
a part



a part of the Maryland regiment. This may be true. But it is plain that his army was surprized. The American discipline, after so much experience, is far from perfect. There have been but few indeed of their commanders, who have not smarted severely under that negligence which laid them open to surprises. It must, however be acknowledged, that the facility with which Greene rallied and formed his troops under the circumstances of their surprize, and the vigorous efforts which he made to retrieve the disaster, sufficiently shewed him to be a brave and able officer in action.

The loss on the British side, however moderate in other respects, was much greater than they could afford, and exceeded one-fourth of their whole number. It amounted in killed, wounded and missing, to 258. Of these, only 38 were slain; but the wounded were equally a detraction from immediate strength; and in the present circumstances a very heavy incumbrance. Only one officer fell; but twelve were wounded, and most of them were discharged upon parole. The spirit and judgment shewn by the young commander of the British forces, deserves great commendation. He was most gallantly seconded by his officers and troops.

Most of these actions would in other wars be considered but as skirmishes of little account, and scarcely worthy of a detailed narrative. But these small actions are as capable as any of displaying military conduct. The operations of war being spread over that vast continent, by the new plan that was adopted, it is by such skir-

mishes that the fate of America must be necessarily decided. They are therefore as important as battles in which an hundred thousand men are drawn up on each side.

Greene retired behind the farther branch of a creek about fourteen miles from Camden, where he took post in order to collect his scattered forces. Whatever credit was obtained by the British forces in this action, like most of the other victories obtained in Carolina, it produced no effect correspondent to its brilliancy. It produced rather the contrary. The first fruit of Lord Rawdon's victory over the enemy in his front, was the general revolt of the whole interior country at his back; so that the difficulties of his situation, instead of being removed or lessened by success, were increased to such degree, as seemed to render them insurmountable. He was sensible of the necessity of his retiring within the Santee; but Lee and Marion were by this time full in his way; and whilst they would have retarded his march in the front, his rear would have been exposed to Greene's pursuits; so that the measure for the present, however highly necessary, appeared impracticable; at least, without suffering the loss and disgrace, of abandoning his stores at Camden, as well as his wounded. On the other hand, Greene was now too distant for a sudden attack; nor could he at all be come at, but by a circuitous march to turn the head of the creek by which he was covered, and that would carry the troops so far out of the way, as to leave Camden open to his attack, without the possibility of their pre-

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vention. We have already seen, that Lord Rawdon's force was far too weak, to afford such a detachment as would be equal to the attack on Greene, and at the same time to retain such a strength behind as would be sufficient for the defence of Camden. In this state of difficulty, environed on all sides by enemies, he saw that he would be able to make his post good, against any force that could yet be brought to attack it; and he judged it to be far more prudent and safe to wait with patience for a reinforcement, than to risk the consequences of another line of conduct.

May 7th. At length, he was joined by Col. Watson, after a long, circuitous, exceedingly difficult, and no less dangerous march; in the course of which he had been obliged to pass the Santee twice; the first time going down almost to its mouth for that purpose, and then marching up again nearly to the confluence of the Congarees with that river, in order to repass it. All things considered, this march has been exceeded by few operations of that nature. The detachment was much reduced in point of number, and a small post called Fort Watson, situated at Wright's Bluff, where they deposited their baggage, had been taken by the enemy.

On the day of the arrival of this reinforcement, intelligence was received, that the enemy in the rear had invested, and opened batteries against the post, at Motte's house; which was situated near the junction of the Congaree with the Santee. The relief of this post, as well as the causes

which before operated, all concurred in determining Lord Rawdon to make a retreat to Nelson's Ferry upon the Santee, which was sixty miles from Camden, and not a great deal lower than the post at Motte's house; a measure which, besides the relief of that place, and the cover of that great river, would throw the flat and open country, which spreads between it, the Combahee, and the sea-coast, of course including Charles Town, entirely into his hands. But before he put this design in execution, he wished to draw some present advantage from the additional strength which he now possessed; and which would be a means of facilitating his intended movements, by the security which it would afford to his rear.

On his side, Gen. Greene was not idle, nor inattentive to the game he was to play: he had quitted his former ground, and crossing the Wateree, took a new position at the back of Twenty-five-mile Creek. On the very night of the day, upon which Watson's detachment had joined Lord Rawdon, that active commander crossed the Wateree at Camden Ferry, with a view of turning Greene's flank, and attacking the rear of his army; that being the most, or only vulnerable part, the ground in his front being particularly very strong. It does no small honour to Greene's penetration, that as soon as he received intelligence of the reinforcement, (which was in a very short time after its arrival) he immediately foresaw, and considered as inevitable the consequence; and in this opinion, without waiting for farther information, suddenly aban-



abandoned his post, some hours before the British troops had passed Camden Ferry, and continued his retreat with the utmost expedition.

Lord Rawdon received this intelligence by the way, but he notwithstanding pursued him with the utmost eagerness and rapidity; and at length found him strongly posted at the back of a water called Sawney's Creek. Upon the strictest examination of his situation in that post, he, to his great disappointment and vexation, found it in every point so strong, that if success could be purchased, it must be at such an expence, as would cripple his force with respect to all future enterprize; whilst the means of retreat were so fully possessed by the enemy, that the advantages of victory, could not in any degree compensate for the loss with which it must be attended. The creek runs far into the country, and if he attempted to get round it, the enemy, by quitting his station, could still evade all his attempts; and thus much time (which at that juncture was to him of the utmost importance) would have been unprofitably wasted. Under these considerations Lord Rawdon returned to Camden; after having in vain endeavoured to draw the enemy into action by an affectation of concealing his retreat.

9th. On the following day, he published to the troops and to the militia, the design of abandoning Camden; offering to such of the latter as chose to accompany the army, all possible assistance. The night was spent in destroying the works, and in sending off, under a strong escort, the baggage. The remainder of the

troops continued at Camden, until the following day was pretty far advanced, in order to recover the march. The most valuable part of the stores were brought off, and the rest destroyed. The mill, prison, and some other buildings, were burnt; and Greene says the town was little better than a heap of ruins. The sick and wounded, who were in too bad a state to bear a removal, were of necessity left behind; and the American prisoners were left to accompany them as an exchange. The army brought off, not only the militia who had been attached to them at Camden; but the well affected, who were afraid to fall into the power of the enemy, whether in that neighbourhood or on the way, were likewise, with their families, negroes, and moveable effects, taken equally under protection. Thus incumbered, the only attempt made by the enemy, was with some parties of mounted militia to harraßs the rear; but one of these being circumvented into an ambuscade, their chastisement prevented all farther disturbance on the march.

On the night of the 13th the army began to pass the river at Nelson's Ferry, and by the following evening, every thing was safely landed on the other side. The first intelligence Lord Rawdon received on passing the Santee, was the unwelcome news, that the post at Møtte's house, after a gallant defence, had already fallen into the hands of the enemy. This was a heavy stroke, as that place had been made a deposit for all the provisions that were intended for the supply of Camden. Things were, however,



worse, than he yet knew, for the strong post at Orangeburgh was already taken, and Fort Granby not long after. Thus the British force in the province was exceedingly weakened, by the number of brave officers and soldiers who fell into the hands of the enemy, through this sudden and unexpected attack upon their detached posts in every part of the country.

Lord Rawdon was met at Nelson's by Col. Balfour, the commandant of Charles-Town; who came hither to represent to him, and to consult upon, the state and circumstances of that city, as well as of the province in general. He stated, that the revolt was universal; that from the little room there had been to apprehend so serious and alarming a turn of affairs, the old works of Charles-Town had been in part levelled, to make way for new ones which were not yet constructed; that he had full conviction of the disaffection, in general, of the inhabitants; and that, under these circumstances, his garrison was inadequate to its defence, against any force of consequence that might attempt that city.

The conclusions drawn from a full consideration of this untoward state of affairs were, that if any misfortune happened to the corps under Lord Rawdon, the probable consequence would be, the total loss of the province, including the capital; but that, although the highest degree of prudence and caution were upon that account indispensably necessary, yet, as he was just joined by Major M'Arthur, with about 300 foot and eighty dragoons, he conceived he might, without hazarding too

much, endeavour to check the operations of the enemy on the Congaree.

A singular instance now occurred, of the general, if not universal disaffection of the country. For five days after Lord Rawdon had passed the Santee, not a single person of any sort whatever, whether with intelligence, or upon any other account, came near the army; although he had advanced directly from Nelson's Ferry, that night and the following day's march into the country, to a certain point, where the roads from Nelson's and M'Cord's Ferry meet. Nor could the emissaries and spies which he detached on all hands procure him any true intelligence, as to the situation of the enemy, or the state of the country. A number, however, of reports, which were, contradictory in other respects, seemed to concur in one point, which was, that Greene had passed the Congaree River, and was pressing down the Orangeburgh road with a strong force. This intelligence was of too great moment to be slighted; and not only obliged the British commander to relinquish his design of advancing to the Congaree, but laid him under a necessity of falling back to the Entaws, and afterwards of moving to Monk's Corner, for the protection of Charles-Town, and of the rich intervening country.

As the dereliction of the Upper Country, left the post at Ninety-Six entirely exposed to the enemy, Lord Rawdon was under great anxiety for the safety of that garrison. The objects now at stake were, however, too great to be

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hazarded, for the purpose of protecting that place, or even of extricating the troops; but if no such restraint had been laid upon his activity, it still would have been a question of great doubt, whether, in the present state of things, the design would have been practicable. For besides the growing force of the enemy, and their possession of the posts on all hands, there were no magazines, no deposits of provisions of any kind, for the support of the army on the way; and to trust to the uncertain gleanings of a wasted and hostile country on a march, surrounded on every side by swarms of light troops, and of militia on horseback, with an enemy much superior in number still to encounter, would have been hazardous in the extreme. Thus circumstanced, he dispatched several messengers by different routes; and to guard as much as possible against mischance, applied to Col. Balfour to send others from Charles Town, with instructions to Lieut. Col. Cruger, who commanded at Ninety-Six, to abandon that place, and to remove with the garrison, as speedily as possible, to Augusta, upon the Savannah, which was the nearest post of Georgia.

So bad was the intelligence, and so difficult to be obtained, that it was not until after the arrival of the troops at Monk's Corner, that Lord Rawdon discovered, that it was not Gen. Greene, but Sumpter, who had taken possession of Orangeburgh; the former being then occupied in taking a British post at the Congarees. While the troops were employed in covering the districts from which Charles-Town drew its supplies of

provision, Lord Rawdon was preparing for more active service, by unceasing efforts for the augmentation of his cavalry; an arm of force, indispensably necessary for the prosecution of a war in the southern colonies; but that country, which abounded so much in horses, had been so stripped of them by the disaffected, and by the plundering parties of the enemy, that this was now become a measure of no small difficulty.

In the mean time, the Generals Philips and Arnold, carried every thing before them in Virginia; and successively defeated all those bodies of militia which could be suddenly brought together, and were hardy enough to venture the encounter; whilst their best troops were fighting the battles of others in the Carolinas. The long navigation of James River, and of its numerous dependent rivers, branches, and creeks, laid the country open to them, on either hand, as well as to its interior and central parts, for a great extent. At Petersburg, on its southern branch, otherwise called the Appomatox River, they destroyed four thousand hogheads of tobacco; being the principal part of the whole annual remittance of the country for France, which had been collected at that place. The damage done by the destruction of shipping and vessels of every sort, both in the rivers and on the stocks, of ship-yards, docks, and all their dependencies, of public buildings, barracks, and warehouses, of timber, stores, flour, and every species of provisions, was prodigious, and indeed seemed almost incredible, after so long a state of war and trouble, and so



much particular ravage, as that quarter had already undergone. It however, afforded a melancholy testimonial, of the former prosperity of a country, which had still so much left to lose.

The enemy's marine strength in the river, having, we presume, retired as far as the depth of water would admit, at length drew up in a state of defence, about four miles above a place called Osborne's, on the south, or Appomatox Branch. Gen. Arnold sent a flag to treat with the commander about the surrender of his fleet, which the other refused to listen to, declaring he would defend it

April 27th to the last. Arnold having ordered up some artillery, advanced them to the bank of the river, within an hundred yards of a state ship of 20 guns; his troops being not only exposed to her fire, but to that of another of 26 guns, of a state brigantine, of 14, besides a number of other ships and vessels, more or less armed; at the same time that a party of militia kept up a heavy fire of musquetry from the opposite side of the river. The defence was by no means answerable, either to this formidable appearance, or to the seemingly resolute answer of the commander. The fire of the artillery from the shore took place so effectually, that it soon drove the militia from the opposite side, and compelled the ships, not long after, to strike their colours. The want of boats, together with the height of the wind, prevented Arnold from being able to take possession of the ships, until the seamen had not only made their escape, but had scuttled and set fire to several of

the vessels. Two ships, and ten lesser vessels, loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, and other articles, fell, however, into his hands. Four ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels, were burnt and sunk. The whole quantity of tobacco taken or destroyed in this fleet, exceeded 2000 hogheads.

The troops then advanced up the Fork, until they arrived at Manchester, which lies on the north branch, or properly the main river, and is, including the windings, at least 150 miles from its mouth, where it falls into the Chesapeak. There they destroyed 1200 hogheads of tobacco; the Marquis de la Fayette with his army, who had arrived at Richmond, on the opposite side, the preceding day, being spectators of the conflagration, which they probably could not, or at least did not, attempt to prevent. The army, on their return, made great havock at Warwick; where, along with the ships on the stocks and in the river, a large range of rope walks were destroyed; and a magazine of flour, with a number of warehouses containing tobacco and other commodities, of tan-houses, full of hides and bark, were, along with several fine mills, all consumed in one general conflagration. The army then returned to the shipping, (which seem not to have ascended so far as the Fork) and the whole fell down towards the mouth of the river.

The war was now parcelled out in a strange manner, and the British force broken into small divisions, and placed in such distant situations, as to be little capable of concert and mutual support. We have



have seen that it raged pretty equally in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia; while the force seems every where to be sufficient for destroying considerable tracts of country, and accumulating a great deal of spoil, but wholly inadequate to the main purpose; and incapable of bringing matters to any decisive conclusion. Thus numbers of brave men were continually lost without any equivalent effect; and the veteran battalions were worn down and consumed, by incredible but fruitless exertions of valour, and by a series of the most brilliant successes, which produced no permanent advantage.

The situation of Lord Cornwallis at Wilmington was exceedingly difficult and grievous. His force was by this time reduced very low; and probably did not greatly exceed a thousand effective men. He was informed of the unfortunate turn which affairs had taken in South Carolina; and notwithstanding his reliance on the ability and gallantry of Lord Rawdon, he had too much room for apprehension that they would become still more critical. The attempt to return to his relief, through such vast tracts of an exhausted, hostile, or desert country, would have been attended with insuperable difficulties. The Pedee was full in his way, and was impassable in the face of an enemy; so that, besides the impracticability of procuring subsistence for his troops in such a length of march, he would run the hazard of being hemmed in by Greene, in such a manner among the great rivers, that mere necessity and distress might at length com-

pel them to the disgrace of laying down their arms.

He might indeed have waited at Wilmington, for transports to proceed by sea to Charles-Town. But this would have been a measure so little reputable, and in the end productive of so little advantage, that nothing less than the most extreme necessity, could induce him to submit to it. Along with its other ill consequences, much time would be lost, and the cavalry would have been of necessity sacrificed. It would besides totally change the nature of the war; reduce it to be merely defensive; and seem no less than a dereliction of its hope and fortune. All the flattering ideas of the reduction of the southern colonies, and even of a co-operation in Virginia, would have been no more.

Under these embarrassing circumstances, and environed with the most perplexing difficulties, he formed the bold and vigorous resolution of marching to Virginia, and endeavouring a junction with General Philips. This measure, in a situation which afforded only a choice of difficulties and dangers, was undoubtedly the best that could have been adopted; but yet was a resolution of such a nature, as could have been only conceived or entertained by an enterprising, and determined mind. It was indeed a perilous adventure. The distance was great, the means of subsistence uncertain, and the difficulties and hazards were sufficient to appall the boldest. The troops had already experienced the miseries of traversing an inhospitable and impracticable country, above 800 miles



miles in different directions: and they were now to encounter a new march of 300 more, in much worse circumstances, and under much more unfavourable auspices, than at the outset. Notwithstanding the supplies which they had received at Wilmington, they were still so destitute of necessaries, that, in the noble commander's own words, his cavalry wanted every thing, and his infantry every thing but shoes. Neither, says he, are in any condition to move, and yet they must march to-morrow! He had already himself a fore experience, as he pathetically observed, of the miseries of marching several hundreds of miles through a country, chiefly hostile, frequently desert, which did not afford one active or useful friend, where no intelligence was to be obtained, and where no communication could be established.

The situation of affairs was, however, so urgent, as to admit of no hesitation or delay; for if Greene should return from South Carolina, the junction with Philips would be impracticable; and Lord Cornwallis was in no condition to maintain the war where he was. To guard against the worst that might happen, he dispatched instructions to Col. Balfour, to send transports and provisions to Wilmington, in order that they might be in readiness to receive the troops in case of misfortune. Having thus provided for every possible contingency, he began his march on the 25th of April, and arrived at Petersburg, in Virginia, in something less than a month.

He there received the unwelcome news, of the loss of Major Gen. Philips; who, to the great

detriment of the service, had died of a fever a little before his arrival. That gentleman had been distinguished in early life, by the full approbation which his ability in the conduct of the artillery had received from that great commander, the Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, on different occasions of the late war in Germany; a commendation which he justified in every part of his subsequent conduct, but particularly in the unequalled toils, duties, and dangers, of the northern war under General Burgoyne.

The command had devolved immediately May 13th. upon General Arnold, on Philips's death; and Sir Henry Clinton was sending General Robertson, the Governor of New York, to assume it, when he received the account of Lord Cornwallis's arrival, which rendered the measure unnecessary. He likewise dispatched a reinforcement of from 1500 to 2000 men, to the Chesapeake, in order to support the war with vigour in Virginia. In this central province, all the scattered operations of active hostility began at length to converge into a point. The plot thickened apace; and here the grand catastrophe of the American war, began at length to open to the fatigued attention of the world. The Marquis de la Fayette, with a very inferior force, kept on the north side of James's River; and with a degree of prudence and caution, which does not always suit the military vivacity of his country and time of life, acted so entirely on the defensive, and at the same time made so judicious a choice of posts, and shewed such vigour



vigour and design in his movements, as prevented any advantage being taken of his weakness. He had been in long and anxious expectation of being joined by General Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line; and hoped that junction would have been soon followed by the arrival of Gen. Greene from South Carolina.

Upon the falling down of the British forces towards the mouth of the river, with a view of collecting contributions at Williamsburg, and in the adjoining country, De la Fayette shewed no small activity in counteracting their design; and upon their sudden return up James River, and landing at Brandon, on the south side, he immediately conceived their object to be the forming of a junction with Lord Cornwallis, of whose marching through North Carolina, he had received some faint intelligence. He accordingly made a rapid movement, in order to get before them to Petersburg, where the advantages of situation would in some considerable degree have compensated for the want of force, and would have rendered the junction troublesome, if not difficult. In this design he was foiled, through the vigilance and foresight of the British commanders; and the last act of Gen. Philips, was the taking possession of Petersburg, four days only before his death. It does not appear that the Virginia militia displayed any great exertion at this time; and those who joined Fayette, being mostly without arms, could be of little use to him who had not the means of supplying them.

During these transactions, the important post at Ninety-Six, in

South Carolina, was closely invested, and held to be in the most imminent danger. It seemed ominous (but such was the hostile state of the country) that none of the messengers, which Lord Rawdon and Colonel Balfour had dispatched to Col. Cruger, with orders for abandoning that place, had been able to reach him. The fort was, however, in a better state of defence than had been expected. The works were completed and strong; and the garrison amounted to near 400 regular troops, besides militia. In these circumstances, Greene found himself obliged to sit down before it in form, on the 22d of May; the garrison made a gallant defence, and the failure of provisions afforded the principal cause of apprehension.

The fortunate arrival of three regiments from June 3d. Ireland, under the conduct of Col. Gould, afforded an opportunity for the relief of this garrison which would otherwise have been desperate. For though they were destined to join Lord Cornwallis, the good disposition and promptness of the commander to concur in the immediate defence of the province, as a more urgent service than any other in view, prevented those difficulties which must otherwise have arisen. These circumstances suddenly changed the face of affairs, and enabled Lord Rawdon to undertake the relief of Ninety-Six.

Augusta had also been for some time besieged; and the whole province of Georgia was deemed to be in such imminent danger, that Lord Rawdon found himself under a necessity, even in that state



state of weakness which preceded the arrival of the troops from Ireland, to part with the king's American regiment, and to commit it to the hazard of passing in such small craft as were at hand, and without convoy, from Charles-Town, in order to reinforce Sir James Wright at the town of Savannah. Thus the business of the war seemed every where to multiply in proportion to the means and provision that were provided from all quarters for its support.

Lord Rawdon marched from Charles-Town, with something more than 1700 foot, and 150 horse, for the relief of Ninety-Six, in four days after the arrival of the troops from Ireland. He was joined on the way by Col. Doyle, with the troops which he had left at Monk's Corner; and he pressed his march with all the rapidity which the excessive heat of the weather would permit. To prevent the enemy's detachments on the Congaree, and other parts on the eastern side, from reinforcing Greene, while he was pushing forwards, he deviated from the course which he otherwise would have taken, and keeping considerably more to the right, passed the little Saluda, near its junction with the greater river of that name. This route, however, enabled a Colonel Middleton, who was on his way from the Congaree, with about 300 cavalry and mounted militia, to endeavour to harass his rear, and particularly to obstruct the parties which were necessarily engaged in collecting cattle for the support of the army. After giving some trouble of this nature, Middleton being trained into a well laid ambush, was spi-

ritedly charged by Major Coffin, at the head of the royal cavalry, and his party was so completely routed and dispersed, as never again to appear during the march.

Lord Rawdon received intelligence on his march of the loss of Augusta; that the forces employed in the reduction of that place had joined Greene; and that the latter was determined, rather than give up his point at Ninety-Six, to stand an action. But that commander did not think himself in condition to hazard the encounter of so formidable a foe from without, while his hands were fully occupied by the exertions of an enemy within, who had from the beginning given constant proofs of their determined courage and resolution; and still much less, could his force admit of such a division, as would enable him, with any prospect of success, to encounter Lord Rawdon on his way, and at the same time to leave such a strength behind, as would be necessary for guarding the works, and overawing the garrison. He was likewise disappointed by Sumpter, to whom he had sent instructions to join him with all the force that could be collected on the side of the Congaree, with a view, as he says, himself, of fighting the British army on its way; but whether it proceeded from some slowness in his movements, or from unavoidable delay, the junction was not effected in time, and the route taken by Lord Rawdon for the purpose, rendered it afterwards impracticable.

But exclusive of these causes, he was not now to learn, the great superiority of his enemy, in all field



field or general engagements. Nor in fact, was his force very considerable in respect even to number, and it was still much less so in point of estimation. His continental, or regular troops, formed but a diminutive part of the whole; and the others, whatever service they might be of in their own way, were of very little in regular action. On the other hand, he knew that the troops that were marching against him, were fresh, excellent, and that those who were newly arrived were particularly full of ardour for an opportunity to signalize themselves.

He however saw, that something must necessarily be attempted; and that even the running of some risque, which would not be too decisive in its worst consequences, could scarcely, in the present circumstances, be construed into imprudence. He had already pushed his sap very close to the principal redoubt of the fort at Ninety-Six, and had nearly completed a subterraneous passage into the ditch; but his artillery had failed in their effect, and the works of the fort had yet suffered little. The nearness of Lord Rawdon left no time for proceeding farther by regular approach; and as he could not venture an engagement, he must either abandon the place shamefully without an attempt, or hazard a premature assault.

June 19th. Gen. Greene determined upon the latter. The attack was made before day; and the Americans who were appointed to storm the redoubt displayed an undaunted courage. The garrison received them with equal gallantry. Scarcely an offi-

cer or private man who entered the ditch, but was either killed or wounded; and yet, though the impracticability of the attempt soon became as obvious to all as its danger, no one betrayed by a single movement, the smallest indication of quitting his ground. The commander seeing so many brave men fruitlessly fall, and that fortune or chance, which so often befriended bold enterprize, shewed no disposition at all of acting in their favour, put an end to the combat, before it became more ruinous, by calling off the remainder soon after day light.

As Greene scarcely less than expected what now really happened, he had accordingly provided for the event. All the heavy baggage and incumbrances of the camp, had been previously dispatched across the Saluda; whither, upon this repulse, he also immediately retired with his whole force. Though the Americans lost some valuable officers, and not a few private men, in this attack, yet the number actually slain (as frequently happens in such cases) was much below what might have been expected. Nothing could exceed the conduct and firmness of the governor and garrison, whether in the assault, or during every previous part of the siege.

Lord Rawdon arrived at Ninety-Six on the 21st of June; and having received intelligence that Greene had halted in a strong position behind Rush River, at about 16 miles distance, and that he was likewise still incumbered with some waggons and baggage, that active commander put his fatigued troops again in motion, and crossed the Saluda on the following night in his pursuit; every kind of baggage,



gage, even the men's packs, being left behind at Ninety-Six. Greene was, however, so well acquainted now with the character of his enemy, and so well guarded against surprize, that the British troops had scarcely passed the Saluda, when he moved with the utmost expedition from Bush River. Lord Rawdon pursued him with the utmost rapidity; and arrived at the fords of the Ennoree, forty miles from Ninety-Six, within two hours of the time that Greene's army had passed them. The troops were so spent with fatigue, and overcome by the heat, that it was impossible to do more; but Greene was so apprehensive of his enemies, that he continued his retreat, or rather flight, without ceasing, until he had passed both the Tyger and the Broad Rivers.

The British commander found it necessary to abandon the post of Ninety-Six; but as he would not omit any mark of attention to the loyalists of that country, much less have it imagined that they were abandoned, he ordered that the principals should be convened, and proposals made to them—That if they would keep together, and undertake the defence of the district against their own disaffected inhabitants, a small party should be left to keep them in countenance, with the farther encouragement, that detachments from the Congarees should at all times be sent to their support, equivalent to any force which Greene might dispatch to invade their territory: and that on the other hand, care should be taken to provide for the removal of such families as should prefer to be

fixed upon the abandoned plantations, within the new frontier, which was now intended to be established.—The result was, that the loyalists determined, for the security and preservation of their families, to bring them away under the protection of the army; with the farther view, when they were settled within the assigned limits, that the men should be embodied, in order to make incursions into the disaffected settlements.

As Lord Rawdon's impatience to prosecute the business of the campaign, would not admit of his waiting for this determination, he left Colonel Cruger behind, with much the greater part of his force, for the purpose of carrying it into execution; while he marched himself, with 800 infantry, and sixty horse, for the Congarees.

He had previously written, when on his way to Ninety-Six, to Col. Balfour, stating the expediency of sending a strong corps from Charles-Town to Orangeburgh, as a provision against any similar event that might possibly happen. Upon Balfour's application to Colonel Gould, he immediately granted a battalion of his corps for that purpose; and Lord Rawdon, before his departure from Ninety-Six, had, in consequence, received advice from the commandant of Charles-Town, not only of Gould's compliance, but that the 3d regiment was under orders to arrive at Orangeburgh by a specified day, and there to wait his instructions; and, as if it were to remove every possibility of doubt, he received a succeeding letter from Col. Stuart, who commanded that regiment, with

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information, that he was already considerably advanced on his way to Orangeburgh. This information, and a full confidence in the expected support, were the grounds upon which Lord Rawdon founded his immediate plan of operation; and were particularly the cause of his leaving so great a part of his force behind, and advancing with rather an unequal corps to the Congarees. In the same persuasion, he dispatched a number of messengers by different routes, to meet Colonel Stuart at Orangeburgh, and appointing their junction at the Congarees on the 3d of July.

Through some error or misapprehension, which has not been explained, Colonel Stuart was not only stopped on his march by orders from Charles-Town, but was so far recalled, that he fell back to Dorchester, on his return to that place. It may be observed, that the expectation and apprehension of a French fleet and army on the coast, in order to co-operate with Greene, and to put a final end to the war in that quarter by the reduction of Charles-Town, had a great influence on the operations of this campaign, and on the conduct and movements of the commanders on both sides; it may not therefore be unreasonable to suppose, that this apprehension, perhaps revived by some new report, occasioned the recall of Col. Stuart. But however that may be, it certainly was a measure which, under other circumstances, might have proved fatal in the event to Lord Rawdon; and which was attended with no small danger even in the present instance.

Greene had early information of the state of force in which the British commander marched from Ninety-Six; and had the fortune likewise to intercept a letter from Colonel Stuart, signifying the change that had been made in his instructions, and the consequent impossibility of meeting him at the time and place appointed. These circumstances led him to the design of surrounding Lord Rawdon so effectually that he could not extricate himself, while he continued lingering in the vain expectation of a reinforcement which was not to arrive.

Lord Rawdon by forced marches, in order to surprize a body of militia, of which he had received some intelligence, arrived at the Congarees two July 1st. days before the appointed time; a rapidity of movement, which probably had no small effect upon the issue of Greene's scheme. He soon discovered that the enemy's light troops were in the neighbourhood, and took the necessary precautions on that account; but his cavalry, regardless of express orders to the contrary, went out by themselves to forage on the morning of the very day upon which Col. Stuart was expected. They were soon surrounded by Lee's legion, and two officers, with forty dragoons, and their horses, were all taken without a blow. This, which in other circumstances would not have been much thought of, was in the present a most grievous stroke; and more particularly so, as the means of procuring intelligence in this crisis of so much danger, was thereby cut off almost entirely. This loss, with the unexpected  
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assemblage of the enemy, which had already been discovered in the neighbourhood, and the unexpected failure on Stuart's side, happily laid open at once to Lord Rawdon, all the danger of his own situation. He accordingly determined instantly to begin his march towards Orangeburgh; and to meet or find Stuart wherever he was.

His route lay across Congaree Creek, at about three miles distance; a broad piece of water, in most parts deep, and enclosed by difficult banks. Colonel Lee, who had been appointed to the guard of this passage, having destroyed the bridge, and felled trees to render the fords impracticable, had then posted himself behind the creek, with a considerable body of cavalry, and some infantry of his legion. The intense heat of the sun about noon, which seemed almost to disable every sort of motion, and in every species of animal, had thrown the Americans off their guard; and the unexpected arrival of the British forces in that critical period, served much to facilitate the passage. After the exchange of only a few ineffectual shots, a body of infantry were thrown over, who having dispersed the enemy without trouble, the troops soon cleared the fords, and passed them without interruption.

Lord Rawdon was joined on the day after his arrival at Orangeburgh, by Col. Stuart, with his own regiment; but was greatly disappointed at finding that he was unaccompanied by a body of cavalry, which had been promised and which were so particularly wanted. At the same time advice

was received, that Greene had passed the Congaree, and was in full march to attack the British army. That commander, having missed, what he little less than considered as a certain prey, had collected all the force which the country afforded, and seemed determined, before they were farther strengthened, to try his fortune in the field. He July 10th. accordingly led his army within four miles of the British camp; and in the evening, at the head of his cavalry, closely reconnoitred their position. As their situation had but little of strength in it, excepting that the winding of the river, which lay in their rear, would in some measure remedy the total want of cavalry, by serving as a cover to their flanks, and reducing the enemy to a direct attack, Lord Rawdon flattered himself, that Greene's superiority of numbers, would in the morning have tempted him to the trial.

While the British forces were impatient for that wished event, their disposition and countenance had produced a directly contrary effect. For Greene had abandoned his camp, and retired with such expedition in the night, and his movement was so long and effectually covered by his numerous light troops, that he had secured his passage back across the Congaree, before Lord Rawdon had received notice of his retreat. —An unsuccessful attempt made by Sumpter, Lee, and Marion, upon the 19th regiment at Monk's Corner, along with this retreat of Greene, closed the campaign in South Carolina; the intemperateness of the climate, for a season,  
over



overcoming the violence of man. Greene being joined by Marion and the rest, took post on the high hills of Santee, to the eastward of that river. The Santee, the Congaree, and the Edisto, were the established boundaries on the British side.

It is impossible to do justice to the spirit, patience, and invincible fortitude, displayed by the commanders, officers, and soldiers, during these dreadful campaigns in the two Carolinas. They had not only to contend with men, and these by no means deficient in bravery and enterprize, but they encountered and surmounted difficulties and fatigues from the climate and country, which would appear insuperable in theory, and almost incredible in the relation. They displayed military, and, we may add, moral virtues, far above all praise. During renewed successions of forced marches, under the rage of a burning sun, and in a climate, at that season, peculiarly inimical to man, they were frequently, when sinking under the most excessive fatigue, not only destitute of every comfort, but almost of every necessary, which seems essential to his existence. During the greater part of

the time, they were totally destitute of bread, and the country afforded no vegetables for a substitute. Salt at length failed; and their only resources were water and the wild cattle which they found in the woods. Above fifty men, in this last expedition, sunk under the vigour of their exertions, and perished through mere fatigue. We must not, however, confine the praise entirely to the British troops, as a detachment of Hessians, which had been lent upon this occasion by General de Bose, deservedly come in for their proper share. The same justice requires, that the Americans should not be deprived of their share of this fatal glory. They had the same difficulties to encounter, joined to a fortune in the field generally adverse. Yet, on the whole, the campaign terminated in their favour. General Greene having recovered the far greater part of Georgia, and of the two Carolinas.

It is a melancholy consideration, that such talents, bravery, and military virtue, should have been exercised in vain. This inauspicious war, was the only one, in which they would not have produced their proper effect.



## C H A P. VI.

*Great loss sustained by the Spanish fleet in a hurricane, on its way to the attack of West Florida. Isrefitted, and again proceeds from the Havanna. Pensacola invested by sea and land. Gallant defence. Principal redoubt blown up by accident, which compels Governor Chester, and General Campbell, to a surrender. West Indies. Ineffectual attempt on the island of St. Vincent. Dutch island of St. Eustatius taken by the British fleet and army, under Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan. Prodigious booty. Islands of St. Martin and Saba surrender. Dutch man of war and convoy, on their return to Europe, pursued and taken. The settlements of Demerary, Issequibo, and the Berbices, on the coast of Surinam, make a tender of submission to the British government, and are granted favourable conditions. Discontents, complaints, and law suits, occasioned by the confiscation of private property at St. Eustatius. M. de Grasse arrives with a fleet and great convoy in the West Indies from Europe. Engagement between him and the Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, in the Channel of St. Lucia. Sir George Rodney departs from St. Eustatius to oppose the progress of the enemy. Ineffective attempt made by the Marquis de Bouille on the island of St. Lucia. French invasion of the island of Tobago. Vigorous defence. Public spirit of the planters. Surrendered by capitulation. M. de Grasse, having escorted a vast convoy on its way to Europe, proceeds with his fleet to the Chesapeake. Sir George Rodney returns to England; and Sir Samuel Hood sails with a squadron to counteract the designs of De Grasse at the Chesapeake.*

**W**HILST Englishman was thus fighting against Englishman in the Carolinas and Virginia; still farther to the southward, Spain was prosecuting her views with effect against England in West Florida. We have already shewn the success that had attended Don Bernardo de Galvez, Governor of Louisiana, in his different expeditions, in the years 1779, and 1780, first against the British settlements on the Mississippi, and afterwards against the town and fort of Mobile. These successes, and the consequent reduction of General Campbell's small force naturally extended his views to the taking of Pensacola, and thereby completing the con-

quest of the province. The involved state of the British affairs, (which were every day, and in every part of the globe, becoming more embarrassed) afforded every encouragement that could quicken him in the prosecution of that design.

After some unsuccessful attempts in the last year, which had failed in the outset, Don Galvez went himself to the Havannah, in order to forward, and take upon him the command of a great expedition from thence, which was intended for the beginning of the present. Fortune seemed at first to smile upon Pensacola; but unluckily, no means were, or probably could be afforded, to profit of the occasion.



sion. A violent hurricane had nearly ruined the Spanish fleet. Four capital ships, besides others of different denominations, were totally lost, and all on board perished. The loss of lives was rated considerably above two thousand. The remainder of the shattered fleet put back to the Havannah; several of them being much torn and dismasted, and the whole considerably injured.

The critical arrival of four store ships from Spain during their absence, enabled them to refit speedily; and knowing there was no British naval force in the way to oppose them, without waiting till the whole fleet was in condition, they dispatched five sail of the line, with several smaller vessels of war, to conduct Don Galvez, with between seven and eight thousand land forces, on the expedition. This force arrived before Pensacola on the 9th of March, 1781; and were followed in time by Don Solano, with the remainder of the fleet, the whole amounting to 15 sail of the line.

The principal strength of the place seems to have lain in the defence of the harbour; for while that was made good, the enemy would not only be exposed to great difficulties and disadvantages in their landing, but afterwards in the covering and carrying on of their approaches; and which would still be too distant from the works to produce much effect. But the land batteries were not sufficient to guard the entrance without some naval support; and that which they now had was weak indeed, consisting only of two sloops, or other small vessels of war. These, however, gallantly

seconded the batteries; and both together gave much trouble, and caused no small delay to the enemy. Their vast superiority of force, when it could be brought properly to bear, was, however, irresistible. The passage was accordingly at length forced; the landing effected; ground broken; and the siege commenced in form by sea and land. The garrison was weak; and composed of almost all sorts of men. Detachments from, or rather the remains of different British regiments; Maryland and Pennsylvania loyalists; some of the German troops of Waldeck; together with sailors, marines; inhabitants, (for every man was of necessity a soldier); negroes; and, before the place was closely invested, a few Indians, formed the motley assemblage, who were to defend Pensacola against so formidable a force.

It was much to the honour of Gen. Campbell, the governor, that there was not the smallest discordance in so various a garrison; and it was no less praise to themselves, that the whole behaved bravely, patiently, and obediently, through every part of the siege. It would be unnecessary to mention, only that their fate might otherwise appear doubtful, that the captains, officers, and crews of the two royal sloops of war, after burning their vessels, bore a distinguished part in the defence of the fort. Indeed every part of the defence was vigorous; and notwithstanding the weakness of the garrison, some well directed sallies were gallantly made, and successfully executed. In the first week of May, the besiegers had yet done nothing that looked to a



decision. They were not, however, at all slack in advancing their works, and the fate of the place was inevitable; but it would still have cost them considerably more time and trouble, if an untoward accident had not frustrated the hopes of the besieged.

The principal defence of the place consisted in a strong advanced redoubt, by which it was covered, and which commanded the narrow approach to it on the land side. This was accordingly to be supported to the last; which had hitherto been done with great spirit, and the works had suffered less than might have been expected. The accidental falling of a bomb, near the door of the magazine belonging to the redoubt, and which lay under its center, decided the fate of Pensacola. The bursting of the bomb forced open the door, set fire to the powder within, and in an instant, the whole body of the redoubt presented nothing but a heap of rubbish. Of about an hundred men who suffered by this explosion, three parts lost their lives, and the fourth were miserably maimed and wounded. Two flank works still remained entire; and through the extraordinary coolness and intrepidity of the officers who commanded in these, and the excellent use they made of their artillery, the besiegers, who rushed on pell mell to take advantage of the confusion, and to storm the place, were, in their first onset, repulsed. By this brave exertion, time was obtained to carry off the wounded, and such artillery as were not buried in the ruins. But the enemy now bringing up their whole force to attack

the flank redoubts, they were of necessity abandoned.

The enemy then made a shew of advancing to storm the body of the place; but the countenance they observed, and the state of preparation they perceived, induced them to relinquish the design. They, however, now derived such advantages from the possession of the ruined redoubt, and of the flank works, that the place was no longer tenable; for they commanded some of the principal batteries so effectually with their small arms, that the soldiers and seamen could no longer stand to their guns. In these circumstances, and without the most distant hope of relief, it would have been madness to contend longer. It was singular, that in this state of imminent and apparent danger, and with all the horrors of the recent destruction before their eyes, not a single word about a surrender was heard in the garrison. An honourable capitulation was obtained, by Mr. Chester, the governor of the province, and Major Gen. Campbell; and that was all that could have been expected, or even hoped. The place was delivered up, on the May 9th. day two months, that the enemy had first made their appearance.

Thus fell the province of West Florida, which had been held among the principal acquisitions obtained to Great Britain by the treaty of Paris.

Whilst the war thus alternately raged and languished in different parts of the continent of North America, it will be necessary to take a view of those transactions in the West-Indies, which led in no small degree in their consequences,



sequences, to that fatal event which was to close the campaign in Virginia, and seemed to threaten no less than the total extinction of the British power in that part of the world.

Upon the return of Admiral Sir George Rodney from New York to St. Lucia, towards the close of the year 1780, the reports which were received, of the ruinous and dismantled state of the island of St. Vincent, through the effects of the late hurricane, induced that commander and Gen. Vaughan, to undertake an expedition for the recovery of that island. Some troops, with the marines of the fleet, were accordingly landed; but after a day's continuance on the island, the enemy were found in such force, and their works in such condition, that the commanders suffered the mortification of being obliged to re-embark the troops, without venturing to hazard an attack.

It was not much more than a month after this ineffective attempt, when the commanders in chief by sea and land, in consequence of instructions from England, directed their views to the reduction of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. This island, barren and contemptible in itself, has long been the seat of a lucrative and prodigious commerce; and indeed might be considered as the grand free port of the West-Indies and America, and as a general market, and magazine, to all nations. Its richest harvests were, however, during the seasons of warfare amongst its neighbours; owing to its neutrality and situation, with its unbounded and unclogged freedom of trade. So

strong was the spirit of commerce, and so immersed were its checkered and transient inhabitants in traffick and gain, that when Holland herself was engaged in a war, the same freedom of trade continued, and the enemy were not only supplied with all manner of common necessaries, but even with naval and military stores, as if no rupture with the parent state had taken place.

This island is a natural fortification; and has but one landing place, which might be easily rendered impracticable to an enemy. But hostility and war, with respect to themselves, being totally out of the ideas of such a people, defence could not be thought of. It will be easily conceived, that the inhabitants of such a barren rock were not very numerous; and from the circumstances we have related it will not appear surprising, that they should notwithstanding include in their number, some less or greater portion of the natives of almost all trading countries.

The British fleet and army, after exciting an alarm on the coasts of Martinique, with a view only of disguising their real design, suddenly appeared before Feb. 3d. and surrounded the island of St. Eustatius with a 1781.

great force; when Sir George Rodney, and General Vaughan, sent a peremptory summons to the governor, to surrender the island and its dependencies within an hour; accompanied with a declaration or threat, that if any resistance was made, he must abide by the consequences. Mr. de Graaff, the governor, totally ignorant of the rupture between England and



Holland, could scarcely, at first, believe the officer who delivered the summons to be serious. He, however, returned for answer, that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it; only recommending the town and inhabitants to the known and usual clemency of British commanders.

The wealth found in the place was so prodigious, as to excite the astonishment even of the conquerors, notwithstanding their intimate previous knowledge of its nature and circumstances. The whole island seemed to be only one vast magazine. All the store-houses were not only filled with various commodities, but the beach was covered with hogheads of sugar and tobacco. The value of the commodities was estimated, by a loose, but supposed moderate calculation, as being considerably above three millions sterling. But this was only a part. The capture of shipping was immense. Above 250 vessels of all denominations, and many of them richly loaded, were taken in the bay; exclusive of a Dutch frigate of war, of 38 guns, and five lesser ones.

The neighbouring small islands of St. Martin and Saba, were reduced in the same manner; and Sir George Rodney having information, that a fleet of about 30 large ships, richly laden with sugar, and other West-India commodities, had, just before his arrival, sailed from Eustatius for Holland, under convoy of a flag ship of sixty guns, he immediately dispatched the Monarch and Panther, with

the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of them. These soon overtook the convoy; and the Dutch admiral refusing to strike his colours, (for he had refrained, as he saw he could not support it, from hoisting his flag, upon a principle of naval if not national honour) and all remonstrances proving ineffectual to subdue his obliquity, a short engagement took place between him, in the Mars, and Capt. Reynolds in the Monarch; in which the former died bravely in defence of his ship. The Mars then immediately struck; and the Panther and Sybil having in the mean time restrained the flight and separation of the merchantmen, the whole convoy was taken.

This was one of the severest blows that Holland could have received. The Dutch West-India company, with the magistracy and citizens of Amsterdam, were undoubtedly great sufferers upon the occasion. But the greatest weight of the calamity seems to have fallen upon the British merchants, who confiding in the neutrality of the place, and in some acts of parliament, made to encourage the bringing of their property from the islands lately taken by the French, had accumulated a great quantity of West-India produce, as well as of European goods, in this place. For all the property was indiscriminately seized, inventoried, and declared to be confiscated.

The keeping up of Dutch colours in the nominal fort at St. Eustatius, rendered it for some time a decoy to French, Dutch, and American vessels; a considerable number



number of which fell accordingly into the hands of the conquerors without trouble.

As the immediate passion usually presides over, if it does not entirely supersede all former, so our new enemy seemed now to absorb the whole body of our wrath. In the West-Indies particularly, the late successes, and the immense rewards which they afforded, directed all the views of rapine, if not of ambition, to the Dutch settlements, which were totally defenceless; and indeed, it seemed for a time, as if it had been entirely forgotten, that we had any other enemy to encounter. It was impossible that this dream could last long. And, like other illusions of the same nature, the awaking was attended with disappointment, trouble, and dismay.

A squadron of privateers, mostly belonging to Bristol, as soon as they heard of the rupture with Holland, boldly entered the rivers of Demerary and Iffequibo, which were deemed highly dangerous, if not utterly unnavigable to strangers, and with no small degree of courage and enterprize, brought out, from under the guns of the Dutch forts and batteries, almost all the vessels of any value in either river. The prizes were considerable. And as it was impossible for the privateers to be yet provided with letters of marque and reprisal against the new and unexpected enemy, they trusted to the honour of government not to take any advantage of that defect, in doing, what appeared to them, to be good service to their country as well as to themselves.

These settlements of Demerary

and Iffequibo, as well as the neighbouring one of Berbices, appertain to the Dutch colony, which is known by the general name of Surinam, and which forms a moderate part of that vast country on the continent of South America, antiently called Guiana; for ever rendered memorable by the unhappy fate of Sir Walter Raleigh. The principal settlement, properly called Surinam, and which takes its name, like the rest, from the great river on which it is situated, was first cultivated (but not in any great degree) by the English; and being taken by the Dutch in the wars with Charles the Second, was ceded to them by a peace, as some sort of compensation for their valuable colony of New-York. We are not certain, whether a law suit is not yet in some degree kept alive, by the descendants or assignees of a Mr. Clifford, at that time the most considerable planter in the colony, and who laid large claims upon the Dutch West-India company for the losses which he then sustained, and which have never yet been properly adjusted.

The governors and principal inhabitants of those settlements which we first mentioned, being sensible of their defenceless situation, and being terrified at the apprehension of falling a prey to adventurers, who are as seldom considered as being strict observers, as of being proper judges, of the laws and customs of nations, had already made a tender of their submission to the Governor of Barbadoes; requiring no other terms but a participation of those which had been granted to St. Eustatius



and its dependencies. As both parties were equally ignorant of these terms, the newly proposed subjects were necessarily referred to the commanders in chief; who could alone tell the nature of conditions which had never been specified, and of which they were consequently the only interpreters and judges. A deputation was accordingly sent by the Dutch colonists to St. Eustatius for that purpose.

There they found that they had made a very improvident demand, as in effect, the terms which they required were, that they might be despoiled of all their goods, and banished from their habitations. For this was the general treatment of the greater part of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius. But the odium which this rigorous proceeding began already to excite, the embarrassments which it created, and the impossibility of applying it, though nominally required, to a people who had voluntarily put themselves under the British dominion, obtained another sort of treatment for the inhabitants of these colonies.

A nice line of distinction was drawn, between the honesty and good properties of Dutchmen inhabiting the continent, and of those living in islands; and the point of comparative merit was decided entirely to the honour and advantage of the former. They were accordingly fully secured in their property; were allowed to be governed by their own laws and magistrates; and had every other indulgence granted, which could have been reasonably or fairly expected. At the same time that their unfortunate fellows in

St. Eustatius were obliged to undergo the opprobrium, of having the atrocious crimes of perfidiousness and perjury publicly charged and recorded against them in the gazettes; and were accordingly treated, as men unworthy of any degree of protection or security, much less of indulgence or favour.

The British merchants in the West-Indies, as well as at home, having been great sufferers by the indiscriminate confiscation of all private property which took place at St. Eustatius, and the former, who from their vicinity were more early and fully acquainted with the transactions at that place, being likewise greatly irritated at the supposed injustice and oppression, and the certain ruin, which individuals of their own country, as well as their friends and correspondents of others had suffered, all these matters at first drew out strong representations to the commanders in chief, and were at length productive of numberless law suits, which, probably, are not likely to be soon ended. These circumstances by degrees occasioned a great coolness, which at length carried too many marks of growing up to a settled dislike, between the naval commander in chief, and those old British islands which were committed to his charge and protection; than which, nothing more unhappily could have taken place, in so critical a season of the war.

Fretted and teized by remonstrances which he despised, and by legal disquisitions, which he could not attend to, the indignation of the admiral appeared, in strong charges, and an unusual tone and language, even in those parts of his



his public letters which were held out in the gazette. That gazette made him declare, that the settlements of Demerary and Iſſequibo would, in a few years, under proper encouragement, employ more ſhips, and produce more revenue, than all the Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands put together. In another of the ſame date, and printed in the ſame paper, he lays the moſt dangerous charge againſt the Britiſh Weſt India merchants, of their having, regardless of the duty which they owed to their country, contracted with the enemy to ſupply them with provisions and naval ſtores; and he ſtrengthened the charge by an aſſurance, that his utmoſt attention ſhould be directed to prevent the treaſon from taking place.

It would be an injuſtice to the mercantile intereſt, not to take notice, that (after a large reward had been long publicly offered by the aſſembly of St. Chriſtopher's, for the diſcovery of thoſe ſuppoſed traitors) a juſtification, or refutation of the above charge, has been publicly and ſtrongly, but without effect, demanded. It is, however, too much to be apprehended, that the diſtaſte and heart-burnings ariſing from theſe matters, as well as from the unhappy diſputes which have ſubſiſted between the governments and the people in ſome of the Weſt India Iſlands, contributed, in no ſmall degree, to the loſſes we have ſuſtained in that quarter of the globe.

The merchants of St. Chriſtopher's, who had ſuffered greatly by the conſiſcation of property at St. Euſtatiuſ, and even the legiſlature of that iſland, took up the

buſineſs, ſo far as it was in their power, with great ſpirit. Several ſtrong remonſtrances were preſented to the commander in chief, in which they ſtated, that their connections with that iſland, and the property they had lodged in it, were all in purſuance to, and under the ſanction of repeated acts of the Britiſh parliament; and that their commerce had beſides been entirely founded upon the fair principles of merchandize, and conducted according to the rules and maxims adopted by all trading nations. Theſe remonſtrances produced as little effect, as the laconic answers, which were at ſome times with difficulty obtained by the committees who were deputed upon the buſineſs, afforded of ſatisfaction. At length, after much application, and rather as an act of favour to an individual, a note was given in writing, the ſtrength of which lay in the following words, viz. that the iſland was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and, as Dutch it ſhould be treated.

It is painful to go through all the circumſtances of a buſineſs, which drew upon us (whether the acts were deſenſible or not) the odium of all Europe. Suffice it to ſay, that all the horrors of ſo univerſal an havock of property, which might be expected, were fully realized. The beginning of this ſtorm fell chiefly upon the Jews, who were numerous and wealthy in the iſland. Several of theſe, with many indignities, were torn from their habitations, and baniſhed, without knowing the place of their deſtination; and were, in that ſtate of nakedneſs  
and



and wretchedness, transported, as outlaws, and landed on the island of St. Christopher's. The assembly of that island, to their great honour, passed an immediate act for their present relief, and future provision, until they should have time to recover from their calamitous situation. The Jews were soon followed by the Americans, some, at least, of whom had been obliged to fly their native country, through the part which they had taken in support of the British cause and government. These unhappy people were sent to St. Christopher's, in much the same plight and condition with the former; and were received and entertained with the same humanity and liberality, by the people and legislature of that island. The French merchants and traders were next banished; and, at length, the native Dutch, or at least the Amsterdammers, met with the same fate.

In the mean time, public sales were advertised, invitation given, and protection afforded, to purchasers of all nations and sorts; and the island of St. Eustatius became one of the greatest auctions that ever was opened in the universe. Never was a better market for buyers. The goods were sold for a trifling proportion of their value; and it is said, that the French agents made the greatest and the most lucrative purchases. The greatest part of the goods were conveyed to French and Danish islands; and left to find their way to those enemies, for having supplied whom, in the way of ordinary commerce, this island suffered so severely.

It is necessary to observe, that

the accounts we have of these transactions are derived either from the immediate sufferers, those British West Indians, who, if not partakers in the loss, were more or less connected with those who were losers, or those public accounts given by foreigners. It must be acknowledged, that resentment, prejudice, or partiality, may be supposed to operate, in a less or greater degree, in all those modes of information. But it must likewise be observed, that this kind of evidence has, upon this occasion, derived great force, from the weightiness of the matter, and from its having neither been controverted, nor any other account substituted in its place, by those who were most, and indeed very deeply, interested in its refutation.

Whilst the conquerors of St. Eustatius were bewildered in the immensity of their plunder, matters were tending to a crisis, which was to shake the British power, both in the West Indies and America, to the center.

For towards the end of 22d. March M. de Grasse had sailed from Brest, with a fleet of 25 sail of the line, the *Sagittaire* of 54 guns, 6000 land forces, and a prodigious convoy, amounting to between two and three hundred ships; the whole composing one of the largest and richest fleets that ever sailed from France. Of this formidable armament, five ships of the line, under M. de Suffrein, with part of the land forces, were destined for the East Indies; with a view likewise of intercepting Commodore Johnstone's squadron and convoy on their way. M. de Grasse, with 20 sail of the line, the



the 50 gun ship, and the remainder of the convoy, proceeded directly for Fort-Royal Bay in Martinique.

Though the departure of Commodore Hotham, with a small squadron, in the month of March, for the protection of the convoy, which bore a great part of the St. Eustatius treasure, on its way to England, reduced Sir George Rodney's fleet to 21 sail of the line; yet, we see, that it was not unequal to the encounter of the outward-bound French force under M. de Grasse. But the French had already eight ships of the line, and one 50, at Martinique and St. Domingo; so that the arrival of De Grasse must give them a decided superiority; for Sir Peter Parker had only four sail of the line at Jamaica; and neither the protection of that island, nor its situation so far to leeward, would admit of any reinforcement to the windward islands fleet. Every thing seemed therefore to depend upon the intercepting of De Grasse's squadron and convoy; as his junction, fresh and without action, with the French ships already on the station, must evidently afford the means of endangering most, if not all, of the neighbouring British islands.

Sir George Rodney, accordingly, detached the Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, with 17 sail of the line, to cruise off Fort Royal Bay, for that purpose. He still continued himself, with his own ship the Sandwich of 90, and the Triumph of 74 guns, at St. Eustatius; as did General Vaughan, with the strong body of troops, which seem to have been, from the first, not at all necessary

to the reduction of a place in so poor a state of defence. The Prince William, of 64 guns, was then at St. Lucia; and the Panther, of 60, on a cruise.

The course of the French fleet from Europe to Fort Royal, lay through the channel of St. Lucia; which is about ten leagues over, and separates that island from Martinique. The Cape, or Point of Salines, in the latter, marks the opening of the channel, on the eastern, or windward end, which is the course from Europe; Fort-Royal lies towards the bottom of the channel, where it widens into the main sea, at its western or leeward end. The Diamond Rock lies about half way between, being detached from the point of a strangely-notched and broken neck of land, which stretches into the channel; the west side of the peninsula or neck forming one of the limits of a large bay, which takes its name from Fort-Royal; and that town and noble harbour lying on the opposite side of the bay.

It has been reported, (but we know not upon what authority) that Sir Samuel Hood made some remonstrance, against the squadron's being stationed in the channel off of Fort-Royal Bay, as being continually liable to fall to leeward, and consequently of being rendered incapable of intercepting the enemy: and that he therefore proposed, that they should cruise to windward of Point Salines, a situation which would render it impracticable for any fleet to enter the channel without their encounter; but, it is likewise added, that this advice or proposal was so far from being attended



attended to, that he was peremptorily ordered to adhere to his instruction. However that was, whether the proposal was made, rejected, or not, the subsequent events fully shewed, that the cruise off Point Salines was the measure which should have been adopted.

On the 28th of April, some of Sir Samuel Hood's headmost cruisers returned hastily in sight, with signals, which announced the appearance of a superior fleet and a numerous convoy, to the windward of Point Salines. Notwithstanding the superiority of force now denounced, the admiral immediately made a signal for a general chase to windward, and in some time after, when the ships were pretty well come up, he formed the line a-head. The importance and emergency of the occasion, occasioned a consultation between the admirals in the night when it was determined to continue the line a-head, so that, getting as much as possible to windward, they might be enabled to close in with Fort-Royal at day-light, so as to cut off the enemy from that harbour.

April 29. In the morning the enemy appeared; their convoy, keeping close in under the land, were turning round the Diamond Rock, while De Grasse drew up his fleet in a line of battle a-breast for their protection; and notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the British commanders to gain the wind and prevent it, four ships of the line and a fifty, in Fort-Royal harbour, were enabled to join him. The Prince William likewise, with great celerity and diligence, opportunely

joined Sir Samuel Hood at this critical moment; but the French had still a superiority of six ships of the line.

Notwithstanding this great inequality of force, every possible manœuvre was gallantly used by the British commanders to bring the enemy to close action. As the Count De Grasse was to windward, the option lay entirely with him, both as to action and distance. He chose, in the seaman's phrase, a *long shot* distance. The French fired half an hour before their shot could take effect, and consequently before their fire was returned. At half past eleven their balls began to reach, and the engagement commenced; but still at too great a distance, and continued so to the last. Never, said Sir Samuel Hood, was more powder and shot thrown away in one day.

Although the engagement seemed, in point of firing, to be general, the distance preserved by the enemy, and the strenuous, though ineffectual efforts, made upon every occasion that offered, by the British ships, to close with them, rendered it partial. Thus some of the best ships in the fleet, under the conduct of captains of the most undoubted bravery, did not lose a man; and the loss sustained by several others in the same circumstances, was so trifling as not to deserve mention. On the other hand, the van, and the nearest ships of the center, in their constant struggles to close the enemy, and get to windward, were exposed to a long and heavy weight of fire. By this means, a few ships suffered very considerably; but this was more with respect to their



their masts, hulls, and rigging, than to the loss of men.

The action lasted, from first to last, about three hours; when the British commander, finding that not one shot in ten of the enemy reached, and that all his endeavours to gain the wind were fruitless, ceased firing entirely; and his example was, not long after, followed on the other side. The loss in men amounted only to 36 slain, and 161 wounded; but the service suffered considerably in the death of the brave Capt. Nott of the *Centaur*, who with his first lieutenant, Plowden, gallantly fell in this action. The damage sustained by the *Russel*, and at least four other ships, which rendered them unfit for immediate service, was the greatest loss sustained in this engagement. The former had received so many shot between wind and water, that she was obliged to bear away for St. Eustatius; and was with difficulty preserved from sinking in her passage.

From these unfortunate circumstances, the gallant exertions made by the British officers, for bringing an unwilling enemy to that decisive action, which they so much wished, but were not able to compel him to, had the singular fortune of being productive of some of the actual consequences of a defeat; and of affording so decided a superiority of the French, as could not for some time be resisted.

The French admiral was not blind to the great advantage, which the present comparative situation of both fleets afforded. He accordingly continued in sight, and seemed disposed, on the following

day, to bring matters to that decisive conclusion, which he had before so much evaded. But this design was totally disconcerted by the unexpected manœuvres of Sir Samuel Hood. That judicious commander, seeing that the French line was very irregular, and that the van, and a part of the center, were greatly separated from the rest, made one of those bold movements, which, by throwing the fleet into the greatest apparent confusion, would, to a common eye, have appeared to be full of danger, at the same time that it could only have been directed by the greatest judgment. The object was to gain the wind, in which he was very near succeeding; and in that case, he would have cut off and destroyed one half of the French fleet, before it could have been succoured by the other. Fortune failed in her usual favour to bold enterprize. This movement, however, totally changed the appearance of things; and the British fleet, instead of being on the defensive, carried the face of being the aggressor during the rest of the day.

But the condition of the wounded ships, which grew continually worse by motion, induced the British commanders, in the night, to a determination of bearing away for Antigua, instead of losing any more time, in daring or tempting the enemy to an engagement. The French, elate at any thing which carried the appearance of a flight, and might afford some room for boasting of a victory, pursued in the morning with a vigour which they had not before shewn; and the *Torbay* having fallen considerably a-stern, she received



ceived several shot, and some damage, before she could be relieved, although that was both speedily and boldly done. The French, in order to keep up the name and appearance of a pursuit, continued in fight for the rest of the day.

The arrival of the *Ruffel*, indicated to the conquerors of St. Eustatius, the danger of attending any longer to the sale of the effects in that island. Great exertions were employed to fit her again for service; her damages, though the water had risen above the platform of her magazine, were speedily repaired; and in three days after her arrival, the admiral and general, with the *Sandwich*, *Triumph*, *Ruffel*, and some land forces, proceeded to join Sir Samuel Hood, and to protect the islands. Some time was necessarily spent at Antigua, after the junction, for the repair and supply of the ships which had suffered in the late action; and that business being done, the commander in chief proceeded with the whole fleet to Barbadoes.

In the mean time, the Marquis de Bouille, with a body of troops under the Viscount Damas, landed May 10. in the night on the island of St. Lucia, which, though otherwise strong, was in no great condition of defence in point of garrison. They took post at the town of Gros-Islet, where they hoped to surprize and cut off the 46th regiment. By some fortune or accident they failed in this; though they surprized a sentinel before day light, who was killed in the scuffle; they likewise took an officer prisoner, who, with the sick soldiers in the

hospital, they sent off to Martinique. They then summoned the officer who commanded in Pigeon-Island, threatening the utmost severities of war, if he did not immediately surrender. This post was of the utmost importance, particularly with respect to their intended naval operations. The spirited answer which was returned, and the vigorous preparation they perceived for an obstinate defence, seems to have given the first check to their hopes, if not to their progress.

The accidental arrival of a frigate, and of two sloops of war, who immediately landed their seamen and marines to man the batteries, contributed much to the preservation of the island. In the mean time, the most soldierly dispositions, and vigorous preparations, were made by Brig. Gen. St. Leger, for the defence of the different posts; which were sufficiently strong, but too numerous and extensive for his small force. He was admirably seconded by his officers; and the merchants, with the masters and crews of the trading vessels, all went, with a degree of alacrity and spirit which did them the highest honour, to man and defend their respective posts. Thus, every English, and consequently military part of the island, carried the appearance of the most determined resistance. The natives were naturally on the side of the enemy.

In the night, the French troops took a most painful and toilsome march, to seize the strong grounds about Morne-Fortune, which was the grand or principal post. And on the succeeding day, the danger of the island seemed imminent indeed;



deed; for it was invested by a French fleet of 25 sail of the line. These bore down, with a view of anchoring in Gros-Islet Bay; but they were received with so severe and well-directed a fire, from the batteries on Pigeon-Island, that they were obliged to abandon their design, and to retire, with evident marks of confusion and dismay, to leeward. The Marquis de Bouille, notwithstanding continued to make such dispositions, as indicated a determined design of attacking the strong post of the Morne on the following day. But to the astonishment of the whole island, and the no small dismay of the French natives, he re-embarked all his troops in the night, and the whole fleet was seen standing over to Martinique in the morning.

The French pretend that this was only a feint, intended to disguise their real design upon Tobago. But this seems calculated merely to cover the disgrace of an ineffectual attempt, and of a retreat. The attempt upon St. Lucia was likely to produce a directly contrary effect to that pretended, and to interrupt, instead of furthering their designs upon Tobago. It was to be expected that the first report of it would have drawn Sir George Rodney to that quarter, and that his arrival would have been about the time when they least wished it with respect to Tobago. The probability seems to be, that the French inhabitants, in their eagerness to return to their natural government, had represented things, with respect to the strength and situation of the island, to be worse than they really were, and on

the other hand, that the spirit and vigour displayed by the commanding officer and his garrison, made them appear much better. Thus, meeting with a countenance and preparation which they so little expected, it is very probable, that the consideration of Tobago might then have operated with no small effect, and that they deemed it prudent not to waste their force, where the resistance was so determined, and the event so doubtful, while they had a greater, and perhaps less difficult, object in view.

On the very day that Sir George Rodney, with the fleet, arrived from Antigua at Barbadoes, a small French squadron, with a considerable body of land forces, under the conduct of M. de Blanchelande, late governor of St. Vincent's, appeared off the island of Tobago. Governor May 23. Ferguson immediately dispatched the Rattlesnake, which was a very swift sailer, with the intelligence to Sir George Rodney, at Barbadoes; and Captain Barnes had the fortune to deliver the dispatch, at twelve o'clock on the night of the 26th. It is not our business to enter any farther into the controversy which arose upon this subject, than merely to state the facts as they appear. The commander in chief seems to have conceived, that the force of the invaders was much less, and that of the island considerably greater, than they really were. Under the influence of this opinion, the commander in chief contented himself with sending Admiral Drake, with, six sail of the line, some frigates, with a regiment, and two additional companies,



panies, under the conduct of Gen. Skeene, to its relief. At the same time, some light and expeditious vessels were dispatched, to give the governor notice of the intended succour.

As the commander in chief had received intelligence, that M. de Grasse, with his whole fleet, had quitted Fort Royal, and were cruising between the Diamond Rock and St. Lucia, he gave Mr. Drake notice of the enemy's situation; cautioning him at the same time to be upon his guard, and by no means to risque an engagement with a superior force; but after landing the forces for the relief of Tobago, and endeavouring to destroy the squadron by which it was invested, to rejoin him without a moment's loss of time.

On the day after Drake's 29th. departure, the admiral received intelligence, that the French fleet had been seen to the windward of St. Lucia, and were apparently standing towards Tobago. Upon Admiral Drake's making the island, on the morning of the 30th, he discovered the enemy's fleet, of 27 sail, to leeward, between him and the land. He, however, like a bold and good officer did not haul his wind, until he had fully explored their situation and strength, and saw that it was utterly impossible for him to land the troops, or to afford any relief whatever to the island. He was pursued to a considerable distance; while the garrison and inhabitants, besides the mortification of perceiving that they could not be relieved, were farther comforted with a report,

that the whole squadron and reinforcement had fallen a prey to the enemy.

Admiral Drake dispatched his swiftest frigates to inform Sir George Rodney of what had passed, and of his own return; and arrived in sight of Carlisle Bay on the 2d of June; the fleet did not come out until the following day. General Vaughan himself, with, probably, an additional reinforcement of troops, now embarked on board the fleet.

Upon their arrival off Tobago, they soon received intelligence of the loss of the island, and on the following day were in sight of the French fleet, consisting of 24 sail of the line. The British amounted either to 20, or 21; for the accounts vary in that degree. Notwithstanding this disparity, never were ships cleared with more alacrity for action, nor a greater disposition shewn to it, both by officers and private seamen, than was now done. As the enemy were to leeward, and seemed more disposed to seek than to shun an action, the option seemed to lie on our side. It is probable, that the loss of the island operated in deterring the British commander in chief from hazarding an action against a superior force, when the great object of such a risque was then no more.

Sir George Rodney, in his public dispatches, seems to think that the enemy's design was to entangle him in the night among the Granadillas, and by decoying him among certain currents which would have carried him far to leeward, thereby gain an opportunity of reducing the valuable island



island of Barbadoes, without the possibility of his being able to arrive in time to its succour.

During these transactions at sea, the French met with more trouble and difficulty in the reduction of the island, than they could have expected. After failing in their attempts on the first day, they made their landing good in Courland Bay, on the morning of the 24th. Their force was estimated at between two and three thousand men; whilst, according to the governor's public account, the whole of that for the defence of the island of Tobago, including regulars, militia, and seamen, amounted only to 427 whites, of all sorts, who held arms in their hands: but to these were added a small party of forty armed negroes, who behaved with undaunted courage in some desperate service.

After some emulation about posts, and attempts to impede the progress of the enemy, Gov. Ferguson, with the troops and militia, retired to a post called Concordia: which is a naturally strong high ground, that commands a view of both sides of the island; a circumstance which made it particularly interesting to the defendants. There they were invested, as closely as the nature and difficulty of the ground would admit; M. de Blanchelande having in vain endeavoured to terrify the militia into a desertion of their arms, by threatening plunder and confiscation to their plantations, if they did not return within a short given time to them.

The spirit and patriotism shewn by the planters in general during

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this unequal contest is highly deserving of praise; but the extraordinary instances of magnanimity afforded by individuals, claims particular notice. On the first advance of the enemy, and dispute about posts, Mr. Collow, generously proposed to the governor, to set fire to his own canes, in order to distress them on their march, and to impede their progress through a fast and narrow country. During the siege of Concordia, Mr. Law, understanding that the governor was unwilling to destroy his dwelling house and the adjoining buildings, although they afforded some cover to the enemy, not only made the proposal himself to burn them, but carried it instantly into execution under their fire, being assisted only by his own negroes, who suffered not a little in the conflict. And when the garrison were retired to their last fastness, the way to which was exceedingly narrow, difficult, and utterly unknown to the enemy, neither the threats of immediate destruction to his property, nor of instant death to himself, could in any degree bend his mind to the task, of conducting the French army against his friends.

The siege of Concordia, if such may be called the attack on an open hill, where the garrison had no cover or shelter from the weather, continued from the 25th of May, until the morning of the 1st of June. During the greater part of that time, the governor and garrison were buoyed up by the hope, and impatiently expected the arrival, of that succour, on which their preservation

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seemed to depend. We have already seen that they were disappointed.

The whole French fleet, with the Marquis de Bouille, and a strong reinforcement of troops from Martinique, had arrived off the island before the English succours; and Admiral Drake's letter, which was received in the morning of the 30th, and announced his bringing 528 land forces to their relief, was accompanied with, or speedily followed by intelligence, that he had fallen in with, and was therefore most probably taken by the enemy. The Marquis de Bouille, with his forces, were landed on that evening; and on the following day joined those before Concordia.

In the mean time, the French had taken possession of several of the neighbouring hills, some of which overlooked that place, and of other near and advantageous posts and approaches, which led to their design of carrying it by storm in the night; a measure which they had already tried, but had failed through the error of their guides, in missing the right path in the dark. Under a knowledge of all their circumstances, a council of war was called in the garrison, and the engineers being of opinion that the place was no longer tenable against so superior a force, it was unanimously determined to retreat to a post on the Main Ridge, where a few huts had been built, and some provisions and ammunition previously lodged for the purpose. The retreat was so well conducted, that the place was evacuated at one in the morning of the first of June, and notwithstanding the

nearness of the enemy, the Marquis de Bouille sent a flag after day break to summon the garrison.

But the patience and constancy of the militia, and even of the regular forces, began now to be exhausted. Fretted by long expectation, vexed by continued disappointment, worn down by fatigue, hardship, and the inclemency of the climate, the former beheld their whole present and future prosperity at the brink of ruin; they felt that their obstinacy would render the destruction inevitable, whilst they could not find a hope in favour of farther exertion; they considered that their provisions would be exhausted in a few days, which would render their last strong hold of no longer avail; and all ideas of relief, if not quite erased, were now grown so faint as to be scarcely perceptible.

The measures pursued by the Marquis de Bouille, could not but strengthen these dispositions. Enraged at the escape of an enemy whom he had considered as in his hands; and still more provoked through the apprehension of the war being protracted, from that enemy's getting into a difficult country, and an impracticable post, these circumstances occasioned his departing from these principles of lenity which had hitherto so much distinguished his conduct. To the operation of these circumstances may be added, as not least, or weakest, his open and avowed resentment for the late transactions at St. Eustatius; having made himself a direct party in that business by his fruitless interposition



in behalf of the inhabitants, and by a correspondence of mutual irritation and defiance on the subject.

The marquis accordingly pursued the garrison with the utmost eagerness; but finding his troops overcome by the heat, while the fugitives were still four miles ahead of him, and that he could not even procure any person who would conduct his army thro' the strong country and intricate ways which they had to pass, he determined to make terror unite with force in the shortening of a business, which was likely otherwise not only to become troublesome and tedious, but might in the issue obstruct those great objects which the fleet had still in view. He accordingly ordered two capital plantations, which were at hand, to be reduced to ashes; and finding their destruction did not produce the desired effect, he ordered that four more should meet with a similar fate at the commencement of every four hours, until the island was laid waste, or that a surrender should be made.

The garrison had halted at a place called Caledonia, which lies about the centre of the island. From thence, across the Main Ridge to the north side, is a road or path, six miles long, and so narrow, that two men cannot walk abreast. It is evident, that a few men might defend this long and narrow pass against, almost, any force; and at its farther end was the post which we have mentioned, where the huts were constructed, and the provisions lodged, as the last resort. Whilst the forces rested at Caledonia, the governor, with the engineers, push-

ed on to the huts, in order to make such preparations as were necessary for their reception and disposition.

During his absence, the plantations were set on fire, and the threats held out which we have mentioned. Some account of these transactions brought the governor hastily back; but he found the face of affairs totally changed upon his return. The militia, before so resolute and determined, now absolutely refused to hold out any longer. All his remonstrances were in vain. The despair of relief, and the sight, or the immediate apprehension of seeing their estates in flames, made them deaf to every thing. It would seem, though it does not absolutely appear, that a treaty was already opened, and perhaps far advanced, with the Marquis de Bouille; and it is evident, that the regular forces were no more disposed than the inhabitants to meet the ideas of the governor, in protracting a desperate defence to the last possible moment, and that too at the price of irretrievable destruction to the whole island. The governor represents, that the commanding officer accordingly refused to obey his orders in taking possession of the pass which led to the huts; and that the regular forces determined to capitulate without his consent.

The governor, at first, refused to have any share in the capitulation; but finding that the current was too strong to be by any means resisted, and considering that the people, in the present state of apprehension, hurry, and danger, were liable to agree hastily to worse terms than might otherwise



be obtained, he at length acceded. The conditions were exceedingly favourable and advantageous to the island. Those of Dominique were laid as the ground-work by the governor; and though they differed in some things, the inhabitants thought the present, upon the whole, to be more favourable. The French boast highly in their accounts, of the generosity of their commanders; who instead of being irritated by the difficulties of the conquest, and the extreme perseverance of the inhabitants, who had thereby subjected all their property to the fate of war, were, on the contrary, charmed with such courage and fidelity; and in those generous sentiments granted the most liberal conditions. A conduct, they say, which affords a noble example for all successful commanders; as it will stand an eternal reproach to their enemies, who have divested themselves of every principle of benevolence and justice.

The season was now far advanced; the French had done their business in the West Indies with equal success and eclat; but the great object of the campaign was still to be pursued on the coasts of North America. M. de Grasse accordingly departed with his whole fleet and a large convoy, from Fort Royal Bay in Martinique, on the 5th of July, and arrived at Cape Francois, in Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, by the middle of the month; where he was reinforced by five sail of the line. In the beginning of the following month he sailed from the Cape with a prodigious convoy; which

having seen out of danger, and touched at the Havanna for money, he then directed his course, with 28 sail of the line, and several frigates, for the Chesapeak; where he arrived by the end of the month.

The naval operations of this time may be considered as the great hinges, upon which the whole fortune of the war, at least in America, was to turn. It is not therefore a wonder, that hot and violent altercations arose upon the conduct of the naval campaign in the West Indies, and its subsequent effect upon the fate of North America. These matters are in the end to be determined by opinion; and as they rely too upon facts variously stated and represented, an historian, so near the time, whilst heats subsist, and the true state of evidence cannot be sufficiently ascertained, finds it difficult to determine any thing concerning them. We can, therefore, only represent the arguments of the different sides in this discussion.—Those who attacked the conduct of that campaign said, that the British commander had pretty strongly pledged himself in his public account of the loss of Tobago, that M. de Grasse should not have much to boast of at the end of the campaign. But, say they, did the proceeding of M. de Grasse, with so little interruption, first to leeward, through the whole extent of the West India seas, and quite round to the Bay of Chesapeak, support that promise? Had, say they, Sir George Rodney directly pursued the enemy with his whole fleet, only touching at Jamaica to be reinforced by Sir Peter Parker, the



the squadron already at New York would have given him so decided a superiority, that De Grasse must either have relinquished his design, abandoned the coasts of North America, and thereby defeated the whole scheme and hope of the campaign, or otherwise have fallen a victim to his own temerity. The least fortunate of these events, they say, would, in a great measure, have changed the nature and fortune of the war; but the other would have done it entirely.

Instead, they added, of pursuing these vigorous and happy measures, the admiral abandoned his charge at the most critical period, that had been, or could have been, in this or any war; and at the same time brought away the best ship in the fleet from the scene of action and service, merely for the conveyance of his own person to England. But this was but a trifle, they say, compared with the consequences of the arrangement and disposition of the fleet which he made before his departure.—That he frittered away its force into small parts without an object. That, instead of drawing any strength from Jamaica to assist in counteracting the grand design of the enemy, he sent three ships of the line there, at a time when they could not be wanted; and left others in the Leeward Islands, where they had no longer an enemy to encounter; the French not having left a single ship of the line in all that quarter. That even the sending of a convoy to Europe, in so critical a season of emergency and danger, was a measure which should have been deferred, until the great ob-

jects of the campaign were decided. And that these various errors, which were finally concluded and wound up by the sending of Sir Samuel Hood, with a force totally inadequate, to oppose De Grasse at the Chesapeake, opened the way, and led directly to, that fatal catastrophe, which soon succeeded in Virginia.

On the other side it has been answered, that the Admiral's state of health, rendered his return to England a matter of necessity. But that if no such necessity existed, the expedition to the Chesapeake, or any other, could not have been committed to a braver or better officer, than to Sir Samuel Hood: a man, who the admiral could not hold himself superior to in any respect. That, although the Cambridge was undoubtedly a prime ship, and a capital sailor, yet, that some part of the iron work of her rudder had been so much worn, that its repair was indispensable before she proceeded upon farther service. That considering the great convoy which De Grasse had under his charge, the season of the year, and the crazy state of many of his ships, it was not to be expected or supposed, but that he would have sent the greater part of his fleet along with the merchantmen to France, and it was fairly to be presumed, that he would only have retained those which were in condition to undergo the American service. But that independent of that circumstance, Hood's force was tantamount to its purposes; and that was all a commander in chief had to consider. For if Admiral Graves had kept his squadron en-



tire, and had met Hood, as was expected at the Chesapeak, they would not only have been in possession before De Grasse's arrival, but they would have encountered him with a sufficient force, along with great advantages of situation. But by his fruitless and unfortunate cruize before Boston, he not only missed the proper time of joining, but his force was impaired and weakened by the bad weather which he met; so that it was the lack of the ships which, upon that account, were left behind at New York to repair, that afforded a superiority to De Grasse

in the subsequent engagement, and not any defect on Sir Samuel Hood's side. It indeed now appeared, that no timely notice had been received at New York, either of De Grasse's motions, or of Hood's destination to the Chesapeak. But if the expresses which Sir George Rodney had dispatched for that purpose, were taken by the enemy, or otherwise detained, it was no fault on his side; it was a misfortune to be regretted; but which could neither have been absolutely foreseen, nor prevented if it could.

#### C H A P. VII.

*Lord Cornwallis's progress in Virginia. Passes the River James, and the South Anna. Parties detached to scour the interior country. Arms and stores destroyed. Army falls back towards the sea. Rear attacked on the march to Williamsburg. Action previous to passing the River James. Lord Cornwallis fortifies the posts of York Town, and Gloucester Point. Transactions on the side of New York. Junction of the American army under General Washington, and the French forces under the Count de Rochambeau, on the White Plains. Appearances of an attack on New York, Staten Island, and Sandy Hook. Combined army suddenly march to the Delaware, which they pass at Trenton, and continuing their course through Philadelphia, arrived at the head of Elk. Expedition, under the conduct of Gen. Arnold, to New London. Desperate defence made at Fort Mifflin, which is taken by storm, with considerable loss. New London burnt. Great loss sustained by the Americans, in the destruction of naval stores and merchandize. Sir Samuel Hood arrives off the Chesapeak; and not meeting the Squadron from New York, proceeds to Sandy Hook. M. de Barras sails from Rhode Island to join the Count de Grasse. Admiral Graves departs from New York. M. de Grasse arrives from the West Indies in the Chesapeak. Engagement between the British and French fleets. Lord Cornwallis's army closely blockaded up on the side of the Chesapeak. The combined army are conveyed by water from Baltimore, and join the Marquis de la Fayette's forces at Williamsburg. Posts at York and Gloucester closely invested. Siege regularly formed, and trenches opened by the enemy. Resolution of a council of war at New York, to use every exertion of the fleet and army for the succour of the forces in Virginia. Unavoidable delay in refitting the fleet. Sir Henry Clinton embarks, with 7000 land forces, on board the*

*men*



*men of war. Defences of York Town ruined, and the batteries silenced, by the superior weight of the enemy's artillery. Take two redoubts, and complete their second parallel. Successful sally. The post being no longer tenable, Lord Cornwallis attempts to pass the troops over to Gloucester Point in the night, but the design is frustrated by a sudden storm. He is obliged to enter into a capitulation with Gen. Washington. Conditions. The British fleet and army arrive off the Chesapeake, five days after the surrender.*

**W**E are now to pursue the course of events and action, from the West Indies to the coasts of North America. Lord Cornwallis, upon taking the command in Virginia, found the enemy in no condition to oppose him with any degree of effect; and the people being at his mercy in that open country, numbers came in daily, both to his own immediate army, and to the corps which he placed under the conduct of Gen. Leslie at Portsmouth, in order to give in their paroles, and to receive protections. He first advanced from Petersburg, on the Appomatox, to the River James, which he passed at Westover, and thence marching through Hanover country, crossed the South Anna, or Pamunky River; the Marquis de la Fayette constantly following his motions, but at a guarded distance, in every part of his progress.

From the South Anna, he dispatched the Colonels Tarleton and Simcoe, with separate detachments, to scour the interior country. As they penetrated into the inmost recesses, which had hitherto been free from spoil, they were enabled to do great mischief to the Americans. Besides destroying several thousand stand of arms which were under repair, with large quantities of gunpowder, salt, harness, and other matters, which were either de-

signed for, or capable of being applied to military services, they were very near falling upon the Baron de Steuben, who with 800 men was posted at a place called the Point of Fork; and who with difficulty saved his rear from being cut off.

Upon the return of these detachments, Lord Cornwallis fell back with the army to Richmond, on the River James; and afterwards, moving still nearer to the sea, passed the Chickahominy, and towards the latter end of June arrived at Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, which lies something about mid-way between the great rivers of York and James. In the course of the march, besides articles similar to those which we have already specified, above 2000 hogheads of tobacco, with some bris, and a great number of iron ordnance, were destroyed; and a few of the most valuable of the former, with a quantity of shot and shells, brought off. On their approach to Williamsburgh, Simcoe's corps, which brought up the rear, were pursued, and warmly attacked by a superior force of the enemy; but after a brisk action, the assailants were repulsed; each side boasting the greater loss sustained by the other, as well as the superiority of its force.

The Marquis de la Fayette being now strongly reinforced by the arrival.



arrival of General Waine, with the Pennsylvania succours, and still farther by the junction of the Baron de Steuben's troops, as well as of such militia as Virginia herself was by this time able to arm and assemble, the enemy were become so powerful, as to restrain all distant operations on the British side and even to render the collective movements of the army a matter of guarded caution. Lord Cornwallis was now likewise to look to the ultimate object of the campaign, which was the establishment of a strong post and place of arms, that by embracing some good harbour, or commanding one of the great navigable rivers should equally facilitate the future operations by sea and land. We have formerly seen, that in one of the earliest expeditions to the Chesapeake, Portsmouth had been strongly recommended, and unwillingly quitted by the commanders then that on service, as a post eminently calculated for maintaining by land a kind of warfare, at once defensive on their part, and extremely distressing to the province, and the same time for affording such a station to the British fleets and cruizers, as would render them entirely masters of that great bay. A measure which, it was expected, would annihilate its foreign and domestic commerce, in a great measure cut off the communication between the surrounding provinces, and lay them open to continual descent and invasion, in their most unguarded parts. All ideas at that time, of the utility of such a post, were indeed founded on the confidence of a constant naval superiority for its protection, as well

as of its being defensible by a moderate force on the land side.

This measure of establishing a permanent post, in a good situation for naval enterprize, in Virginia, had for some time become a very favourite object with the ministers at home: and seems, from thence, to have been at length adopted by Sir Henry Clinton. It is however to be observed, that the victory at Guildford, Gen. Arnold's uninterrupted progress, together with the reinforcements which had, this year, been sent from Europe to New York, had excited a full expectation at home, that the present campaign would have been decisive with respect to the subjugation of the more southern colonies. It was accordingly urged, that the war in Virginia should be prosecuted with every possible degree of exertion, as well for the purpose of securing the Carolinas, as with a view to the intrinsic value and importance of that province.

It does not seem, that the commander in chief in New York and Lord Cornwallis, entirely coincided in opinion, with respect to the mode of conducting the war in Virginia. The former, under an expectation of being himself attacked by the combined forces of America and France, wished to recall a considerable part of the troops for the security of New York, and only to leave such a number on that service, as would be necessary for the maintenance of such a post as we have mentioned. On the other hand, Lord Cornwallis, who formed his judgment on the spot, seems to have been of opinion, that nothing less than an offensive war could answer



swer any effectual purpose in Virginia; and that a considerable army would be necessary for that end; as an insufficient force, however successful in the beginning, would, in his judgment, at length, be overborne. He likewise held, that the reduction of that province was essential, both to the subjugation, and the retention of the Carolinas. But as his whole force, without any reduction, was utterly unequal to that purpose, and that he likewise seems to have placed no great trust in the advantages to be derived from the establishment of the proposed post, it became evident that he felt his situation very uneasy and disagreeable, not only with regard to the difficulties which he foresaw in the service, but with respect to the weight of responsibility to which he would be liable.

He therefore wished much to return to his command in South Carolina, where the illness of Lord Rawdon rendered his presence highly necessary. This, however, could not be complied with; the commander in chief probably thinking it too hazardous to quit New York himself in the present state of affairs, and perhaps judging, that the service in Virginia would require all the abilities of the present commander.

Upon a personal examination of Portsmouth, with a view to the intended post, Lord Cornwallis found it totally incompetent to the purpose; for besides the situation being exceedingly unhealthy, and that it would require little less than an army for its defence, it was incapable of receiving ships of the line, whose protection, if necessary, and a secure station at

all times, were the principal objects of the design. Point Comfort, which had likewise been proposed, was found no less incapable or defective; and the posts of York Town, on the river of the same name, with Gloucester Point, on the opposite side, afforded the only remaining choice. These, however, required the whole force which Lord Cornwallis possessed to render them effective; and Sir Henry Clinton upon that information, at length relinquished the design of recalling any part of the troops. The uncertainty, however, upon this point, seems to have considerably delayed the construction of the works for the defence of those posts.

The hot and sickly season, which was now for a time to restrain all military operations on both sides, occasioned Lord Cornwallis's departure from Williamsburgh, with a view of passing the River James, in order to examine the situation of Portsmouth, Hampton, and those other places on that side, which had been held out as capable of being converted into the intended fortified post. The army, upon this movement, having encamped in an open field near James Town, but under the cover of their shipping, preparatory to their passing the river, the American commanders were now grown so confident, that the Marquis de la Fayette immediately pushed forward the Generals Wayne and Muhlenburgh, with the light troops and van, while he followed himself with the remainder of the army, in order to take some advantage of their situation, or to interrupt their design.

Lord Cornwallis received intelligence that

July 6th.  
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the enemy were approaching about noon; and about four o'clock, they attacked his outposts, in considerable force, and with no small warmth. As he was persuaded that they would not venture a serious, attack, excepting under the impression that only a rear guard were left on that side of the river, he accordingly used all means that might encourage that opinion of his weakness. The stratagem seems to have taken, for about sun-set, a body of troops, with artillery, began to form in his front; upon which he immediately ordered the army to advance in two lines upon the enemy. The attack was begun with great spirit by the first line; and there being nothing but militia opposed to the light infantry on the right, the action was soon over on that side. But Col. Dundas's brigade on the left, consisting of the 43d, 76th, and 80th regiments, meeting the Pennsylvania line, with a detachment of De la Fayette's continentals, and two six pounders, under the conduct of General Wayne, a short, but very warm action ensued; in which, however, the Americans were repulsed, and obliged to abandon their cannon. The darkness prevented any pursuit, and the British army passed the river in the night.

The Americans represent the ardour of their troops to be so high that it could not be restrained by their commanders. This circumstance, while it flattered national vanity, served another purpose. It alone could justify coming to a close engagement with such a disparity of force. They likewise, to remove the impression of the repulse they had received, at-

tributed the hasty passage of the river in the night, to the dread entertained of their united force, the rest of the army they say, being coming up with the utmost expedition to support the van, and on the next day to renew the action. De la Fayette gives great praise to the American commanders, as well as to the officers and troops in general which were engaged.

The British general, finding no place upon examination, on the south side of the river, which could answer the purpose proposed by a permanent post, and having received Sir Henry Clinton's consent for retaining his whole force, on the grounds which we have already seen, returned with the army, in August, to that peninsula which lies between the great rivers of James and York, and composes one of the richest and most beautiful parts of Virginia. York Town lies on the river of that name, on the narrowest part of the peninsula, where it is about five miles over; Gloucester Point, is on the north, and opposite side; and projects so far into the river, that the distance between both is not much above a mile. They entirely command the navigation of the river, which is so deep at this place, as to admit ships of great size and burthen. Lord Cornwallis applied with the utmost diligence and industry to fortify these posts, and to render them equally respectable by land, and to the water; his force amounting, in the whole, to something about 7000 excellent troops.

During these transactions, Washington was playing a game of great address on the side of New York.

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The marauding parties from that city and its dependencies, had long been exceedingly diligent and successful in intercepting the American posts and dispatches, by which means some useful knowledge was undoubtedly obtained, with respect to their internal affairs, as many of these letters were written by their principal commanders, by men in high office, and officers of all ranks in the army. These were published with great parade and triumph in the New York and British public papers, as proofs of the poverty, weakness, and disunion, which prevailed among the Americans; and if the originals did not go all the lengths that were wished, it was even supposed that a little was sometimes added, to fill up the measure. It will be easily supposed, that nothing could be more distressing to individuals, and perhaps in some instances prejudicial, than this open exposure of their most confidential communications, upon state and government affairs. The publication of their own private affairs and family secrets, would have been alone sufficiently grievous.

It would seem, although destitute of any positive proof, that these mortifications suggested to General Washington the idea of turning the tables on the British commanders; and deriving public advantage from this source of public and private vexation and prejudice. He wrote letters to the southern commanders and others, informing them of his total inability to extricate or relieve Virginia, by any other possible means, than by a direct attack, in concert with the French

troops, upon New York. He held out the difficulties of this enterprize, and shewed his doubts of its success; but seemed to adopt it merely from the necessity of the measure, and as the last resort for the preservation of Virginia. He likewise stated, that in the late conference which he had held with the Count de Rochambeau, it was absolutely determined upon; and that it had since received a farther confirmation, from the approbation of the design which had been communicated by the French naval commander, who had not been present at the conference.

If any thing could raise a suspicion of the integrity of these letters, it was their being more clear, full, and explicit, than seemed absolutely necessary, and their containing matters of a more nice and delicate nature, than it might be supposed so prudent and cautious a commander, would have trusted to a conveyance which experience had already shewn to be extremely hazardous. These letters were intercepted, as were others of the same nature, and which it is now evident were calculated for the same purpose, from the French commanders to the French resident at Philadelphia.

It will not be supposed but that these letters, with the farther confirmation which they received from the subsequent movements and preparations made by the French and American armies, must have greatly influenced the conduct of the commander in chief at New York; particularly with respect to his desire of recalling a considerable part of the troops from Virginia; as  
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likewise in preventing his forming any suspicion of the real designs of the enemy.

The French forces under the Count de Rochambeau, being on their way from Rhode Island, Gen. Washington, in the beginning of July, broke up his camp at New Windsor, and passed the North River to meet them. Their junction took place at the White Plains, on the eastern, or New England side of the river; and to carry on the deception in view, the combined armies encamped at Philipsburg, in a situation to overawe King's-Bridge and the adjoining posts, and even to alarm the island of New York. In the remainder of that month, and during the greater part of the following, they continued to beat up, and alarm, the British outposts, on all sides. A body of 5000 French and Americans took post near King's-Bridge in the night, where they continued for 48 hours, with every demonstration of an intended attack.

In the mean time the two commanders, accompanied by the principal officers of both armies, and attended by the engineers, reconnoitred the island of New York closely on both sides from the opposite shores; and to render appearances the more serious, took plans of all the works under the fire of their batteries. Whilst a report of the expected daily arrival of the Count de Grasse was sedulously propagated; and to give it full confirmation, when they had received advice from that commander of the time at which he hoped to arrive at the Chesapeake, the French troops advanced towards Sandy Hook, and

the coasts opposite Staten Island, with an apparent view of seconding the operations of the fleet, in forcing the one, and seizing upon the other. This deception was carried so far, as to the establishment of a battery near the mouth of the Rariton, and just within the Hook.

After these deceptions had been successfully practised, and New York with its dependencies kept in a continued state of alarm for about six weeks, Wash- Aug. 19th. ington suddenly passed the Croton, and soon afterwards the North River; when he took such a position, as seemed still to indicate that Staten Island was the immediate object. The curtain was now, however, to be drawn up, and every thing being in readiness, the combined army marched directly across the Jerseys for Trenton upon the Delaware; this movement being considered at New York only as a feint, until they had already passed that river. It does not however appear, that the force at New York was sufficient to enable Sir Henry Clinton to interrupt their march with any considerable effect; at least, without perhaps risking too much. The allied armies marched through Philadelphia on the 3d and 4th of September; where such courtesies as might be expected, were exchanged between the French commanders and the Congress. From thence they marched to the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Chesapeake. There they found all the transports and craft that could be collected, in readiness to facilitate their progress to Virginia; but these could be in no degree adequate to the purpose, after



after the continued destruction which the American commerce in that bay had so long undergone.

As some consolation for the imminent danger which threatened the British power in Virginia, and some return for the deceptions so successfully practiced by the enemy, their departure from the confines of New York was speedily followed by a successful expedition to Connecticut which was attended with no small loss and ruin to the Americans. The trading town of New London, on the River Thames, was the object of this enterprize; and its conduct, with a sufficient land and marine force, was committed to General Arnold, who was himself a native of that province.

The embarkation having passed over from the Long Island shore in the night, the troops were landed in two detachments, Sept. 6th. on each side of the harbour, in the morning; that on the Groten side being commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Eyre, and that on the New London side by the General. Mr. Arnold met with no great trouble on this side; Fort Trumbull, and a redoubt, which were intended to cover the harbour and town, being taken without much difficulty or loss, and the place in itself being entirely defenceless.

But affairs on the other side were more serious. Fort Griswold, which the eager and encouraging zeal of the localists had represented as very incomplete in its works, and destitute of any thing like a garrison, was on the contrary found to be very strong, and no less well defended. The general, under the impression of the information he had received,

and from the opportunity which the fort afforded to the enemy's ships of escaping up the river, had directed Colonel Eyre to attack the fort directly, and carry it by a coup de main. But upon his obtaining a good view of it in the neighbourhood of New London, he immediately perceived the deception, and that the fort was in a much more formidable state than it had been represented; upon which he dispatched an officer to countermand the orders for an attack.

The officer was too late, and the attack already commenced. The fort was indeed formidable, the defence answerable, and it required all the valour and impetuosity of the two brave regiments which were engaged, to surmount the difficulties and dangers of the encounter. The attack, notwithstanding the little time for observation or counsel, was very judiciously conducted. The work was a square, with flanks; and the troops advancing on three sides at once, succeeded in making a lodgment in the ditch; they then, under the cover of a very heavy and constant fire upon the works, effected a second lodgment upon the fraizing, which was a work of the greatest difficulty, as besides the obstinacy of the defence, the height was so considerable, that the soldiers could only ascend by mutual help from each others shoulders, and those who first ascended, had still to silence a nine pounder, which enfiladed the very spot on which they stood. The troops at length made their way good with fixed bayonets through the embrasures, notwithstanding the fierce defence made by the garrison, who now, changing their weapons,



weapons, fought desperately hand to hand with long spears.

The 40th and 54th regiments, purchased the honour, great as it was, which they gained in storming this place. Colonel Eyre was wounded in the attack, and the command taken by Major Montgomery, who being killed with a spear, as he gallantly entered the works, was succeeded by Major Bromfield, who had the fortune of completing the reduction of the fort. Two commissioned officers, and 46 men, were killed on the spot, besides eight missing, whose fate may scarcely be considered as doubtful; eight commissioned officers, some of whom died, with 135 non-commissioned and privates, were wounded. The loss of the garrison was proportioned to the obstinacy of their defence. Col. Ladyard, the commander, with most of his officers, and 85 private men, lay dead in the fort; of 60 who were disabled, much the greater part were mortally wounded; about 70 were made prisoners.

The taking of Fort Griswold, did not prevent 16 of the American ships from making their escape up the river; about a dozen others were burnt. The loss which the Americans sustained in the destruction of this place was prodigious. The quantities of naval stores, of European manufactures, of East-India, and of West-India commodities, are represented to have been so immense, as almost to exceed belief. Every thing, on the town side of the river, was destroyed by fire. Nothing was carried off, excepting such small articles of spoil as afforded no trouble in the convey-

ance. The burning of the town, was said to be contrary to intention and orders, and was attributed to the great quantity of gun powder lodged in the store houses. The business was so hastily conducted, that the barracks and a considerable magazine of gun powder at Fort Griswold, escaped that destruction which involved every thing on the other side of the river. This is not accounted for, but must undoubtedly have proceeded from a knowledge of some movements making by the enemy in the adjoining country.

In the mean time, Sir Samuel Hood had arrived from the West-Indies off the Chesapeake, on the 25th of August, with 14 sail of the line, some frigates, and a fire ship, where he expected to have met Admiral Graves with the squadron from New York; but being disappointed, he first dispatched a frigate with intelligence of his arrival to that commander, and afterwards followed himself, with the squadron, to Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 28th of the month. We have already seen, that through some misfortune, Sir George Rodney's dispatches had not arrived in time at New York, to give any information of Sir Samuel Hood's destination to the Chesapeake, which, independent of any other cause, must have frustrated the design of a junction off that bay; and we have likewise seen, that Mr. Graves's squadron had received so much damage by bad weather in a cruise off Boston, as rendered some of the ships incapable of present service.

On the very day of Sir Samuel Hood's arrival at Sandy Hook, the



the commanders at New York received intelligence, that M. de Barras, who succeeded Ternay in the command at Rhode Island, had sailed three days before with his squadron to the southward. The hope of intercepting this squadron before it could join De Grasse, would undoubtedly have been an additional spur, if such had been wanted to Admiral Graves's diligence, in getting such ships as were in readiness, with the utmost expedition over the bar. It was, however, the 31st before this could be done, when bringing five ships of the line, and a fifty, with him from New York, he took the command of the fleet, and proceeded to the southward.

All the present operations of the combined enemy, were the result of a long concerted and well digested plan; but there happened an extraordinary coincidence in their several movements by sea and land, which did not come within the reach of calculation. We have already seen that M. de Barras, had sailed from Rhode Island on the 25th of August; in three days after, on the 28th, De Grasse arrived with his fleet from the West-Indies at the Chesapeake; and within an hour after the French and American armies had reached the head of Elk, they received an express from that commander, with the welcome account of his arrival and situation. This will appear the more remarkable, if we consider the original distance of the parties, as well from the scene of action as from each other, and the various accidents, difficulties, and delays, to which they were all liable. M. de Barras did not, however, arrive in the Chesapeake, for near a fortnight after De

Grasse; as he took a wide circuitous course by the Bermuda Islands, from the apprehension of being intercepted by the British fleet. This caution, which would have been otherwise commendable, was in the present instance absolutely necessary; as that officer had in his care ten transports, which conveyed from Rhode Island the heavy ordnance and other materials indispensably necessary for the siege of York Town; and upon which the whole hope and fortune of the enterprize depended.

Upon the Count de Grasse's arrival in the Chesapeake, after blocking up York River, he took possession of the River James, which he occupied with his armed vessels and cruizers to a considerable distance, as well to prevent any attempt which Lord Cornwallis might make of retreating to the Carolinas, as to cover the boats of the fleet, which were to convey the Marquis de St. Simon, with 3300 land forces from the West Indies, 18 leagues up the river, to form a junction with the Marquis de la Fayette.

Admiral Graves received no intelligence Sept. 5th. of the French fleet, nor they of his approach, until they were discovered betimes in the morning, lying at anchor, to the number of 24 sail of the line, off Lynnhaven Bay, being just within Cape Henry, and consequently the mouth of the Chesapeake. The enemy, who were evidently thrown into some disorder at the unexpected appearance of the British fleet, immediately slipped their cables, and turning out from the anchorage ground, M. de Grasse threw out a signal for the ships severally



to form the line as they could come up, without any regard to their particular or specified stations.

The British fleet amounted only to nineteen sail of the line, so that the enemy had a superiority, in so moderate a number, of five line of battle ships. Through the delays occasioned by the various manœuvres on both sides, the action did not commence till four o'clock; and then was entirely partial, only the van, and a part of the British center, being able to come near enough to engage with effect. It was evident that M. de Grasse did not wish a close action. He wanted to gain his point in keeping possession of the Chesapeak, and to save his ships, for that and all its correspondent purposes, as much as possible. The absence of 1500 of his seamen, who were then employed in conveying M. de St. Simon's troops up the River James, confirmed him in this disposition. Admiral Drake, with the rear division, which, in consequence of the last tack, was now become the van of the British fleet, treated the French van so roughly, that to avoid being entirely ruined, they were obliged to bear away, while M. de Grasse, with the center, edged up, but studiously keeping a considerable distance, in order to cover their retreat. Thus the weight of the action fell principally upon the British van, the center coming in for a more moderate share, and seven sail of the line never being able to get within a proper gun-shot distance of the enemy. From these circumstances, Admiral Drake's division could not but suffer severely.

The nearness of the shores, with the danger of the great shoal called the middle ground, probably operated, along with the approaching night, at least upon the British commanders, in putting an end to the engagement about sunset. The slain on board the British fleet amounted to 90, and the wounded to 230. The Shrewsbury and Intrepid bore more than a proportional share of this loss. Capt. Robinson of the former lost a leg, and Captain Molloy of the Intrepid gained great honour, by the gallantry with which he succoured and covered the Shrewsbury, when overborne and surrounded by the enemy.

Admiral Graves used all measures to keep up the line during the night, with a full determination of renewing the action in the morning. But he discovered that several ships of the van, and the Montague of the center, had suffered so much in their masts, that they were in no condition for renewing the action until they were secured. The Terrible was so leaky, as to keep all her pumps going, and the Ajax, which had likewise long partaken of the evils incident to the West Indian climate and navigation, was in little better condition. These circumstances, in the present state of things, were evils which could only be lamented and endured.

The hostile fleets continued for five successive days, partly repairing their damages, and partly manoeuvring, in sight of each other. The French generally maintained the wind, and consequently had it frequently in their power to engage the British fleet, which they, however, declined,  
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notwithstanding their superiority. M. de Grasse's object, besides securing the Chesapeake, was to cover the arrival of M. de Barras, with the squadron and convoy from Rhode Island. That point being gained, (which was in fact signing the doom of Lord Cornwallis's army) the French fleet returned to the Chesapeake, where they anchored in such a manner, just within Cape Henry, and from thence to the middle ground, as entirely to block up the passage. It happened unluckily, that the two British frigates, the *Richmond* and *Iris*, which had been sent to cut away the French buoys at the anchorage ground, were upon this occasion intercepted and taken. In the mean time, a fresh gale, and a head sea, had so much increased the damage and danger of the *Terrible*, that a council of war found it necessary to evacuate and then burn her. After which it was determined to return to New York, in order to refit the ships with the utmost expedition; where the fleet accordingly arrived on the 20th of September. This action, like most other of the naval engagements which we have seen in this war, underwent its full share of criticism and censure.

We have seen that the combined French and American army had arrived at the head of the Elk, where they were too scantily supplied with shipping for their passage down the bay. The light troops of both armies were those only which could be embarked, and the compliment of this easy mode of conveyance seemed to be principally paid to the strangers, while Washington, with the bulk of

both armies, pursued their march to Baltimore and Annapolis in Maryland. But the French becoming now entirely masters of the bay, the transports brought by Barras, with the frigates and light vessels of the fleet, were all dispatched to convey the army from Annapolis, which accordingly arrived at Williamsburg before the end of the month; Washington, with some of the principal commanders, having already, by travelling post, joined De la Fayette.

Thus was the brave but ill-fated army under Lord Cornwallis by degrees enclosed and surrounded, being shut up by a prodigious naval force on the one side, and an army of above 8000 French, of about as many continental troops, and 5000 militia; on the others; and with no other cover than recent earthen works, hastily thrown up, to oppose so great a force, aided by a powerful train of heavy artillery. The French troops employed upon this service, whether considered with respect to officers or private men, seemed to be picked out and chosen as the flower of their armies.

In the three last days of September, the combined armies closely invested Lord Cornwallis in York Town; the French extending from the river above the town to a morass in the center, where they were met by the Americans, who occupied the opposite side from the river to that spot. It was remarkable that Washington in his general orders strongly recommended to the Americans, and even charged them, to use and depend upon the bayonet, as their best and most essential weapon, in



case they should be encountered on the march from Williamsburg; assuring them, that they would thereby effectually cure the vanity of the British troops, who attributed to themselves so decided a superiority in that sort of close and trying combat. Nor did he omit any means to excite that honourable emulation between the allied troops which appeared so conspicuously in the subsequent operations.

The British general found it necessary to contract his posts and defences, which having been extended for the purpose of commanding the Peninsula, were, in the present circumstances, too remote and exposed to be maintained. They were of course seized by the enemy as they were abandoned. The post at Gloucester Point, on the opposite side of the river, which was occupied by Tarleton, with the cavalry, and some infantry, amounting to about 600 men, was at the same time closely invested by the Duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under General Wieden; but the active operations on that side went no farther than a warm skirmish on the first day in driving in the out posts.

The trenches were opened by both armies in the night between the 6th and 7th of October; their attacks were carried on with great vigour; and their batteries were covered with little less than an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance. The new loose works would have been little capable of withstanding such a weight of fire, if they had even been completed; but they were so far from that state,

that the British troops were not less employed in their construction under the fire of the enemy, than they were in their defence. In a few days, most of their guns were accordingly silenced, their defences in many places ruined, and the enemy's shells reached even the ships in the harbour, where the *Charon* of 44 guns with some of the transports were burnt.

The British fleet, on its return to New York, was joined by the *Prudent* man of war, with several frigates from the West Indies; and in a few days after its arrival, was farther reinforced by Rear-admiral Digby, with three ships of the line from England; but the junction of the Rhode Island squadron, had given so decided a superiority to M. de Grasse, that nothing less than the most desperate circumstances, or that almost irresistible motive which actually subsisted, could have justified any attempt towards another encounter,

The desire of extricating Lord Cornwallis and his army, however, prevailed over all considerations of danger and loss, and the British naval commanders used all possible expedition in refitting and equipping the fleet at New York. This, however, though unavoidably necessary, took up more time than could have been afforded at this juncture. The delay seemed indeed to be in some degree compensated, by the arrival of the *Prince William* and *Torbay* men of war from Jamaica. In the mean time a council of war composed of all the flag and general officers, being held, it was determined that every possible exertion should be used both by the fleet and army, to form a junction with  
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the squadron and army in Virginia. It was however the 19th of October, before the fleet could get clear over the bar; Sir Henry Clinton, with about 7000 of his best forces, having embarked on board the ships of war. The fleet now amounted to 25 ships of the line, two fifties, and eight frigates; and notwithstanding the great superiority of force which the enemy still retained, the spirit which operated both upon the common men and officers was so high, that whatever doubts might be formed with respect to the final point of success, none could be entertained, but that the expected naval action would stand foremost, among the most obstinate and the most bloody, that had yet been known. It was, indeed, a desperate cast, and the fleet and army were both staked upon the fortune of one.

During these transactions on the side of New York, the united armies which were employed in the siege of York-Town, sensible of the efforts that would be made for its relief, and unwilling to stake all their hopes on the issue of a naval engagement, used the utmost exertions in the prosecution of their works, and shewed no less resolution in their attacks, than vivacity in the fire of their batteries. On the night of the 11th of October, they began their second parallel within 300 yards of the works of the place, being within just half the distance of the first, and carried it on with unremitting industry.

Nothing less than the certain hope and expectation of relief, could have induced Lord Cornwallis to attempt the defence of a post, which he deemed so incapable of resisting the force opposed

to it, as that which he now occupied. He would otherwise have attempted a retreat, however difficult, or he would even have hazarded an encounter in the open field, and trusting to the gallantry of his troops, leave the rest to the decision of fortune. This hope was farther confirmed, by a letter from the commander in chief at New York, dated on the 24th of September, which informed him, that the relief would sail from thence about the 5th of October. Thus circumstanced, Lord Cornwallis could not think himself justified in abandoning his post; and in risking the consequences of those desperate measures, which must then of necessity be adopted. On the other hand it happened most unfortunately, that the delay which occurred in refitting and equipping the fleet, rendered it impossible for Sir Henry Clinton to fulfil his intention.

Two redoubts which were advanced about 300 yards on the British left, had greatly incommoded the enemy, and still continued to impede their progress. It was determined to attack these at the same time at dark, on the evening of the 14th. To balance the honour, as well as the duty, between both nations, the attack on one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. Col. Hamilton, Washington's aid de camp, commanded the American detachment; which marched to the assault with unloaded arms; passed the abbatis and palisades without waiting to remove them; and attacking the works on all sides at once, carried the redoubt with the utmost rapidity. Young Laurens gained great credit upon this occasion.



and personally took the commanding officer prisoner. The loss was very moderate on both sides; and Hamilton, in his report to the Marquis de la Fayette, boasts (with what justice will be decided for themselves, by those who have attended to the transactions of the war) that the soldiery under his command, incapable, as he expresses himself, of imitating examples of barbarity, and forgetting recent provocations, spared every man that ceased to resist.

The French were equally successful on their side, but their loss was more considerable; amounting, by their own acknowledgment, to about an hundred in killed and wounded. The emulation between the two nations, appeared in their labour, as well as in action; and the two redoubts were included in the second parallel by daylight.

The taking of these two redoubts may be said to decide the fate of the army. Lord Cornwallis, in a letter which he wrote on the following day to Sir Henry Clinton, considers their situation as being so desperate, that he could not recommend to the fleet and army to run any great risque in endeavouring to save them. Indeed nothing could be more hopeless; for, as he says himself in the same letter, they dared not to shew a gun to the enemy's old batteries, and they expected that their new ones would be opened on the following morning.

The British commander, however left nothing untried which could procrastinate, if it was impossible to prevent, the final issue, which was not more dreaded than expected. Being sensible that his

works could not stand many hours after the opening of the batteries of the second parallel, he did every thing that was possible to interrupt that work, opening new embrasures for guns, and keeping up a constant fire with all his howitzers and small mortars.

The troops had been so much weakened by sickness, as well as by the fire of the enemy, that the general would not venture any considerable number in the making of sallies, and the enemy had so well secured their flanks, and proceeded in all their operations with so much regularity and caution, that nothing less than a strong and well supported attack could produce any effect. The present emergency was, however, so critical, that a little before day-break, on the morning of the 16th. he ordered a sortie of about 350 men under the conduct of Lieut. Col. Abercrombie, to attack two batteries which appeared to be in the greatest forwardness, and to spike the guns. A detachment of guards, with the 80th company of grenadiers, under the command of Lieut. Col. Leake, was appointed to one of these, and another of light infantry, under Major Armstrong, to the other battery. Both attacks were made with an impetuosity which could not be resisted. The redoubts that covered both batteries were forced, eleven pieces of cannon spiked, and the French troops, who had the guard of that part of the entrenchment suffered considerably.

Though the vigour and gallantry displayed in this brisk and successful action, did the greatest honour to the officers and troops that were engaged, yet it produc-

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ed no essential service. The cannon, which were hastily spiked, were soon again rendered fit for service; and the industry of the enemy was so great, that, before dark, the whole parallel and the batteries seemed nearly completed. At the same time, the works were so ruined, and the batteries so overpowered, that there was no part of the whole front attacked, in which the besieged could throw a single gun; and their shells, which were the last source of defence, were nearly expended.

In these unfortunate circumstances, Lord Cornwallis had no other choice left but to prepare for a surrender on the following day, or to endeavour to escape with the greatest part of the troops. He determined upon attempting the latter, under the consideration, that though it should prove unsuccessful in its immediate object, it might at least delay the enemy in the prosecution of farther enterprises. The adverse current of fortune gave a contrary effect to a design well calculated to delay the fate of Lord Cornwallis's army.

Boats were prepared, under other pretexts, to be in readiness for receiving the troops at ten at night. in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point. The arrangements were made with the utmost secrecy; and the intention was, to abandon the baggage, and to leave a detachment behind, in order to capitulate for the town's people, and for the sick and wounded; Lord Cornwallis having already prepared a letter upon the subject, which was to be delivered to General Washington upon his departure.

The first embarkation, consist-

ing of the light infantry, the guards, and a part of the 2<sup>d</sup> regiment had arrived at Gloucester Point, and the greater part of the troops were already landed, when, at that critical moment of hope, apprehension, and danger, fortune proved adverse, and the weather, which was then moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats, with the remaining troops were all driven down the river, and the design of passing was not only entirely frustrated, but the absence of the boats rendered it impossible to bring back the troops from Gloucester. Thus weakened and divided, the army, by this untoward accident, was involved in a state of the most imminent danger.

To increase the anxiety and peril of this state of things, the enemies batteries were opened, with great force and effect, at day-break; and the passage at Gloucester point was now much exposed to their fire. The boats, however, happily returned; and the troops were brought back without much loss in the course of the forenoon.

But things were now drawing to that crisis, which could no longer be averted. The works were every where sinking under the weight of the enemy's artillery; and Lord Cornwallis himself could not but concur in opinion, with the engineer and principal officers, that they were already assailable in many places, and that a continuance of the same fire, only for a few hours longer, would reduce them to such a condition, that it would then become desperate to attempt their defence, While



they were exposed to so heavy a fire from the enemy, they could not return a gun, and only about 100 cohorn shells remained. The troops were not only diminished by loss and by sickness, but the strength and spirits of those in the works were exhausted and worn down by constant watching, and unremitting fatigue. And while they were to be attacked and overborne on all sides by land, the French ships, in the mouth of York River, seemed prepared to second and complete the general storm, by water.

In such circumstances it would have been cruelty in the extreme to have sacrificed such gallant, and in every respect deserving troops. to a point of honour, which the improved state of civilization has wisely exploded, that of standing an assault, which could not in the nature of things but prove successful. Lord Cornwallis accordingly wrote a letter to Gen. Washington on the same day, the 17th proposing a cessation of arms for 24 hours, and that commissioners might be appointed on both sides for settling the terms of capitulation.

The posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the 19th of October. The troops, with the same honours which had been granted to the garrison of Charles-Town, were of necessity obliged to become prisoners of war. They were composed of British and German regiments, the light infantry, detachments from the guards, and Tarleton's cavalry. They amounted to between five and six thousand men; but such was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only 3,800

of all forts, capable of bearing arms, in both posts, on the day of surrender. Fifteen hundred seamen underwent the fate of the garrison. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects; but all property taken in the country, if visible, was liable to be reclaimed. The Guadaloupe frigate of 24 guns with a number of transports, were surrendered to the conquerors; and about 20 transports had been sunk or burnt during the siege. they obtained a numerous artillery of various sorts, but not of weight sufficient for their late purpose of defence in a siege.

Lord Cornwallis strove in vain to obtain better conditions; particularly that the British and German troops might be returned to their respective countries, as prisoners on parole, on condition of not serving against France or America until they were exchanged. Some favourable conditions which he wished to obtain in behalf of the inhabitants of York-Town, and other Americans, who were under the protection, as they had shared the fortune, of the British army, were likewise refused, upon the footing of their being civil matters, which did not come within the authority of the military commanders. To extricate those Americans who would have been exposed to imminent danger, he, however, made it a condition, that the Bonetta sloop, which was to convey his dispatches to New York, should pass without search or examination, he being only answerable that the number of persons she conveyed should be accounted for as prisoners of war upon exchange. With a retro-

spective



spective eye to the breach of conditions which the late convention army had so forely experienced, Lord Cornwallis took care to have it stipulated, that no article of the present capitulation should be violated, under any pretence of making reprisals.

The general himself, with all civil and military officers, excepting those of the latter who were necessarily left behind for the protection and government of the soldiers, were at liberty to go upon parole, either to England or New-York; and the troops, divided as much as possible into regiments, were to be retained within the three governments of Virginia, Pennsylvania, or Maryland. Lord Cornwallis observes, in his public letter, that the treatment which he and the army had received in general from the enemy since the surrender, had been perfectly good and proper; but he speaks in warm terms of the kindness and attention shewn to them by the French officers in particular; "their delicate sensibility," he says, "of our situation, their generous and pressing offers of money, both public and private, to any amount, has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer, whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power.

Such actions and conduct cast abroad a pleasing shade, which serves to soften the horrors of war, and to hide and alleviate its calamities.

The land forces became prisoners to America; but the seamen,

with the ships and furniture, were assigned to M. de Grasse, as a compliment to, and return for, the French naval power and assistance. It was remarkable, that the commissioner appointed by the Americans to settle the terms, and who himself drew up the articles of a capitulation, by which a British army become prisoners to his country, was Col. Laurens, son of that Mr. Laurens, late president of the Congress, who was then, and had been for a considerable time, a close prisoner in the Tower of London. The Viscount de Noailles was the commissioner appointed on the side of France, to act in conjunction with Colonel Laurens.

Such was the very hard fate of the remains of that conquering and gallant army, which had been so highly distinguished in the southern war! We shall say nothing of the share which their noble commander bore in the common misfortune, as he lives in an age which knows how to distinguish the want of success from the want of merit. Neither himself nor his army forfeited any part of their former character. Their position was in many respects a very bad one, and probably would have continued so in any state of fortification; but in its present, it was no more than an entrenched camp and subject to be enfiladed in different parts; while their new half-formed works, were much less capable of withstanding the powerful artillery of the enemy, than they would themselves of opposing their vast superiority of force in the open field. It was pitched upon in one of those unfavourable conjunctures which allow of no



good expedient, and where inconveniences must be balanced rather than advantages fought. The troops made the best amends for the difficulties of their situation, by the patience with which they endured an unremitting duty and the greatest fatigues, as well as by the firmness and intrepidity with which they stood a fire of shot and shells, which has seldom been exceeded in magnitude. The French expended 16000 shot and shells in the siege, 3000 of the latter being of the first dimensions; and the fire of the Americans was not less.

The British fleet and army arrived off the Chesapeake on the 24th of October, being five days after the surrender of York-Town. They soon received the unwelcome tidings; but as they were only reports, they waited some days, until the misfortune was fully authenticated. The French fleet, satisfied with their present success, made no manner of movement; and the only object of the expedition being now lost, the British commanders necessarily returned to New York.

Such was the issue of the Virginian war. The loss of Lord Cornwallis's army was too heavy a blow to be soon or easily recovered. It was evident, that it must entirely change the nature of the war on the side of Great Britain; and that it could no longer be carried on extensively by land, at least to any considerable extent. Indeed the surrender at York-Town may be considered as the closing scene of the whole continental war in America. There are few periods in history more capable of rousing attention and exciting reflections; whether we consider the original policy; and the discussions which ensued; its various events, and sudden changes of fortune; on one side the magnitude of the preparations, and distance of operation from the seat of power, and on the other, the difficulties, pertinacy, and final success of the resistance; or whether we consider the effect this revolution may in future operate on the political state of the whole human race, we shall in every respect find it extraordinary. Undoubtedly a new scene is opened.



## C H A P. VIII.

*State of affairs during the recess. Consequences of the riots in London. Causes which led to the dissolution of parliament. Resolutions of the Yorkshire committee, and of other associated bodies. Delegates appointed to attend in London. General election. Capture of Mr. Laurens, and his committal to the Tower. Effect produced by his papers in precipitating the war with Holland. Sir Joseph York withdraws from the Hague. Manifesto. New lords created. Earl of Carlisle appointed to the government of Ireland. Meeting of parliament. Debates on the choice of a speaker. Mr. Cornwall chosen. Speech from the throne. Addresses. Amendments proposed, and rejected, in both houses. Grant of seamen. Vote of thanks to the late speaker — To the British generals and admiral in America. Debate on the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich hospital. Recess.*

IT is not a little remarkable, that the riots in the year 1780, which tended to the direct subversion of all order and government, should have been the means of affording a strength to administration, which few other events could at that time have produced. The scenes of enormity exhibited by those frantic rioters in the metropolis struck all men with horror, and (by a natural, though a mistaken effect) inspired a general dread of all popular meetings, however legal or peaceable. These dispositions reached to the county meetings, petitions, and associations, and consequently to all applications for redress of grievance, and schemes for a reform in the representation of the commons house of parliament,

If ministers themselves were not to be led away by such an opening of advantage, their retainers and partizans were less scrupulous in their zeal, and too much alive to their own interests to slip the occasion. No means were unpractised to increase the impressions of

terror, which were already sufficiently operative. The success was equal to the industry. They found the rich, the timid, and the indolent, already of their party; and moderate men, who are naturally lovers of order, while they could not but approve of whatever tended to the preservation of good government, did not always draw a proper line of distinction between the mad outrages of fanatics, and the sober conventions of freemen, upon their most important and dearest interests.

As the violence of party seldom admits of any great niceness in the means of obtaining its purposes, so truth, and fairness of representation, were not much attended to, in the unceasing efforts used to profit of the present occasion. It was whispered, and industriously circulated, that the opposition were the secret authors of the late riots; that they were the consequence of a settled scheme for the utter subversion of the state; that persons of rank and condition were disguised among the mob, and



and were their real leaders; that the trials of the rioters would bring out the most alarming and astonishing discoveries; and that French gold, American politics, and republican principles, would be found at the bottom of the whole business. A language not very remote from some part of this, was said to be held from some of the seats of justice.

Incredible and impossible as these tales were, and whatever imputation it may bring upon the general stock of good sense of the nation, certain it is that they were not unsuccessfully propagated. The assurance on the one side, and the credulity on the other were so strong that the report of a nobleman of one of the first and most ancient families in the kingdom, being killed among the rioters on Black-Friars bridge, and of his body being immediately thrown over into the Thames to prevent discovery, was not only for several months very generally credited, but the appearance of his name in the accounts of the public transactions in his country, was not able to cure the delusion; and that persons far above the common rank, in London, were so confirmed in the opinion, that it was with astonishment they beheld him in the house of peers in the following winter.

The wretched timidity and imbecility of the magistracy in the metropolis, together with that apparent weakness of the inhabitants, which, in part proceeding from that defect, and in part from that unprepared condition incident to long quiet and security, had laid them open to the violence of a contemptible rabble, were topics which were applied with

great success, to shew the inefficacy, in all cases, of the civil authority in affording protection, and the necessity of military force for preserving order and good government. This doctrine went likewise to reconcile the people to the authority, with which, under colour of the riots, the military power, throughout the kingdom, had been endued, of acting immediately from its own motion, independently of the civil magistrate.

By all these means, operating together upon the passions of the people, the dread of mobs, riots, and the excesses unto which popular meetings are apt to lead, seemed to have absorbed all the other discontents of the nation, which became as it were extinct and forgotten. The invincible jealousy of military power, which had so long characterized this country, grew familiarized to the aspect of camps and garrisons, and gradually gave way to impressions, which, if they had been lasting, threatened the worst consequences to liberty. Any government, the worst that could be, was thought preferable to a state of anarchy; and the harshest despotism did not present to the imagination evils so immediately dreadful, as the fury of an enraged rabble.

Besides the effect of their real apprehensions, so many objects of novelty, astonishment, and horror, served entirely to fill up the imagination, and to draw the attention of the people away from all other public concerns. And even when this effect was in some degree worn away, the minds of men were still agitated, and their attention strongly drawn, by the succeeding trials and impending fate

of



of the rioters; whilst the delays incident to the laws of high treason, prolonged the suspense with respect to their chief into the course of the following year.

Thus it happened, contrary to all expectation, that the cause of administration was strengthened, by one of the most disgraceful tumults which has been known in this kingdom; and which, from contemptible and neglected beginnings, came to threaten the capital city, and the nation itself, with ruin.

Fortune is supposed to be seldom single in her benefits, any more than in her injuries. The news of the taking of Charles-Town which arrived just at the heel of the riots, served, in a very considerable degree, to erase the memory of all past disappointments in the war, and to revive all the sanguine hopes of the speedy subjugation of the colonies. This flattering gleam of success recalled many back to the American system, which they had only abandoned from its apparent hopelessness, and from feeling the loss of which it was productive. Success must in all cases strengthen government; and will recover or afford popularity to any measures, Numbers who originally disliked the war, and who condemned the measures and principles which led to it, were, however, well enough contented, when they saw, or thought, that it was like to end prosperously.

Thus, after the strongest appearances on every side of an approaching and heavy tempest, the sky was suddenly cleared, and every thing went smoothly and prosperously with administration. The

influence and authority of the crown, were more spread and better fixed than they had been for some time; and the opposition lost its popularity in the same proportion.

This state of things extended the views of the ministers to a measure, which, though much wished by them, they probably would not otherwise have ventured upon. The late resolutions of the commons could not be forgotten, The strange and unexpected turns which things had taken in the preceeding session, could not but weaken the confidence of ministers in the present parliament. They might be seized in another session, particularly so near the term of their natural dissolution, with other fits and other starts, still more unexpected and alarming than those of the preceding session.

There was every reason to expect, that in the present state of things, and the disposition of the people, the elections would go greatly in favour of the court. A dissolution was accordingly determined upon; but the design was kept concealed in the most profound secrecy. The court and favourite members, in the management of their old interests, or the establishment of a new, seemed only to look towards the general election, which must of necessity take place at the limited term. The opposition, who had no treasury to support their expences, were to rely on the merits of their past conduct with their constituents, and deemed it prudent to reserve their force, to the near approach of the season of contest. A great number of them were likewise engaged on duty in the service of their



their country, along with their respective regiments of militia; and were generally, and, as it was afterwards said, designedly, stationed at a great distance from their constituents and local interests.

Many persons, however, deeply lamented, and observed with great apprehension, the means derived from the late riots, of throwing the civil authority of the nation into disrepute, and of spreading an opinion, that the military power was necessary to the support of the laws and government, and to the domestic security of the people. To obviate this effect, associations were formed in the metropolis, and elsewhere; the inhabitants purchasing arms, and acquiring such a degree of knowledge in their exercise and use, as would be necessary for the future preservation of the public peace, and for rendering all intervention of the army unnecessary. This spirit spread considerably; and the measure of providing arms, and being at all times ready to support the civil authority, was held out as an act of constitutional duty and necessity.

Nor did the petitioning counties entirely sink under the present torrent of public opinion, nor resign themselves to the impressions of apprehension and terror which now prevailed.

Aug. 2. A numerous meeting  
1780. of the Yorkshire committee of association, composed of some of the principal gentlemen of that great county, came to several very spirited resolutions on this subject:—To exculpate themselves and their designs from any the least intention

or tendency to produce disorder and confusion; and to treat all insinuations to the contrary, from whatever quarter they might have been derived, as defamatory suggestions, contrived to deter the associated bodies from the prosecution of their just and necessary plan of public reformation:—To assert, that the use of arms for the preservation of order and public peace, was not only a right in every citizen, but a duty imposed upon them by the express letter of the law:—To condemn the orders rashly issued in London for disarming the inhabitants, as unconstitutional and illegal:—To enter a kind of protestation against the interference of the military in the suppression of riots, not under the direction of the civil magistrate, but at the discretion of the commanding officer:—And, that however the order for the discretionary interference of the military in the suppression of the late riots in the metropolis, might have been unavoidable, through the greatness of the danger, and the intimidation of the magistracy; yet the extension of similar orders to the army in other parts of the kingdom, where no such danger existed and where no reluctance in the magistracy to the performance of their duty appeared or was suspected, could not be defended.

The county of Middlesex, some time after adopted, verbatim, the resolutions of the county of York; and they were likewise adopted by the city of London, excepting only that, which conveyed a reflection, on her own magistracy. They were in time more or less adopted, or similar ones proposed, by other



other public bodies. But the county of Huntingdon went farther than any other. In the first place they instructed their representatives to make an enquiry in parliament, by whose advice the orders issued to the military in the metropolis, had been extended to various parts of the kingdom, and so long continued, contrary to the common course of law? and that they should take such steps, as were best suited to prevent such unconstitutional and dangerous orders from being issued in future. The next resolution was expressed in the following words——“ That  
 “ it be recommended to every  
 “ house-keeper to have proper  
 “ arms, such as musket and bayonet, and to be ready and expert in the use of them; to be  
 “ prepared against all emergencies that may arise from any  
 “ attack of our many surrounding  
 “ enemies, or any invasion of our  
 “ rights and liberties.”

As the late impressions produced by the riots, were by degrees weakened, and gave place to a jealousy of the discretionary power in the army, of acting independently of the civil authority, it became a subject of murmur and complaint; and in that state of temper, several of the associations which had been armed and formed for the purpose of assisting the civil magistrate in the preservation of peace and order, received applause and thanks from different public bodies.

The attention to other national concerns revived along with this jealousy. Yorkshire appointed three delegates to attend in London during the ensuing session in order to communicate with those of other counties and corpo-

rations, and by mutual aid and advice, to give support and efficacy to their petitions. Much complaint and censure was thrown out by several of these bodies upon the conduct of the House of Commons in the last session. The Devonshire committee, expressing themselves in rather stronger terms than some others, say, that they find themselves under a necessity of declaring, that nothing had hitherto been done by parliament towards effecting the ends required by the petitions, notwithstanding that the resolutions of the commons themselves acknowledged the justness of the prayers of those petitions. Yet, say they, instead of proceeding to that reform, the very influence complained of was exerted, either to reject in the first instance, or to baffle in its progress, every proposition that was offered to the consideration of parliament, for effecting the ends proposed. Similar observations were made by other committees.

Several of the associated or petitioning bodies, after great applause to Mr. Burke and other gentlemen, for their attempts in the late session, and a declaration that they could not hope for any effectual redress, with respect to the gross abuses in the raising and expenditure of the public money, from the endeavours of the commissioners of accounts, requested him to bring forward, his bill of reform in the ensuing session of parliament.

The proclamation for Sept. 1st.  
 dissolving the parliament 1780.  
 operated like a thunder clap, with respect to suddenness and surprize, on those who were not in the secret. A new prorogation



gation had taken place within a few days, which served to render the stroke still more unexpected. The shortness of the time allotted for the elections, increased the difficulties and disadvantages to those who were at a distance from their boroughs or interests, and who had taken no previous measures of security. From these, and from the other causes which we have mentioned, the elections went much in favour of the court, and several of the most popular members, whose public conduct seemed to receive the general approbation of their constituents, were notwithstanding thrown out of their seats. Mr. Fox, however, carried his election for the city of Westminster by a great majority against the Earl of Lincoln, who was supported by the whole weight and power of the court. Admiral Keppel, who was thrown out of his old seat at Windsor, by that weight and influence, was brought in by the public spirit of the electors for the county of Surrey, where he had little local interest or connection, compared with those of the other candidate.

113 new men obtained seats in parliament. The poverty of the times, operating along with the general hopelessness which now prevailed, that any opposition in parliament would be capable of producing a beneficial alteration in the conduct of public affairs, had both together so powerful an effect, that candidates were not to be found, who would support the usual expensive contests of the counties. No general election, perhaps for a century, produced so little expence in that respect. Several members of

the late parliament, who, altho' they did not take the trouble of declaring their sentiments to the public, were tired of a constant fruitless attendance and opposition, either determined to retire entirely from public business, or grew very indifferent as to the event of their elections. The general venality which now appeared among the electors, and that contempt of their own declarations and resolutions, as well as of all past faithful service, which it produced, could not fail highly to disgust many, and to render them still more hopeless of public affairs. They peevishly said, that whatever small degree of public spirit and virtue still remained among the people was entirely evaporated in words; and when ever the touchstone was applied, their venality would not only appear predominant, but would prove to be their only principle.

It does not frequently happen, that the incidents which befall individuals, should produce any great effect upon the political conduct or situation of states, and still less upon the general state of public affairs: The capture of Mr. Laurens, late president of the Congress, on his passage from America, was however one of those singular instances, in which the political situation of no small part of Europe seemed considerably affected by the fortune of a single man. It was the occasion, if not the cause, of the precipitate rupture between Great Britain and Holland, and of that friendship and alliance which had for so many years bound together those neighbouring maritime and Protestant powers. That which had been



been considered as the second maritime power, and more than once boldly supported her claim to the empire of the sea, which had so long participated in the interests and glory of England, was now added to a combination, avowedly formed to reduce, if not entirely to annihilate her naval power.

Mr. Laurens being bound from Philadelphia, in a Congress packet, on an embassy to Holland, was taken in the beginning of September on the banks of Newfoundland, by the Vestal frigate, commanded by Captain Keppel. The package which contained his papers had been thrown overboard, but its bulk preventing it from suddenly sinking, it was saved by the boldness and dexterity of a British seaman, and most of the papers recovered from the effects of the water.

Upon his arrival in England, he was committed as a state prisoner, and upon a charge Oct. 6th. of high treason, to the Tower of London, under a warrant or order signed by the three secretaries of state. He is said, upon his examination before the ministers, to have claimed the privilege of his situation, in cautiously declining to answer any questions whose tendency he could not immediately perceive, so that little other information was obtained from him than an acknowledgment of his name and of his late condition as president of the Congress.

But this defect was abundantly supplied by his papers. The most important, however of these, and which produced the subsequent effect, were the papers relating to

an eventual treaty of amity and commerce between America and Holland, which had been in agitation for more than two years past, and to which Mr. Laurens was furnished with power, to put the finishing hand. Among these was a draught of the treaty, which was, however, only to take effect, when the independence of America should be acknowledged by Great Britain, or confirmed at a peace. The negociators on the side of Holland, were M. Van Berkel, pensionary and counsellor to the city of Amsterdam, (an office of great weight and power) with other members of the regency, assisted by some great commercial houses of that city. It does not appear, that the states general were at all consulted upon, or concerned in the transaction; so that it was more properly a provisional treaty with the states of that city, or at most with the province of Holland, than with the united provinces at large. But Amsterdam depended upon her own weight and influence, including that of the province in which she bears so supreme a sway, together with the public advantages to be derived from the treaty, as fully competent to the purpose of obtaining its ratification, when the proper season arrived; and it seems that the Americans considered this security as fully sufficient.

We have formerly shewn, that the Dutch in general, even at the very commencement of the troubles, much disapproved of the harsh measures, which were then in contemplation or pursuit with respect to America. Many, if not most of these, were at that time well affected to Great Britain,  
and



and lamented upon her own account, as well as that of the Protestant and maritime interests in general, the dangerous tendency, as they held it, of that conduct which she had now adopted; but they likewise, at the same time, felt greatly for the calamities which were falling, or likely to fall upon the British Americans; and could not but deeply sympathize with a people, whose situation bore so near a resemblance to what once had been their own. It was much more upon these principles, than upon any that were inimical to Great Britain, that the Scotch regiments were refused in the beginning of the contest.

But these feelings being continually irritated by the aggravations of the war, what at first seemed to be only a friendly concern or blame for doing-wrong, by degrees degenerated into a settled dislike; and those under its influence, continually fell in with and strengthened the French party, who were acting upon principles directly opposite to those which had originally operated with themselves. Other causes concurred in the same effect. A harsh remonstrance from the court of London, which was represented as holding a domineering and arbitrary language, unfitting to be offered to sovereign and independent states, instead of intimidation, excited nothing but resentment. Some jealousy of the views of the stadholder, fomented by the French faction, had for some time been gaining great ground; and it being supposed that he would be supported in these by the court of London, that circumstance served

not a little to loosen the bonds of union between both nations.

The recent circumstances of examining and bringing in the Dutch convoy under Count Byland, in the beginning of the year, and the royal proclamation issued in London on the 17th of April, in consequence of the failure of the states general, in not furnishing the succours stipulated by treaty to Great Britain, are fresh in every memory, and were stated in our last volume.

Thus circumstances of irritation and jealousy, were continually accumulating on both sides, until the present event brought things to their ultimate point of decision. Sir Joseph Yorke immediately pressed the business in strong memorials to the states general, and after stating the clandestine correspondence which, it now appeared from Mr. Laurens's papers, the states of Amsterdam had long carried on with the American rebels, and the instructions and powers, which they had given, for entering into a treaty with those rebels, although they were the natural subjects of a sovereign to whom the republic was joined by the strictest ties of friendship, he then demanded, in the name of the king his master, not only a formal disavowal of so irregular a conduct, but also insisted on speedy satisfaction, adequate to the offences, and the punishment of the Pensionary Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace, and violaters of the rights of nations.

An immediate answer not being given, the British ambassador continued to press the matter closely  
in



several conferences, and at length in a second memorial. The states general then informed Sir Joseph Yorke, by a message, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum* by the deputies of the respective provinces, according to the received order and constitution of government; and that they would endeavour to frame an answer to it, as soon as the nature of their government would admit. This not being at all deemed satisfactory by the court of London, Sir Joseph Yorke received orders to withdraw from the Hague; and that step was followed, before the Dec. 20th. close of the year, by a declaration of hostilities against Holland.

Such was in general the state of public affairs previous to the meeting of the new parliament. No change of any consequence had taken place in administration, any more than in the state of the parties that composed the opposition. It could not arise from an apprehension, on the side of the court of any deficiency of strength in the House of Lords, that Sept. 29th. six new peers were now created; and must therefore be attributed to a sense of merit, and acknowledgement of services. These were Lord Gage, the Honourable James Brudenell, Sir William De Grey, Sir William Bagot, Hon. Charles Fitzroy, and Henry Herbert, Esq; who were all created English barons. We do not consider the granting of a baronage, with an extension to the female line, in Earl Talbot's family, as an immediate increase of peerage.—Some small time before the meeting of parliament, Ld.

Carlisle was appointed to the government of Ireland; and Lord Grantham succeeded him at the head of the board of trade.

The first business in the House of Commons was necessarily the choice of a speaker; a business which afforded an opportunity for a trial of strength on both sides, and to the ministers, not only of gratifying former resentments, but of shewing the danger, in certain situations, of incurring their displeasure. Our readers will recollect, that the speech made by Sir Fletcher Norton, as speaker, on the 7th of May, 1777, upon his presenting to the throne, the bills for the discharge of the civil list debts, and for the addition of 100,000*l.* a year to that establishment, gave great umbrage at the time to the court and administration; and that notwithstanding the sanction of an immediate vote of approbation from the House of Commons, the matter was still so heavily resented, as to be again brought forward, when it was productive of long debates, which were intermixed with no small degree of warmth and acrimony. The House of Commons, however, supported their speaker, and he obtained a complete triumph upon that occasion.

The differences which broke out between the speaker and the minister in the late session, are within every one's recollection, and are stated in our last volume. In the altercations which then arose, the speaker openly ascribed to his conduct on the former occasion, the causes of his present complaints, and of that neglect and want of confidence, which he had ever



since experienced from the ministry. The discussions which that business produced, any more than the part which the speaker had taken upon some public questions of great importance, by no means tended to reconciliation.

All these matters were in full operation against the late speaker, Sir Fletcher Norton, at the meeting of the new parliament. Another speaker was accordingly determined upon, and the mode of conducting the business adopted by the ministers, was to pay the highest compliments to the late speaker upon his abilities and knowledge, and to make the greatest acknowledgements, as well of the honour and dignity with which he filled his high station, as of the firmness, prudence, diligence, and indefatigable zeal, with which he had discharged its exceedingly laborious duties. But being thus let down upon soft ground, it was then lamented, that by the continued exertion of these estimable qualities, during two parliaments, his constitution had been so much impaired, that its effects in the last session, had been but too visible to every gentleman then in parliament; and indeed, notwithstanding the eagerness of his zeal, could not but considerably affect the public business of that time. That considering the present critical situation of public affairs, much business, and consequently many long and late debates, were likely to come on; and that under all these circumstances, it would neither be decent in the gentleman himself to propose, nor becoming in that house, to shew so little respect and gratitude to him, as to adopt

the proposition, of again putting him into a situation, the fatigues of which, in his present precarious state of health, must be equally beyond his powers of application, and destructive to his constitution.

The American minister, after an introduction upon this ground, then moved, that Mr. Cornwall, a gentleman eminently endowed with all the qualifications necessary for fulfilling the duties of that high office, with no less honour to himself, than advantage to the house, should be chosen their speaker. The motion was seconded by Mr. Welbore Ellis.

The opposition expressed the utmost astonishment, not only at the motion, but at the arguments which were held out as the grounds of its support. The ministers had acknowledged the late speaker to be the most able of all men to fill the chair, and in the very moment of that confession, they propose another candidate, and to heighten the inconsistency, strongly recommend to him, to copy the example of his predecessor. As to the bad health of the late speaker being assigned as a cause for his rejection, it was a very bare, and an entirely unfounded pretence. The health of the late speaker was now so firmly established, that he was evidently as capable of discharging all the duties of his office, as ever he had been in any part of his life. This pretence was therefore an absolute mockery of the house, and the motion was intended as a direct insult upon that gentleman; and if the measure was adopted it would be a most ungrateful return, for the many years of the most



most valuable part of his life, which he had with so much honour and ability devoted to the public service of his country in that house. Mr. Dunning accordingly moved, and the motion was seconded by Mr. Thomas Townshend, that Sir Fletcher Norton be continued speaker.

That gentleman himself said, that on account of his ill state of health in the preceding session, and the unavoidable interruption which it occasioned to the public business, he had come to the house under a full determination not to go again into the chair upon any account; and that he must therefore decline the honour intended him by his learned friend who had made the motion, and by him who had seconded it, for his reinstatement. But he must be an idiot indeed, if he could believe that his state of health, of which none of the king's ministers had ever received the smallest intimation from him, was the real cause of their moving for a new speaker, without holding the smallest previous communication with him upon the subject. He had in the last session, at the peril of his life and contrary to the advice of his physicians, come down to that house: he had, when almost overwhelmed with infirmity, struggled hard to forward the business of parliament; and he had done so at the particular desire of those who now moved to have another gentleman appointed speaker. This was usage he did not expect; he thought he had merited other treatment. He had been in town three days, and had never been asked, whether his health would enable him to continue in the chair, nor

had he been applied to directly or indirectly, on the subject of choosing a new speaker. It was then an insult on the understanding of every gentleman present, to pretend that an anxiety for his health was the real cause, for moving that another speaker might be chosen; and he called upon the ministers to declare, why he was thus disgracefully dismissed?

This opened a wider ground of debate to the opposition, which they immediately occupied. They said, that the ministers had adopted and reduced to a system the abominable practice, of endeavouring to disgrace every dignified character in the kingdom; and more especially to insult and villify those men whose conduct the House of Commons approved. That their resentments were not more mean, than the motive on which they were founded, in the present instance, was unconstitutional and dangerous. That the memorable speech, which had drawn their enmity on the speaker, reflected the highest honour upon him; and was equally a record of his impartiality in that high office, of his zeal for his country, and of his feeling for the national distresses. That it had received the repeated approbation of the commons of England; and was equally admired and approved of without doors. And yet that speech, under such sanctions, was the only cause for their present attempt to insult and disgrace him. That the nation would now form a proper estimate of the views and principles of the ministers, when they saw the open and avowed persecution which they carried on against all those, who faithfully dis-



discharged their public duties, and who had spirit and virtue sufficient, to support the interests of the people, or to maintain their rights. The new members, said they, will now see confirmed, what they had before heard attributed only to the malice of parties, or to newspaper misrepresentation. They may perhaps obtain a good lesson now at their first entrance, how far the vengeance of power is capable of operating even in this popular assembly.

The ministers took no farther share in the debate, beyond the introductory speech of the noble lord at the head of the American affairs. Lord North, though more than once called upon, was totally silent. Nor could the warm challenges of the late speaker, nor the repeated calls of the opposition, draw out any manner of explanation from them, as to the causes or motives of the conduct so much complained of.

The debate was, however, supported with great spirit by the gentleman who seconded the motion for the appointment of Mr. Cornwall, and by Mr. Rigby. They said they had never before heard, nor could they by any means subscribe to the doctrines which were now broached. This was the first debate in which they had heard it asserted, that there was any thing of insult, disgrace, or contempt to any man, in appointing a speaker, or that any gentleman was either to be called on, or expected to state his reasons, why he recommended, or why he voted, for this or that particular candidate. In a new parliament, every member had an undoubted right to give his vote

as he pleased for a new speaker; and the most learned in the law were desired to prove, that it was any part of the constitution of parliament, for a speaker to possess the chair just as long as he should think proper, unless some charge of criminality could be established against him.

But the latter of these gentlemen went farther, and acknowledged that he had objections to the late speaker on more accounts than one; but particularly with respect to that conduct in the year 1777, which had now been so much boasted of. He had at that time strongly expressed his disapprobation, both of the speech, and of the vote of thanks, which had been now read as a matter of triumph. He now thought, as he then did, that the speaker went too far; that he was not warranted to make such an address to the throne; and that it was, flying in the king's face. Being called to order for using the royal name, he, with his usual firmness, insisted that the opposition were not warranted in calling him to order, as he had not used that name in any manner which could influence the freedom of debate. He seemed to laugh at what had been thrown out, of the influence of the crown, and the secret reasons for the motion to elect a new speaker; such things, he said, might have an effect with younger men, and with those who had newly entered within the walls of that house, but they could not make the smallest impression on him. The mighty secret, he said, why one side of the house moved for a new speaker, and the other supported the old, was reducible



ducible to a simple fact, and when put into plain English; and stripped of the adventitious dress of eloquence, amounted to no more, on either side, than this—"We'll vote for you, if you'll be for us."

It did not, however, appear, upon the division, that the young men and new members, in general, had any great objection to think or act with the ministers. Lord George Germain's motion for the appointment of Mr. Cornwall to be speaker, was carried by a majority of 203 votes, to 134 who supported Mr. Dunning's nomination of the late speaker.

The new speaker was exceedingly well received, upon his introduction to the throne, at the head of the house, on Nov. 1. the following day. The speech to both houses, which immediately succeeded the ceremonial of receiving the speaker, seemed to hold out a motive, without its being directly assigned, for the late dissolution, by declaring more than ordinary satisfaction in meeting parliament, at a time, when the late elections afforded an opportunity of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and wishes of the people, to which his majesty was always inclined to pay the utmost attention and regard. The other objects of the speech were, to state, in a full point of view, the arduous situation of public affairs; the formidable nature, the injustice, and the dangerous views, of that vast combination of force, which was formed against us in support of the American rebellion. The whole force and faculties of the French and Spanish monarchies

were drawn forth, and exerted to the utmost, the undisguised object of the confederacy being to gratify a boundless ambition, by destroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain. It was acknowledged, that the force granted by the last parliament, along with the divine blessing on the bravery of our fleets and armies, had happily succeeded in withstanding the formidable attempts of our enemies, and in frustrating the great expectations which they had formed. The signal successes which had attended the progress of the British arms in Georgia and Carolina, were held out to view; and were said to be gained, with so much honour to the conduct and courage of the officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of the troops, as equalled their highest character in any age, and, it was trusted, would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. But though the accomplishment of that great end was most earnestly desired, they would undoubtedly agree in opinion, that they could only secure safe and honourable terms of peace by such powerful and respectable preparations, as should convince our enemies, that we would not submit to receive the law from any powers whatsoever, and that we are united in a firm resolution to decline no difficulty or hazard in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of our essential interests. The commons were informed, that his majesty saw and felt, with concern, that the various services of the war must, unavoidably, be attended with great and heavy expences; but they were desired to



grant such supplies only, as their own security, and the exigency of affairs should be found to require.

The forms of the house of commons happened, upon this occasion, to prevent the speech from being considered or read until the Nov. 6th. following Tuesday; when an address, adding the usual reassertion of all the propositions contained in the speech, and such compliments as the events of the day suggested, was moved for by Mr. De Grey, and seconded by Sir Richard Sutton. An amendment was moved by Mr. Grenville, and seconded by Col. Fitzpatrick, proposing to leave out the whole address, excepting the complimentary part, and to substitute in the place of the subsequent clauses these words, that, "In this arduous conjuncture we are determined to unite our efforts for the defence of this our country; and we beg leave to assure your majesty, that we will decline no difficulty or hazard in preserving the essential interests of this kingdom."

As the old question, of supporting or abandoning the American war, necessarily held a principal part in the present debate, we shall only attend to the new matter introduced, or the new ground of argument taken, on either side. It was advanced, in support of the address, that our affairs in America were in a much better train, and much more prosperous situation, than they had been at any time since the convention of Saratoga: that the splendid success of Lord Cornwallis in the southern colonies, had enhanced the reputation of the British arms, and

had in the highest degree intimidated our enemies. That Carolina was entirely reduced to the obedience of our arms, and the numerous friends of Great Britain in that country, were no longer afraid to avow their sentiments. That it was no longer a question of allegiance and independency between us and our colonies; but the question now was, whether we should relinquish those valuable provinces to the house of Bourbon? No lover of his country could hesitate a moment, in opposing to the last such an accession of strength to our natural enemy; and no friend of America could wish that we should resign her to the yoke of an arbitrary sovereign.

Nothing, they said, could be a greater mistake, or more improperly held out, than the language continually used on the other side, that the war was at present carried on for the purpose of conquering America. The fact was directly otherwise. The war was now carried on to protect our numerous American friends from the tyranny and oppression of the congress. This was a purpose which neither justice, humanity, gratitude, or even a regard to our own interests, would permit us to abandon. It would not now be insisted that America could be recovered by conquest; but it was well to be hoped, that America was still to be regained by this country. The just and liberal offers made by Great Britain to America, had produced very great and general effects upon the minds of the people; and it was not to be doubted that more than half the Americans, when freed from their oppressors, would appear to have been



been friends to the British government. This then was no reason for the language of despondency; our late signal successes, operating upon this disposition of the people, must produce the happiest effects; and, that as we have now seen and corrected our own errors, so the prevalence of reason over passion will operate equally with the Americans, and prevent their being far behind us; especially as occasion must continually be given, for contrasting the happiness which they enjoyed under our mild government with the tyranny of their present rulers, and of feeling more and more their odious and disgraceful dependence on France.

They then contended, that our situation precluded every prospect of honourable peace, but through the medium of victory; that the prosecution of the war with the utmost energy, until it might be terminated on better and more honourable grounds than at present, was essential to the political existence of Great Britain; and, in a word, that we must humble France through the sides of America. That if we even submitted to the humiliating and disgraceful measure of acknowledging the independency of America, still, that fatal concession which would expose us to the probable loss of all our transmarine possessions, and sink the political consequence of this kingdom to nothing in the scale of Europe, would not accelerate the work of peace, however fervently that happy event was to be desired. America was a new state; she must maintain or establish her public character; and she was bound by every tie of policy,

as well as honour, not to desert her allies, or to leave them exposed to our collected efforts, in a war undertaken for her advantage. But if it were otherwise, she was now too closely connected with, and too much dependent on France, to have it in her power to enter into a separate treaty with Great Britain.

Our situation was undoubtedly difficult and perilous; but, if our native courage did not do it, we might learn from the example of other wise and powerful nations, never to despond in any circumstances; but to expect the happy effects of fortitude even in the most adverse situations. Nor, in truth, was the heterogeneous confederacy formed against us, although undoubtedly in a very high degree powerful, by any means so tremendous and alarming as was represented and imagined. Besides the principles of disunion, and many others faults common to all confederacies, this was composed of powers, which, in the nature of things, were the most unlikely, if not utterly incapable, of coalescing, for any continuance, with cordiality, that ever were, or that possibly could be brought together. The Spaniards had the strongest natural aversion, cherished by the accumulated prejudices of all ages, both to the people and country of France. And could it be supposed or believed, that the Protestant republicans of North America, who were more zealously attached to their religious and political principles than perhaps any other civilized people, and who were fighting against their parent country and their own blood for



*liberty*, should enter into a cordial friendship and lasting bands of union with a Roman Catholic and despotic power, which having enslaved its own people, would not afford the word *liberty* a place in its dictionaries. We should then strike at the whole confederacy, and not at this part or that separately, until the vigour of our efforts, operating upon its own principles of dissolution, had shaken the whole fabric to pieces.

On the other side it was observed, that there was every year a new reason for continuing the American war; first, it was necessary to send troops to deliver the men of property and consequence on that continent from the tyranny of the mob; afterwards to deliver the lower ranks from the oppression of the upper, and particularly of the congress; and now we are called upon to deliver both from the thralldom in which they were held by France. Such were the vain and empty delusions by which, year after year, the nation had been led through all the calamity, loss, danger, and disgrace, of this ruinous war. The infatuation of the ministers was now evidently as strong, for its continuance, as it had been in the beginning; and they seemed to think the parliament and nation to be as blind and as infatuated as they were themselves. The last parliament had, like other the most abandoned sinners, in its dying agonies, confessed the cause of its corruption and profligacy; this day would afford a demonstration, when the fatal and corrupt influence then acknowledged, had extended to the present. Whatever effect ministerial

arts had heretofore produced on the opinions and disposition of the people, the general cry now was, "Peace with America, and "war, vigorous war, with our "natural enemies;" it remained to be seen, whether the ministers had influence enough in that house, to enable them still to carry on the American war, to the entire ruin, and contrary to the express sense of the nation.

But we are told that our American affairs are now in a much more flourishing and prosperous condition than they have been at any time since the affair at Saratoga; and that the splendid victory obtained at Camden, is to decide the fate of that continent. This, said they has been the constant language, at every gleam of success, ever since the commencement of the war. It is indeed true, that our successes in that time have been splendid and numerous, and that our officers and troops have upon various occasions obtained great honour; but how far have we, upon the whole, been gainers by these advantages? Boston, was, in the beginning, exchanged for New York. The reduction of that capital, the victory at Long Island, that at the Brandy Wine, and the taking of Philadelphia, (the seat of congress, and the capital of America) were all, in their respective day, objects of the greatest triumph, and each held out as leading to successes still more splendid, which must necessarily decide the fate of that continent. There will not be the face of a rebel seen in all North America, was the constant language of those times. It would be unnecessary to particularize the  
real



real consequences, of these successes; or to make any comment upon the abandoning of Philadelphia, or the danger which attended the retreat. Another source of confidence is offered to us in the exchange of Rhode Island, the very best winter harbour in all North America, for Charles-Town, the capital of South Carolina. Let those expert in such calculations determine on which side the balance lies. But the glorious victory at Camden is now to make up for every thing, and to revive all our former most sanguine hopes and illusions. But if we found our judgment on analogy or experience, are we not rather to consider it as the forerunner of some fatal disaster? What could be more splendid or flattering than the success at Ticonderago? Yet that was followed by the loss of the whole army. Have we less reason now, than we had at that time, to expect such a reverse of fortune as then happened? The consequence of our success at Charles-Town, was the laying Lord Cornwallis under a necessity of putting all to the hazard, by encountering a great superiority of force at Camden. The merit and honour of that action lie entirely with the general and his army; but what are we to say to, or to expect from those conductors of the war, who laid him under that dangerous necessity, which renders his victory a miracle? Or if such consequences are the natural and inevitable result of our successes on that continent, with what hope, or to what end, is the war continued?

They observed farther, that a calamitous circumstance attending

that action afforded a direct proof, that the majority of the Americans (as had been so frequently and confidently asserted by the ministers) were not friendly to this country; but, on the contrary, that they were almost universally attached to the cause of congress. For no sooner had General Gates appeared among the Carolinians, than those very men flocked to his standard, who had taken the oaths to our government carrying with them the arms that were put into their hands by our general; a circumstance which reduced him to the unhappy necessity of putting such of them as were taken to death. But the very same necessity which obliged the general, contrary to his disposition, to recur to acts of terror, excluded any reliance in the affection of that people against whom they were necessary.

It was acknowledged, that great advantages might be derived from the late success obtained by the good conduct and gallantry of Lord Cornwallis and his army. It might be made the foundation of an honourable and happy peace. Let ministers, said the opposition, seize and improve the advantage, and they will deserve and receive the thanks and applause of their country. But have they given us the smallest hopes of such a disposition? On the contrary, said they, does not the speech itself, and does not the proposed address, which is its echo, prove to the conviction of this house, that they are determined to pursue the war to the utmost? They dare not give it up. They must at all events carry it on. And its unpopularity, and that only, is the tenure  
by



by which they hold their places. To that object therefore were all others sacrificed. It was upon that account that raw new-raised regiments, under inexperienced officers, were sent to perish, not in detail, but by whole columns, on the West India service, whilst the veterans, who were proof to all climates and seasons, were kept in America.

It would seem to have been rather pleasantly than seriously said, on the other side, that Great Britain standing singly, and without an ally, in the war, had great advantages over the powerful confederacy which was formed against her. If the doctrine had been true, this nation must undoubtedly at present be the most flourishing in the universe, for she is probably the only one in that predicament. It seems, however, to have been seriously advanced, by the subsequent allusions to the league of Cambray, and to the confederacy against Lewis XIV. neither of which can in any degree apply in the present instance. It was common danger, distress, and a participation of interests, that chiefly endeared nations, as well as individuals, to one another; and this tie, for the present, united the French and Americans in the closest friendship. But if we held out to America a separate interest, and that accompanied with such security, as should remove all ideas of a common danger, it was consistent with experience, and the usual course of things, to expect that we might dissolve the friendship, and have an opportunity of successfully treating with her. Indeed, without ascribing to the Americans any unusual degree either of gra-

titude or perfidy, and considering them merely as men; whose conduct, like that of all others, would naturally be governed by a mixture of both reason and passion, it was fairly to be presumed, that by such a course, and by abstaining from offensive hostilities against them, they might still be detached from the cause of the house of Bourbon.

What would be the consequence, they asked, of withdrawing the troops from America? American independence undoubtedly. Would this be a means of obtaining peace?—it cannot be denied. Could the troops subdue America, if they stayed there?—it is not even hoped. Can the American war be given up without her being independent?—certainly not. Can peace be obtained upon any other terms than American independence?—the ministers know it cannot. If these things are so, (and they cannot be controverted) the ministers are wasting the blood and treasure of this country without an object.

They totally denied, that our affairs in America were now in a better situation than they had been at any time since the convention of Saratoga; and insisted that we were now, in all respects, in infinitely worse circumstances: but without wasting time, they said, in considering the comparative value of posts, or the relative strength of armies, are we not more than forty millions worse, through the mere expences of the war, than we were at that period? and has not the failure of our commerce, and the exhaustion of our resources, been in a still greater proportion?

Every military man, they said, had



had known, from the time of the affair of Trenton, that all attempts to subdue America were so many fruitless prostitutions of blood and treasure, for that the matter was altogether impracticable. Is it then wise or prudent, said they, for this house to pledge itself precipitately by an address to the farther support and continuance of that ruinous and impracticable war? Let us on the contrary assure his majesty, and declare to all the world, that though we will not longer pursue a measure of folly and ruin, we shall afford every possible support to his arms, when directed against their proper object, the house of Bourbon. Let that house deservedly feel every exertion of our force, and every effect of our resentment. So far the amendment went, and no farther ought they to bind themselves.

Some miscellaneous matter was drawn in, particularly by Mr. Fox and Col. Fitzpatrick, who animadverted greatly on several circumstances relative to the late dissolution, as well as to the general election. The former observed, that the speech began with assuring them that his majesty wished to know the sense of his people, and the same paragraph contained the greatest mockery and insult upon the people, by telling them that he hoped to receive the information he wished for, through the medium of the late elections. Were those elections, said he, free? Was the dissolution previously announced, or the time of it properly chosen? He hoped to God these circumstances would become the object of an enquiry in that house, and that

it might be known which of the king's servants, it was, who had dared to advise his majesty to dissolve his parliament, at that particular time that the dissolution took place; at a time when most gentlemen were taken by surprise. Indeed, for himself, he knew the ministers too well, to be surprized if it had taken place in the midst of the harvest, or at whatever moment was the most prejudicial to the people, or the most unfavourable to the freedom of election. As it was, it took place when the majority of that house, especially of those who had uniformly opposed and reprobated the mad and destructive measures of ministers, were in camp, and at considerable distance from the places they represented; so that the ministers, instead of consulting the wishes of the people, and instead of rendering the event as little injurious as possible to the internal peace and quiet of the kingdom, had taken pains to render the dissolution of parliament as great and calamitous an evil as could have happened.

He particularly condemned the ministry for the unconstitutional use, they had made of the army. The military, he said, was a force at all times inimical to liberty, and therefore it behoved every Englishman to watch the army with a jealous eye. A few months since, perhaps, the delicate situation of affairs made it wiser to acquiesce in a questionable measure, than to hazard the appearance of countenancing the insurrection, by calling in question the means used to suppress it; but now the occasion was over, constitutional considerations must take their turn. He then proceeded to reprehend



the ministers in the most pointed terms, for having dared to send orders to officers in all the towns of the kingdom, as well in those where there had not been the smallest proneness to tumult, as in those where it had entirely subsided, and that quiet was perfectly restored, giving them power to act at discretion, without the authority of the civil magistrate. These orders, he said, had not been recalled, till almost every election was over: and he represented it as an alarming violence to the constitution, and a measure which called loudly for parliamentary enquiry.

He likewise arraigned the ministers in terms of the utmost severity, for the insult which, he said, had been offered to the navy, and the prejudice done to that service by the late appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich hospital. A subject upon which he seemed to exhaust all his powers of censure.

The original address was at length carried upon a division, by a majority of 212, to 130 who supported the amendment.

The address in the house of lords was moved for, on the day that the speech from the throne was delivered by the Earl of Westmoreland. An amendment was moved by the Marquis of Carmarthen, which, like that in the house of commons, went to the omission of the greater part of the address. The debate was neither long nor interesting; and the original address was carried upon a division, by a majority of 68 to 23. It was observed as a singularity upon this occasion, and was afterwards commented upon in

more places than one, that the moderation and virtue of not taking advantage of the opportunity afforded by the late riots, to unite the arms of an enraged populace with those of the military, and apply both to the overthrow of the constitution of this country, and the destruction of the liberties and rights of the people, according to the example a few years since set by the prince in a northern kingdom, were grounds of great acknowledgment and thanks to the sovereign.

Upon the resolution Nov. 13. in the committee of supply, that 91,000 seamen, including marines, should be voted for the service of the ensuing year, Mr. Fox, after declaring his assent, pledged himself to the house that he would, after the holidays, move for the dismissal of the Earl of Sandwich, and afterwards for bringing him to condign punishment, and gave notice that he should found these motions on two different causes;—the first for advising his majesty to promote Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich hospital;—and the second for the shameful neglect of the navy during that nobleman's administration.

A vote of thanks to Sir Fletcher Norton, the late 20th. speaker, for his conduct in that office, being moved for by Mr. Townshend, and supported by the opposition in general, met with great resistance on the court side, and brought out considerable debate, although the ministers themselves took no direct part. It was, however, carried on a division, by a majority of 136 to 96. Several of the new members took a part in opposing



opposing the vote of thanks ; upon this occasion Lord North went with the opposition upon the division.

27th. In a few days after, the thanks of the house of commons were voted to Generals Sir Henry Clinton, Earl Cornwallis, and Admiral Arbuthnot, for the eminent and very important services performed by them, particularly by the reduction of Charles-Town, and by the late most glorious victory obtained at Camden.

Several of the estimates, particularly those of the army, had, as usual in the course of this war, at different times produced much debate, complaint, and altercation, in the committee of supply. Several motions were made by the opposition for papers and returns, intended to afford an exact knowledge of the state of the forces employed on foreign service at certain given periods, which they supposed or said, did not approach so near the present time, as to render the communication capable of any ill consequence ; but from which they intended to shew how far short the real number of effective troops was at those periods, from that which was stated on paper, and paid for by the nation. Some of these were rejected, and others agreed to. The old argument was again frequently recurred to, of the mischief or danger of affording information to the enemy ; and it was attempted to be thrown into ridicule by asking, if it was supposed that Gen. Washington wanted any information at that time, as to the state and condition of Sir Henry Clinton's army twelve months before ?

The appointment of Sir Hugh

Palliser to the government of Greenwich hospital, and his taking his seat in the house as member for Huntingdon, were the means of bringing out, if not the most interesting debate, at least the longest, and by far the most angry discussion, which took place before the recess. We have little inclination to enter deeply into a matter wherein personal resentment, with the desire of supporting a favourite of government, might well be supposed among the principal operative motives on both sides ; and which is besides of no other moment now perhaps to the public, than merely the knowledge arising from it as an historical fact. It is, however, necessary to take such a view of the subject in this part, as will illustrate and explain the subsequent debates and transactions of which it was productive.

We have already seen the notice given by Mr Fox of his intended motion, relative to the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to his government ; and it was supposed that avowal of a direct attack, was a motive with the other side in accelerating that gentleman's introduction to the house of commons, in order that he might there personally support his own cause, and in a hope that his presence might check that torrent of invective and censure, which the ministers knew they should otherwise sustain upon his account. His intended appearance in the house on the day that the naval estimates were to be laid before the committee was known, and a personal quarrel between, him and Mr. Fox was expected to be the consequence.

Mr.



Mr Fox was accordingly the principal assailant, and the minister himself stood forth as the able champion for the new governor. The discussion was renewed on the following day upon bringing up the report from the committee; and the attack was supported at different times, by Mr. Thomas Townshend, admiral Keppel, Sir Robert Smith, Mr. Sawbridge, the Earl of Surry, and Mr. John Townshend. The brunt of the defence lay with the minister, and Sir Hugh Palliser himself. Neither the admiralty lords, nor those court members who usually spoke upon other occasions, taking any part on the present. But the noble lord at the head of affairs was in himself an host.

Dec. 4th. The field was opened by Mr. Thomas Townshend, who, with much censure upon the admiralty, particularly with respect to the officers, whom they did, and did not employ, observed, that in granting away such vast sums of their constituents money, it was highly necessary they should enquire into the causes of such pernicious and ruinous conduct; and to know why, in this season of great public exigency and danger, the nation was deprived of the services and professional abilities of such men, as the admirals, Keppel, Lord Howe, Sir Robert Harland, Pigot, Campbell, and Barrington? He said, that wherever this evil originated, the cause must be removed, in order to restore spirit and unanimity to the navy, and to give vigour and effect to its operations. The fate of the nation, he said, depended on the remedy of this evil; and nothing less than that, along with

a due distribution of rewards and punishments, could possibly recover our antient naval renown, and revive that noble spirit which had rendered us invincible at sea. —Sir Robert Smith, in treating the doctrine of rewards and punishments, observed, that it was not the hulks of ships, nor their guns, that constituted the strength of the navy of England; it was the high sense of honour, and the intrepid spirit of the officers and men; and when these were damped the navy was ruined.

This idea was adopted by Mr. Fox, and applied with the utmost severity to the late promotion; representing as the highest insult which could be offered to the navy, and the greatest stigma that could be affixed to the service that a person convicted of having preferred a false and malicious accusation against his superior officer, and who was barely acquitted by a court martial, upon charges exhibited against himself, on that very occasion which he had made the ground of his accusation, should be promoted to a post of distinction, of honour, and of profit, which had heretofore been held by men of the first naval merit, and which was in fact intended as an honourable retreat and reward to those who had essentially served their country. He did not, he said, blame the person who accepted that place; it was the first lord of the admiralty who was alone to blame, and whose conduct in it ought to be the subject of their enquiry. When it had been formerly said in that house, at the time that the accusation was first preferred against Admiral Keppel, that the accuser

was



was only the instrument, and that the admiralty were the principals; that it was they who suggested, who prompted, and who spurred on the accusation; the charge was then strongly denied on the part of that board. But what will the navy, what will the nation now think, when they see the accuser rewarded by that very board with a place of high honour, of great emolument?

He asked, what had been the accuser's own sense of his conduct at the time; had he not abdicated his seat in parliament? Had he not resigned his seat at the admiralty board? Had he not, (to borrow a phrase already used in the debate) made a discreet retreat from public notice? Were not these testimonials, and even tacit acknowledgments of his guilt? The discretion of that retreat produced its effect, in preventing some of the measures which that house were on the point of pursuing, and which would now have added to the standing records of its sense of the transaction. The cause had been asked in the present debate, why the great officers, then named, were not now in the active service of their country; and a noble lord on the other side, had attributed this unfortunate circumstance to private motives. But the real motives, he said, were well known to his honourable friend who proposed the question, and were indeed within the knowledge of those who were the least informed in public affairs. The reason was, these great characters could not serve with confidence or safety under an administration guilty of convicted false-

hood, and guilty not merely of notorious but of recorded treachery! This was the reason, the true, the only reason. Every friend to his country must therefore wish, that this bar to the services of those distinguished officers might be removed; and that was his own motive for the enquiry which he proposed after the holidays; an enquiry, he said, which was essential to the navy, and to the public.

Lord North declared, that he did not care how soon the threatened enquiry was brought on; he was ready to meet it fully and frankly, to join issue with the honourable gentleman, and to go into an investigation of the merits without reserve. As to that sentence of a court martial which pronounced, that the person who preferred a charge against Mr. Keppel, was a false and malicious accuser, he should only for the present observe, what he had heretofore, and should again say more at large, that the court martial was convened for the purpose of trying Mr. Keppel, and not Sir Hugh Palliser; they had a regular charge submitted to their consideration and decision against the one, and they had no charge whatever before them against the other; in pronouncing therefore sentence upon the motives of the accuser, they had exceeded the line of their jurisdiction, and had condemned a man unheard, without any form of trial, and without being permitted to enter upon his defence.

As to the late promotion of Sir Hugh Palliser, which was held out as the principal ground of the proposed enquiry, the charge, he said



said, was not to be directed solely against the first lord of the admiralty, for he avowed his own full share in the transaction, said that others of the king's servants were likewise concerned, and that he was ready to defend and support the measure in that house, whenever it should be agitated. The honourable gentleman had dwelt much upon the sentence of the court martial which tried Sir Hugh Palliser, and inferred, that it amounted only to a bare acquittal. He saw the matter in a very different point of view. What were the words of the former part of it?

—“ That the court having taken  
“ the whole of the evidence into  
“ consideration, both on the part  
“ of the prosecution, as well as  
“ in favour of the prisoner, were  
“ of opinion, so far from the con-  
“ duct of Sir Hugh Palliser be-  
“ ing reprehensible on the 27th  
“ and 28th of July, that in ma-  
“ ny parts thereof, it appeared  
“ exemplary and highly merito-  
“ rious.”

If he understood the meaning of the word meritorious, according to its true acceptation, it signified in this instance, that an officer whose conduct had been declared, after a most strict scrutiny, to have been highly meritorious, was an officer who deserved reward; and that exemplary conduct meant such conduct as was a proper example for other officers to follow, and a fit object for imitation. Under this, which appeared to him to be the true and natural reading of the sentence, Sir Hugh Palliser was undoubtedly an object of reward, and after his conduct had been declared highly meritorious and exemplary, administration would

have been criminally culpable, if they had neglected to give him a suitable reward.

He called upon gentleman particularly to recollect the peculiar circumstances that rendered Sir Hugh Palliser's acquittal more than commonly honourable to him? Let them call to mind the arts that were used to set the public in a flame against him previous to his trial; and the pains that were taken to run him down, to render him the object of universal indignation; and that these endeavours were at length so successful, that he became an object of commiseration and pity even with some benevolent gentlemen of the opposition, who humanely did not wish that he should be brought to a trial, under such a load of public odium and prejudice. And let it also be recollected that it was under these circumstances, that, conscious of his innocence, he boldly demanded, and persevered in his applications for a trial, which was brought on entirely at his own request. And must not every dispassionate man, every impartial reader of the sentence, consider such an acquittal, in such circumstances, as the most honourable possible testimonial to the character of an officer? And could the king's ministers do less, consistently with their duty, than to pay a proper attention to such sufferings, and to follow up the danger of being purified by such an ordeal, with reward, and with honour?

He seemed to make very light of many fine sounding words, which, he said, had been used against administration; but which unfortunately wanted truth for their support. And as to the enu-

merate



merated list of officers, whose services were said to be withholden, through their want of confidence in the good faith or honesty of administration, surely, if the facts were real, ministers could be considered as no better than bedlamites, if they employed men who held such opinions.

Sir Hugh Palliser read a long, and seemingly laboured, manuscript defence of his conduct. It held out the bitterest complaints, and teemed with invective, against the conduct of Admiral Keppel, of the court martial by which he had been acquitted, of that powerful party by which he had been himself overborne, and of Mr. Fox in particular. He charged all his misfortunes and oppressions to the power, and to the malevolent persecution of that party, which seemed still to be in as full vigour as ever. He catechized Mr. Fox with a great number of interrogatories relative to the practice of the courts in cases of high treason, and others, of parliament, in certain cases, and of courts martial by sea and land. He claimed merit from his moderation, in remaining for so long a time a silent sufferer, rather than to increase the popular discontents, and the dissensions of the navy by attempting to oppose a party, which he acknowledged was too strong for him to contend with. He declared, that he considered his acquittal as the most honourable circumstance of his life; and he flattered himself; that if the house should think an enquiry into the two courts martial necessary, he should not when that enquiry was over, if it were fairly gone into,

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be deemed a false and malicious accuser.

Several parts of the new governor's detail, and particularly the charges which he made against the court martial that tried Mr. Keppel, were examined and commented upon by that Admiral, Mr. Fox, and others; but by none with greater ability, or so much severity, as by Mr. John Townshend. The ministers arguments and positions were likewise replied to and examined; and the new construction which he put upon part of the sentence of one court martial, the adroitness with which he passed over the unfavourable part of the same, and the little attention he paid to the sentence of another, were all respectively brought into observation.

The matter being brought up on the following day, Sir Robert Smith moved, that a copy of the minutes of the trial and sentence of the court martial held for the trial of Vice Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, should be laid before the house. The Earl of Surrey seconded the motion, and among other reasons for it observed, that as the vice admiral had on the preceding day thought proper to read to the house a long narrative, the greatest part of which was calculated to arraign the justice of the court martial which had acquitted Admiral Keppel, and which had censured his accuser, he saw clearly, that no man of honour in the service, would be safe in doing his duty as member of a court martial in future, if an enquiry was not immediately made into the business. The present motion would open the

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way



way to that enquiry. He acted solely for the sake of justice. He was much averse to any retrospect into matters, which had already produced so much mischief to the service, and of course to the country; but since ministers had, by bringing the vice admiral forward, given occasion for reverting to past transactions, he thought the whole should be fully enquired into; at the same time declaring, that he should govern himself entirely by what appeared to be the truth, when the business was sifted to the bottom: If it should appear that the court martial was warranted in pronouncing the sentence which they had passed, he should give his vote for passing a censure on the vice admiral, who had thus publickly arraigned

their justice; if on the other hand, it should come out, that the vice admiral's complaints were founded, and that the court martial had denied him justice, he should support any proceeding against the members of that court, which the house should think proper to adopt.—the motion was agreed to.

An unusually early Dec. 6th. recess took place. The House of commons adjourned on the following day to the twenty-third of January.

No public business of any consequence was transacted in the House of Lords before the recess. That house adjourned on the 27th of November to the 25th of January.

## C H A P. IX.

*Declaration of war against Holland, and hostilities commenced. Message from the throne. Debates on the Dutch war. Address moved by the minister. Amendment moved by Lord John Cavendish. The amendment rejected upon a division, second amendment by Lord Mahon rejected, and the original address passed. Address moved for in the House of Lords by Lord Stormont; and an amendment by the Duke of Richmond. Unusually late debate. Amendment rejected on a division. Two Protests. Mr. Fox's motion relative to the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich Hospital. Amendment moved by the minister, and after much debate carried upon a division. Mr. Fox's concluding motion evaded, by moving for the order of the day. India affairs. Complaints against the supreme judicature of Bengal. Two petitions from India; one, from the governor general and council at Calcutta; the other, from the British subjects residing in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Select committee of fifteen balloted for, to examine the grounds of the petitions.*

ON the 20th of December, 1780. the manifesto and declaration of war against Holland was issued at St. James's. In that piece the states general are charged with departing, through the

prevalence of a faction devoted to France, from those wise principles which used to govern the republic, and following the dictates of that court, with having adopted a policy destructive of the friendship which



which had so long subsisted between the two nations, and which was so essential to the interests of both.

The circumstances of complaint and resentment are then enumerated. The inattention to the friendly negotiations proposed by the British ambassador.—Their not fulfilling the mutual and perpetual defensive engagements solemnly established between both nations, and not even giving an answer to the repeated demands on that subject.—The total contempt of those treaties shewn, in their ready promise to our enemies of observing a neutrality.—Their giving every secret assistance to the enemy, whilst they withheld from us the succours which they were bound to furnish.—And their taking off the inland duties, for the sole purpose of facilitating the carriage of naval stores to France.—The protection afforded to the American pirate, Paul Jones, and the privateers of our enemies in general; and the endeavours of their subjects, in concert with the French, to raise up enemies to England in the East Indies.

But the principal force and acumen of the manifesto, seemed to be directed against the city and magistracy of Amsterdam, and against their pensionary Van Berkel, on account of the lately discovered treaty with the Americans; the resentment being only secondary to the states general, for their not immediately punishing that violation of public faith, and national insult to Great Britain. All the foregoing causes of complaint, so inconsistent with all good faith, and so repugnant, as it was said, to the sense of the

wisest part of the Dutch nation, are accordingly ascribed to the prevalence of the leading magistrates of that city; and it is wished, from a regard to the Dutch nation at large, that it were possible to direct those measures of public resentment and justice which were now to be pursued, wholly against Amsterdam; but this, it is observed, cannot be, unless the states general will immediately declare, that the city shall, upon this occasion, receive no assistance from them, but be left to abide the consequences of its aggression.

In the midst, however, of all the anger attending a rupture with old friends, a door for future accommodation is opened towards the end of the manifesto. After observing, that whilst Amsterdam is suffered to prevail in the general councils, and is backed by the strength of the state, it is impossible to resist the aggression of so considerable a part, without contending with the whole; it is then added.—“But we are too sensible  
“of the common interests of  
“both countries not to remem-  
“ber, in the midst of such a con-  
“test, that the only point to be  
“aimed at by us, is to raise a  
“disposition in the councils of  
“the republic, to return to their  
“ancient union, by giving us  
“that satisfaction for the past,  
“and security for the future,  
“which we shall be as ready to  
“receive as they can be to offer,  
“and to the attainment of which  
“we shall direct all our opera-  
“tions. We mean only to pro-  
“vide for our own security, by  
“defeating the dangerous designs  
“that have been formed against  
“us. We shall ever be disposed



“ to return to friendship with  
 “ the states general, when they  
 “ sincerely revert to that system  
 “ which the wisdom of their an-  
 “ cestors formed, and which has  
 “ now been subverted by a power-  
 “ ful faction, conspiring with  
 “ France against the true interests  
 “ of the republic, no less than  
 “ against those of Great Bri-  
 “ tain.”

On the same day, general let-  
 ters of marque and reprisal were  
 granted against the Dutch, and  
 their ships in the different ports  
 were ordered to be stopped. The  
 appearances of vigour and spirit  
 generally gratify the multitude,  
 who are not much disposed to look  
 forward to consequences, and are  
 seldom displeased at any increase  
 in the clattering of those arms  
 from which they think themselves  
 secure. Others looked forward to  
 the expected spoils of a Dutch  
 war; and a third sort, though of  
 a very different cast from the two  
 former, thought the war a right  
 measure, upon the supposition,  
 that Holland could do us less pre-  
 judice in an open contest, than as  
 a secret enemy. Many, however,  
 regretted the war, not only as it  
 added a new enemy to the tremen-  
 dous combination already formed  
 against us, but from a persuasion  
 of the natural connection and mu-  
 tual interests of both nations.

Hostilities were soon commenced.  
 The Princess Caroline, a Dutch  
 man of war of 54 guns and 300  
 men, on her way through the  
 Channel from Amsterdam to Lis-  
 bon, was taken, after a short ac-  
 tion, by the Bellona man of war.  
 And in a few days after, Captain  
 Elphinston, in the Warwick of 50  
 guns, with a crew young in ser-

vice, mostly (pressed men, or land-  
 men) and greatly reduced in num-  
 ber by the manning of several  
 Dutch merchantmen, fell in with  
 the Rotterdam, of equal metal  
 and 300 men, which he most gal-  
 lantly attacked and took. A large  
 Dutch East Indiaman, outward  
 bound, with a number of other  
 merchant ships, were taken within  
 a few days.

A message from the throne, in-  
 cluding a short account of the rup-  
 ture with Holland, together with  
 a copy of the manifesto, and a  
 number of other papers relative to  
 that event were pre- Jan. 25th.  
 sented by Lord North to the House of Com- 1781.

mons, on the second day after the  
 recess. Mr. Burke took up the  
 business by observing, that how-  
 ever light a war with the states of  
 Holland might be in the opinions  
 of some men, he had not forgot-  
 ten the old fashioned idea, that  
 going to war was at all events, a  
 very serious matter; a matter  
 which nothing but great necessity  
 could justify. And then taking  
 notice that several papers were still  
 wanting, which would be neces-  
 sary to the information of the  
 house, he proceeded, that though  
 for want of the proper informa-  
 tion, the justice of the war perhaps  
 could not be entered upon, yet  
 there were other considerations  
 well worth their attention. Cir-  
 cumstanced as we were, the *pru-  
 dence and policy* of the war, were  
 not less important points than its  
 justice. Since therefore ministry  
 by precipitating into the war, had  
 reduced parliament (which they  
 seemed to have adjourned for the  
 very purpose) to the alternative of  
 supporting that war at all events,



or of becoming liable to the charge of abandoning the cause of their country, it was incumbent on them to lay ample proof before the house, that the war was prudent, or at least unavoidably necessary.

He farther added, that the paper now before them, and stated in the manifesto under the title of a treaty, was, in the express terms of it, only the plan of a treaty, or the rough draught of a compact hereafter to be entered into between the intended contracting parties. He wished to know from the king's servants, whether they had obtained a copy of any treaty actually entered into and executed? That draught before them, as far as they knew, was no more than a speculative essay, a mere contemplative project; and therefore, on the face of things, no justifiable or assignable ground of hostility. He dwelt much upon the situation of the country, which he represented to be such, as required prudence and moderation, instead of haste and violence. That we ought rather to dissemble and connive at some real injuries, than by forced and constructive ones, perhaps to create, and certainly to accelerate enmities. That when war was become as insupportable as peace was necessary, it was a kind of madness to aggravate the one and obstruct the other, by introducing a new and powerful party into the contest.

The minister declared, that he considered a war at all times as a matter of great seriousness; but that it was more particularly so, in the present case, of entering into a war, that suspended an alliance and friendship formed on that broad line of policy, which origi-

nally pointed it out, and has been a source of great benefit to both parties. That it was not therefore, as his majesty had declared in his message, without the deepest regret, that he felt himself under an indispensable necessity of commencing hostilities against the united states of Holland, who, in open violation of treaties, had refused to give Great Britain that assistance, she is entitled to claim when attacked by the House of Bourbon; who had, in direct violation of the law of nations, for a long time persisted in furnishing France with warlike stores; and at length had thought proper to countenance the magistracy of Amsterdam in their unprecedented insult upon this country, by entering into a treaty with the rebellious colonies of North America; who were the subjects of a power, united in the strictest bands of amity and friendship with that republic. He then stated the stipulations of mutual assistance in the treaties between both countries; said, that Great Britain had inviolably preserved her faith at all times with Holland; had, in consequence of a claim from the states, sent over ten thousand of her troops there; and shewn herself upon every occasion ready to perform all the conditions to which she had made herself liable. After which he entered into a detail of the provocations given to Great Britain, and of the more particular offensive parts of the conduct of the states general from the commencement of the American rebellion.

It might well be asked, he said, why ministers had not sooner adopted strong measures, upon such



repeated provocations, and so long-continued a violation of faith in refusing to fulfil the absolute conditions of treaties, which had been so solemnly established and confirmed? The only answer to be given, he said, was, their extreme unwillingness to come to a rupture with Holland, and their hope, that the states would yet do justice, by complying with their solemn obligations. They could not bring themselves to imagine, that Holland could be so blinded by any arts of an insidious and treacherous power, the natural, enemy of both countries, as to abandon her antient, natural, and best ally, and thereby her own interests and security, by assisting the House of Bourbon in the unjust war which they had commenced against Great Britain. The British ministry had done all in their power to bring the states to a true sense of their interest, and at the same time to shew them the regard and tenderness of this country for that republic; and when the necessity of the case obliged them to seize on Dutch ships carrying stores to France, they paid the full value for the cargoes, and returned the ships, so that neither the private merchant, the private adventurer, nor the states had suffered. France only had felt the measure, by her being deprived of that assistance which the freights would have given her.

In answer to Mr. Burke's remark, that the treaty before them was nothing more than a contemplative project, the minister replied, that it had been actually signed and sealed, the names of the Pensionary of Amsterdam, and of M. de Neufville, a merchant

and burghers of that city. being subscribed to it on the part of that magistracy, and the name of John Lee, as commissioner or agent for the Congress of America; but it made very little difference in the scale of offence, considering the connections between the two states, whether such a treaty was fully ratified and consummated, or only in progression. But to put the matter entirely out of question, it was only to be recollected, that the states general refused to pay any attention (so far as a contemptuous silence might be considered as a refusal) to the requisitions made in his majesty's name by Sir Joseph Yorke for satisfaction, by taking proper notice of the conduct of the Pensionary Van Berkel, and his associates; and on the other hand, that so far from disavowing the fact, or attempting to palliate it, the principal magistrates of Amsterdam, not only avowed the whole transaction, but gloried in it; and expressly declared, even to the states general, that what they had done, was what their indispensable duty required.

He lamented, he said, the necessity of a war with Holland, but it was an unavoidable measure. The situation of this country, he acknowledged to be truly alarming; but when he considered the stand that had been already made, against the most powerful confederacy that had ever been formed, against Great Britain, the little success the enemies of this country had met with in their various attempts against us, and the spirit and resources of the nation, he confessed he could not perceive that gloomy and uncomfortable prospect



prospect of things, which had been described by the honourable gentleman who spoke before him. Our difficulties were certainly great, but he trusted they were by no means insuperable. He was neither desirous of concealing their magnitude, nor afraid to meet them, great as they must be acknowledged; because he was convinced, that when the force of this country was fully exerted, it was equal to the contest; and that the only means of obtaining an honourable and just peace, was to shew ourselves capable of carrying on the war with spirit and vigour.

In taking notice of what Mr. Burke had said relative to the adjournment, he declared, that it would have been as agreeable to him that the house had sat out the whole intermediate time as not; that the breaking out of the war at all, or the time of its commencement, were matters by no means so clear within the view of the king's servants, as to render it incumbent on them to state the situation of affairs to parliament, as a reason for their continuing assembled during the customary season of a recess, which, he knew, would for various reasons be highly inconvenient. The last efficient cause of the rupture, the answer of the states, was not received from Sir Joseph Yorke, until after the adjournment.

The noble lord then moved an address of thanks for his majesty's most gracious message; with an assurance of the sincere part which they took in the concern and regret his majesty expressed, for the unavoidable necessity of hostile measures against the ancient friends

and natural allies of his kingdoms; an acknowledgement, in the warmest sentiments of gratitude, of the wisdom and moderation of his conduct, in using every endeavour with the states general, to avoid proceeding to extremities; and the fullest assurance that, with a firm and determined resolution, they will support him against all his enemies, in the prosecution of this just and necessary war, for the maintenance of the honour of his crown, and of the rights and interests of his people.—The minister closed his motion with an observation, that the address was drawn up in language the most proper for the house to adopt, and he therefore moved it.

The motion was seconded with spirit and ability by Lord Lewisham, who observed that the most wanton wars had been undertaken against Holland in those periods, when the interests of the crown and of the people were distinct and different in this country; thence, he said, in the infamous reign of Charles the Second, they had not been more frequently than unjustly commenced. But in the present reign, when the interests of the king and of the people were one and the same, no rupture upon those principles could take place; and the war now commenced against Holland was so far from being wanton or unjustifiable, that it would appear, even from a slight view of the conduct on both sides, to be a war of unavoidable necessity on the part of Great Britain. He attributed to the baneful influence of French gold, that treacherous conduct which he ascribed to the Dutch; said it was better to have to deal with an



open enemy, than with a treacherous friend; and declared, that he wished not to live to see that day, when this country should be obliged to put up with those insults, which her honour called upon her to resent.

The apology made by the minister, with respect to the adjournment, did not by any means lessen the severity of opposition on that subject. The ministers, they said, had every year some work upon their hands, which they did not chuse to do in the face of parliament. It had been their frequent practice to settle matters of the first importance during the holidays, and when the house met after the recess, then to call upon parliament to support them under all the consequences of their ill conduct. In this manner the house had been led into the American war, that source of all our calamities; in this manner the treaty was stolen between America and France, without the possibility of their timely interference; in like manner the ministers announced the French, and in the following year the Spanish rescript; and now they come to declare that they have commenced war with Holland, our old and our natural ally.

Thus, year after year, had the noble lord in the blue ribbon come down to inform the house of some new enemy; but in that whole course of time, he never once brought them the welcome news of our having gained a new ally. The present ministers had exploded the old system of continental connections; they abandoned the continent, and most unfortunately, as we now experience,

the continent, in return, has abandoned us. In those glorious and happy days, when our affairs were conducted by Whig ministers, and upon true Whig principles, we had the better half of Europe fighting by our side, in pulling down the power, and humbling the pride of the House of Bourbon. But where now are our allies? We have adopted an opposite system of principles, and are abandoned by all the world. Holland, our natural, our most respectable, and at length our only ally, is forced into the arms of Bourbon. Are these the benefits for which we are to return thanks to the crown.

They denied the necessity of the war with Holland. We lost Holland, said they, by our arrogance. By that domineering, insolent spirit through which we lost America, and which has united half Europe against us in an armed neutrality. The haughty memorial of 1777, which is so cautiously kept back from the house by the ministers, they urged, was justly observed by the states general, to hold language not fitting to be offered to or received by any independent state. It was not possible that any Hollander, who felt as he ought to do for the honour of his country, should not resent such a public insult. France, and the French party in Holland, naturally and not unfairly, took the advantage of this temper. You see, said they, the treatment you receive from your boasted friends and protectors. Too much success has changed the nature, or perhaps only exposed to view the real disposition, of those haughty islanders.



ers. Instead of being the assertors of liberty, as they so often and so vainly pretended, they are not only endeavouring to enslave their own people, but they would become the oppressors and tyrants of mankind. If they hold this language, in the midst of an unsuccessful war, to you, their old friends and allies, what would it be if they were successful? if they succeeded in frustrating the generous views of France in favour of the Americans, and in establishing that universal dominion which they have long had the effrontery to claim over the ocean?

The reign of Charles II. they said, was sufficiently infamous. But they thought the observation rather unlucky at the present time. We had lost more, in a few years, through the present ministers, than by the whole race of Stuarts. The mischiefs brought on by the Stuarts were speedily repaired by a happy revolution. But the mischiefs brought on by the present ministers are irreparable. The prevalence of a faction in Holland was attributed to the influence of French gold; it would be happy if the influence of French gold, or, which was the same thing, English gold, operating in French interests, did not prevail, much nearer the capital of Great Britain. But why was not some of that gold sent over to counteract the operation of the French?

The noble minister complained, that the Dutch had broken the treaties subsisting with this country; but had proper means been used to induce them to abide by those treaties? Was the noble lord to be informed, that treaties never bound any nation in opposition to

strong passions or interest? Had any pains been taken to keep those of Holland on our side? Was not our conduct in numerous instances the direct reverse? When we were throwing away the American commerce, were we so blind as not to see, that its advantages would be eagerly grasped at by other nations? Could we imagine that a people, wholly commercial, would not sooner or later follow the example of others, and endeavour to partake of those advantages? We should either have taken measures to provide for or to prevent this effect; or we should have refrained from the frantic measures which tended to produce it.

They observed, that when France was considered as the most formidable power in Europe, the nations on all sides confederated against her. We ourselves took the lead in that confederacy. We should have derived wisdom from that example, in which we had so great a share; and when this country rose to an envied and alarming pitch of greatness, a just apprehension of a similar hostile confederacy should have taught us justice, moderation, and wisdom. But so far were we from adopting such a prudential mode of conduct, that the pride and arrogance of our councils disgusted or alarmed all mankind, and disposed them to any combination, whether for the lessening of our power, or the punishing of our insolence. In that state of things the British ministers, equally blind to our situation, and deaf to all remonstrance and reason, precipitated us headlong into the American war; thereby, through the

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pity and indignation which it excited, and the weakness which their miserable incapability of conducting it caused and revealed, not only increasing the general disposition of ill-will, but giving the fullest and most unhopèd for effect to the combination.

It had often, as they said, been urged by the supporters of ministry, that it was vain and superfluous to enquire by what means the difficulties of our situation had arisen, the only matter of consideration or enquiry being, by what means we should extricate ourselves? Events have sufficiently confuted that reasoning. For if we had investigated the causes, and punished the authors of the American war, they would not have been able to involve us successively in those with France and Spain. If we had thus enquired, we should have avoided the war with Holland. While it is possible to add one more to the number of our enemies, until all reason for exertion is superseded by utter despair, the reasons for enquiry will continue in full force. The first step towards advancing our affairs, is to prevent them from declining. As this cannot be effected without investigating and removing the cause of the progressive declension of our prosperity, the retrospect now recommended, so far from impeding, is essential to the efficacy of all our future exertions.

The minister warmly repented, and indeed much more so than he had done upon former occasions, the charge of a change of political system, of abandoning continental connections, and of our being therefore abandoned by all

our allies. He said, no man could be a warmer enthusiast in respect to the Whig principles and system of King William's reign, than he was himself: no man could wish more eagerly for continental alliances, upon the same principles, and in pursuit of the same system, which then prevailed or was adopted. The Whig system of that reign was the direct line of conduct now pursued. The object of all that king's wars, and indeed of his life, was to check the power of the House of Bourbon, and to preserve the balance of power in Europe. What are we fighting for at this moment?—the very same object. But it is said that we have no allies, does that prove that we do not pursue the system of King William's reign? If we have no allies, it only proves that we have not all the advantages of that system: advantages that are incidental, that depend on time, on circumstances, on that infinite variety of events, which destroy all possibility of perfect parallel in history.

The policy of Europe, he said, had unfortunately changed of late years; and Holland, though her ruin must inevitably follow that of Great Britain, if the House of Bourbon succeeded, rejects the old policy and adopts the new one; she is no longer the friend and the ally of Great Britain, but has joined France, and broke her faith with this country. Great Britain had uniformly adhered to her old system, and complied with the conditions of her treaties, whenever her allies were attacked, and claimed her assistance. Unfortunately for Great-Britain, the other powers of Europe had not acted



acted with equal fidelity. He declared he was firmly persuaded, that, had the Duke of Marlborough, had King William's and Queen Anne's Whig ministers, been now alive, and at the head of affairs, our national situation would have been exactly the same that it is at this moment.

He justified the memorial of 1777, (to which the present rupture was attributed by the speakers on the other side) by the circumstances which produced it, and by the state of public affairs at the time. He denied that the war with Holland had been made or fought for by the ministers; on the contrary, nothing could have been more adverse to their inclinations. The Dutch had provoked the war. He trusted he had proved that they had taken a decided part against this country, and had thrown themselves into the hands of France. Under these circumstances, and when it was evident, from the answer of the states-general to Sir Joseph Yorke, that they only meant to gain time and trifle with Great Britain, it would have been madness to have lost a moment, or to have paused upon the business; the time was arrived when our interests and our honour were equally at stake, and indecision would have been no less ruinous than shameful. So far was he from meaning to depart from that line of sound policy, which for so many years had cemented an union between this country and Holland, that after all that happened, if he saw France turn her arms against Holland, and attempt to destroy the liberty of the United States, he should still consider it as a British cause,

and act as if the treaty of Westminster had never been violated.

On the other side it was replied, that the application to Holland for furnishing the succours stipulated by treaties, was, in the present state of things, exceedingly improper, ill-judged, and impolitic. That the states-general, in not complying with the requisition, had not only acted wisely, under the circumstances of the time, but had done us, in spite of ourselves, a very great service. For what, said they would have been the immediate consequence, if they had furnished the 20 ships of war, and the 6000 troops, which they were bound to by the treaty of Westminster? Why, that Holland would have been immediately invaded, and probably overrun, by a powerful French army; that she must then not only have withdrawn her own succours, but must have demanded from us a much greater force, which we were bound by the same treaty to furnish for her defence. But that would not have been all; for as our fate would have been involved in the preservation of Holland, we must, overborne as we already were, have encountered the whole force of France, in a land war, upon her own borders. Had we a single ally that would have supported us in the unequal contest? At a time too when our armies were dispersed all over the globe, and either wasted in the American war, or perishing under the rigours of a tropical sun. Every body knows what the state of Holland is in the present day, with respect to her own military force.

The opposition in general reproached the war with Holland as being



being in the present degree, in our present situation, imprudent, impolitic, and dangerous; others went farther, and considered it no less unjust than impolitic; and a few only stood upon the defect of information on which to found any decided opinion, and therefore objected to their binding themselves by the proposed address, until matters were more clearly explained and understood. It was probably in order to unite these opinions, that the amendment moved by Lord John Cavendish, proposed only, that the regret expressed by the house for the *unavoidable necessity of hostilities*, should be applied simply to the war with Holland, by the omission of the four last words, and the substitution of the word *rupture*, in their stead. He at the same time gave notice, that if this was agreed to, he should follow it up with another amendment, the purport of which was to be, that the house would take the papers before them into consideration, and if it should appear that the war with Holland was unavoidably necessary, they would use their utmost efforts to support it with effect.

The amendment was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 180 to 101. Lord Mahon then moved another amendment, corresponding in substance and effect with that intended by Lord John Cavendish in case the first had been carried. This being rejected without a division, the minister's address passed in its original form.

The message from the throne, with the Dutch papers, were on the same day presented to the lords, and the address moved for,

by Lord Stormont; where the subject brought out no less debate than in the house of commons. The Duke of Richmond, after complaining of the deficiency of the information which was laid before them, and receiving no answer from the noble secretary, whether any more papers were intended for their inspection; then moved for another address, which went at least to operate as a previous question in postponing the former, and the tendency of which was,—that copies of the treaties lately subsisting between both nations, of the correspondence between his majesty's ministers and his late ambassador at the Hague, and of all memorials, remonstrances, requisitions, answers, or other papers, which had been presented to or received from, the states-general of the United Provinces, since the commencement of hostilities with the North American colonies, so far as they relate to a rupture, or to any misunderstanding between Great Britain and Holland, should be forthwith laid before that house.

The debate was continued to an unusually late hour, being incumbered by a question of order, which was much laboured by the chancellor and some of the court lords, whether any other matter could properly be brought forward or discussed, whilst a message from the throne was under consideration, and until the answer to it was returned? Other parts of the debate were sufficiently interesting, and abounded with political observation and knowledge. The conduct of the Dutch was much more severely treated by the ministers here than in the other house; and



and their own was treated with still less mercy by the opposition. Nor did the house itself escape better. Several of the lords declared, that nothing less than the present extraordinary occasion could have brought them there; and that from a full sense and long experience of that irresistible corrupt influence, which rendered every attempt to discharge their parliamentary duty totally useless, they were determined in future to abstain entirely from coming to the house.

Upon a division, after one o' clock in the morning, the Duke of Richmond's motion was rejected, by the very great, though not, of late years, very unusual majority, of 84, including 16 proxies, to 19 lords, without any proxy, who supported the motion.

Two protests were entered; the first a strong and exceedingly severe one, signed by nine lords; the other, conceived rather in milder terms, and signed by eight. They both, however, expressed the strongest apprehensions of the consequences which must ensue, both to our foreign and domestic affairs, from that disposition which induced ministers to deny, and the houses to acquiesce in the denial, of the information necessary on a matter so deeply affecting their most important interests.

The affair of Sir Hugh Palliser Feb. 1st. was, in a few days after, a second time brought forward. Mr. Fox, as introductory to the business, procured a copy of the charges exhibited by that officer against Admiral Keppel, of the sentence of the court-martial on those charges, of the charge and sentence of Vice-Ad-

miral Palliser's court-martial, of the late speaker's speech on delivering the thanks of the commons to admiral Keppel, and of the answer made by that commander, to be all read by the clerk to the house.

He prefaced his motion with a very long speech, which seemed to bring within one view all the infinite variety of matter relative to that subject, and in which he displayed more than a common share of his usual ability and eloquence. Having disclaimed all personal enmity, he held out the following as the principal grounds on which he founded his intended motion—That the court-martial who tried Admiral Keppel were perfectly competent to declare, that Sir Hugh Palliser had preferred a malicious and ill-founded accusation; that the declaration was warranted by a variety of undeniable facts and circumstances; that Sir Hugh Palliser himself acquiesced in the justice of the sentence; that the house of commons had acknowledged its truth; and, that the sentence of the second court-martial was neither an honourable nor an unanimous acquittal. The conclusion drawn from the whole being, that the late promotion of a man under such circumstances to a place of honour and emolument, was in the highest degree ruinous to the naval service of Great Britain.

The motion run in the following terms—"That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to be Governor of Greenwich Hospital, after he had been declared guilty of having preferred a malicious and ill-founded accusation against his commanding officer by the sentence



tence of a court-martial, was a measure totally subversive of the discipline, and derogatory to the honour of the navy.

The minister took up the defence with no less art than that which he attributed in the outset to his antagonist, by requesting the house to observe, that the motion before them was not tending either to criminate or acquit the vice-admiral; but was in reality a leading motion to convict and condemn ministers, of having advised his majesty to bestow the government in question on an unworthy object. That the house were therefore to act in a judicial capacity, and to try himself, and the rest of the king's servants, upon the point stated in the motion; for if blame were due, he acknowledged he was liable to a share of it, in common with other ministers; he, however, trusted, that he should be able to make it appear that the motion was false in fact. that it was unjust, and that no blame was due, for that ministers had done no more than their duty.

He then proceeded with his wonted ability and address in the management of debate, to controvert the several positions upon which Mr. Fox had founded his motion; going generally and necessarily, over in that course, the same grounds which we have heretofore trodden. He at length summed up the force of his arguments in the following conclusions — That the part of the sentence of Admiral Keppel's court-martial, which pronounced the accusation malicious and ill-founded, was an extra-judicial opinion; that Vice-Admiral Palliser had never been

tried on any such charge; that he had been most honourably acquitted by the court-martial which afterwards tried him; and that he had served his king and country with undoubted bravery and honour for five and forty years.

He then proposed several amendments to the motion until at length, by the assistance of the solicitor-general, it was, with no small difficulty moulded into the following form — *That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to be Governor of Greenwich Hospital,* “ who, by the officers  
“ who sat at the court-martial  
“ held for the trial of Admiral  
“ Keppel, and before whom Sir  
“ Hugh Palliser was not charged  
“ with any malice in the accusation of the said admiral, or  
“ heard in his defence, is declared  
“ to have preferred an ill-founded  
“ accusation against his commander in chief, and whose conduct  
“ on the 27th of July, 1778, by  
“ a subsequent court-martial, was,  
“ after a full examination, declared  
“ to be in many respects highly  
“ exemplary and meritorious, and  
“ who has, during the course of  
“ forty-five years, served the  
“ crown, both in his civil and military capacity, with great ability, bravery, and fidelity,”  
*was a measure totally subversive of the discipline, and derogatory to the honour of the navy.*

Lord North, before he sat down, proposed a sort of compromise with Mr. Fox, by offering to withdraw his amendment wholly, if the latter would consent to omit those particularly obnoxious words, that the vice-admiral was, by the sentence of a court-martial, declared to have preferred a malicious and ill-founded accusation against his commander



commander in chief; by which amendment the motion would go to a division, in these general terms,—‘That the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser, &c. was a measure subversive of the discipline, and derogatory to the honour of the British navy. But Mr. Fox refusing to comply with this proposal, the question was taken up with vigour, and obstinately maintained on both sides.

The opinion given by Lord Howe, that courts martial were not only competent to an opinion on the motives of an accusation, and to pass a censure on the accuser, where they appeared malicious or scandalous, but that if the case were otherwise, there must be an end of all discipline, and the authority of a commander in chief would be entirely lost, could not considering the character, situation, and professional knowledge of that nobleman, who had dedicated his whole life with so much honour to the service, but carry great weight with the hearers.

He likewise observed, that the noble lord in the blue ribbon, had taken great pains to prove that the sentence of the second court martial was an honourable acquittal. He had himself, he said, read that trial through very attentively, but he could not comprehend nor understand the sentence. It stated first, that the vice-admiral’s conduct, in many instances, had been highly meritorious and exemplary; it then charged him with an omission of duty, and next acquitted him. What puzzled him, he said, was how to find out of what the vice-admiral was acquitted? In the charges, as they were call-

ed, upon which he had been tried, there appeared, to himself at least to be no accusation. The vice-admiral, therefore, strictly speaking, could neither be convicted nor acquitted.

The debates continued till past two o’clock in the morning, when the amendment upon Mr. Fox’s original motion was carried by a majority of 214, against 149.

This was, however, a closer division, than the opposition could perhaps have hoped for upon many other questions.

Mr. Fox then moved the following amendment to the amended resolution, to come in immediately after the words *heard in his defence*—viz. “That the judge advocate having by the direction of the said court, declared, that it did not occur to the recollection of any of the members, that it had been the usage of courts martial to admit any thing on the part of the accuser, after declaring that he had gone through all the witnesses he should produce in support of the charge, and that he had agreed, that the papers offered by the accuser could not be admitted; and the said court having, in another part of the said trial, declared that they had continued of the same opinion, and had agreed that the whole evidence, not only on the part of the charge, but of the defence, having been closed, nothing farther, by way of address from either could be read.”—

This motion was avoided by moving for the order of the day, which the house was well disposed at that hour to agree to.

The affairs of India now began to require and to attract the most serious attention of the House of Commons.



Commons. It was strongly insisted upon by many persons of weight, that the interference of the crown under the sanction of parliament, in 1773, in regulating the government of the East India company's possessions in Asia, and in the management of its affairs at home and abroad, instead of the benefits which were held out at that time, had produced such scenes of disorder, and such a state of confusion in India, as has not often been the result of civil, or even of any regulated military establishments.

It was pretty generally allowed, that the double interests, mutually counteracting each other, which were then formed, and the opposite powers which the company's servants looked up to, necessarily slackened all the bands of obedience, and by degrees destroyed all authority. The revolution at Madras, the fate of Lord Pigot, the triumph, rather than escape, of the authors of that catastrophe, with the extraordinary phenomenon of Indian Princes, at the distance of half the globe, becoming the authors of cabals, and the leaders of parties, in the capital of Great Britain, formed all together such a combination of circumstances, as pointed out the necessity of a review of our policy itself, in the government of India, as well as of the striking effects which it had produced.

Bengal, by the new regulations, had been made the seat of government of the British dominions in the east. Two supreme jurisdictions were then established. The one possessing all the political and executive powers of government under the name of governor-

general and council, extended its superintendence and controul over the other presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The second, composed of judges sent from England, was called the supreme court of judicature, and was entirely independent of the governor-general and council. As the one succeeded, with great additional powers, to the antient presidency, so the latter did to the mayor's court of Calcutta: a court, which though composed of magistrates not bred to the knowledge of the law, yet by acting upon the general principles of rectitude, and with the assistance of juries, was highly distinguished, as well for the moderate expence of time and money at which justice was obtained, as for the fairness of its proceedings, and the equity of its decisions.

It was scarcely, perhaps, in the nature of things, that these separate independent powers, especially at such a distance from home, as to be in a great measure beyond the reach of controul, should subsist long together without clashing. The public had hitherto received, only the charges against the supreme judicature of Calcutta. Their friends could therefore only request, that no hasty opinion should be formed, nor censure past upon their conduct, until they were heard.

In this state of things, it is not easy to settle in what proportions the blame is to be laid, upon the constitution itself, or upon those who acted under it. It seems, however, to have been generally acknowledged, that the measure of attempting to establish the English laws, courts, and forms of justice, amongst the various nations



tions, religions. languages, and races of men subsisting in India, and were scarcely any length of time could even render them intelligible, will probably ever be considered as a fundamental political error. The antiquity of the Gentoo civilization, laws, religion, and customs, fortified by the invincible attachment which it produced in the people, had in all ages procured the political attention, if not the respect, of the most ferocious and barbarous of their various conquerors. However the people were oppressed or pillaged, their prejudices in those respects were sacred and inviolate.

The Zemindars, who are the present great landholders of India, are likewise a sort of hereditary princes of the country. They generally rent, from their subsisting masters, those lands which their ancestors possessed in sovereignty. Some of these hold lands to the extent of ten or twelve thousand square miles, and as the rents were generally easy, and the people still regard them with the highest degree of attachment and reverence, they are enabled to retain some appearance of former royalty in their palaces, and still more in their authority. The English government in this country, is in a great measure maintained through this attachment of the people to their princes; and the desire of enabling the Zemindar to discharge his rent, is a principal spur to their industry. All the judicial business of the country, had hitherto been transacted in their provincial courts, and matters of litigation decided according to the known laws and customs.

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The authority of the native courts was not only denied by the new judicature, but their members were punished even to ruin, as well as personal infliction, for the discharge of their functions, according to the established laws and constitution of their country, which had till now been acknowledged by all conquerors. We are at all times to recollect, that it had been the constant policy of the East India company in the government of those countries, to act under the apparent authority and as the nominal servants and officers, of that shadow of the ancient supreme sovereignty, the representative of the Grand Mogul, who still resided at Delly. So that the new system of judicature operated not simply as a violent and unprepared innovation, but as a total revolution in the mode of government established by ourselves.

The astonished and terrified natives of Bengal and the adjoining countries, now beheld the extraordinary spectacle of English bailiffs, accompanied by considerable bodies of armed Europeans traversing the country, at the distance of some hundreds of miles from Calcutta, to execute by force the decrees of the new judicature, founded upon laws and distinctions which they were utterly incapable of comprehending, in the palaces, and on the persons, of the Zemindars; whom they viewed at once with the respect due to their natural princes, and to the medium of European authority. Force, in the defence of all that was held sacred was opposed to force. A kind of sieges were formed; reinforcements were sent

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to support the assailants; the timidity, not the inclination of the people prevented their being cut to pieces; places were carried by storm; the brother of one of the rajahs, with others of his friends or family, were killed in the defence of his palace.

The apartments of the women, which are held sacred throughout all the East, and still more so among the Gentoos of rank, were violently broken into, and their persons, which are supposed to receive some defilement even from the casual view of a stranger, were subjected to the rude handling and rough treatment of those sort of ruffians who are generally employed upon such occasions. But this was not the worst. Their places of private and domestic worship were violated in the same manner; and those symbols, or external objects of their adoration, which had been sanctified by the reverence of ages, were dragged from their places by prophane hands, and thrown amongst the heap of household furniture and lumber, which were collected to answer the ends of the execution.

The governor-general and council, who considered all matters of finance, and consequently all transactions with the Zemindars, as cognizable only by themselves, and still regulated in that resort by the known laws and customary course of justice in the country, could not but resent this invasion of their authority. They had indeed much serious cause of apprehension, from the effects which this violence on the rights, passions, and prejudices of the people might produce, in a country where

so many millions of natives were governed by a handful of strangers.

They accordingly employed the military force of the company to restrain the violence of the civil power; and a gang, consisting of about fourscore bailiffs and their associates, were in one instance disarmed, and sent up prisoners to Calcutta. Two petitions were now presented to parliament. The one from the governor-general and council, giving a long statement of the transactions, and requesting an indemnification from those legal penalties, which, for the preservation of government and of the country, they had been under a necessity of incurring, in resisting the decrees of the supreme court, and the operation of an act of parliament.

The second petition was subscribed by 648 of the British subjects residing in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, containing a long detail of the grievances, oppressions, and violations of their rights as men and as Britons, which they had endured under the authority of the supreme court of judicature; particularly of their being deprived of the benefit of trials by juries in all civil cases; of the establishment of *ex post facto* and retrospective laws; of some matters relative to appeals, and the admission of evidence, which seem to be exceedingly oppressive and unjust; with a number of other assumptions of power, which, as stated, appear of an extraordinary nature. They likewise confirm the accounts given by the governor-general and council, relative to the state of confusion, anarchy, and danger which  
through



through these means prevailed in the country.

Feb. 12. General Smith entered into an ample discussion of the petitions, and of the state of affairs in India, in doing which he displayed the fullest knowledge of the subject; all tending to shew the greatness of the enormities committed, and the necessity of the immediate interference of parliament, for the preservation of the British interests in that part of the world. He concluded by moving, that the petitions might be referred to a select committee, consisting of fifteen members, to be chosen by ballot, and that it should meet in a chamber above stairs.

He was ably seconded by Mr. Rouse, and supported by some other gentlemen. The minister made no objection to the motion. He said, the petitions well deserved

the serious attention of the house; and if the facts were founded, and that the judicial and political powers were in arms against each other in India, they should take measures to put an end to so dangerous a contest as speedily as possible. He, however, shewed the delicate nature of the subject; and recommended moderation in the course of the enquiry; but declared, that it was neither in his contemplation, nor in that of the house, when he brought in a bill a few years since for the government of India, that the court of judicature should become the source of misery, oppression, or injustice; nor was it at all intended that it should have extended its powers in the manner now represented.

The select committee, of fifteen gentlemen, was accordingly balloted in a few days after.

## C H A P. X.

*Debates on Mr. Burke's bill for the regulation of the civil list establishments.*

*Question for the second reading over-ruled upon a division, and the bill put off for six months. Debates on the subject of the loan. Mr. Fox's motion for omitting the lottery clause, rejected upon a division. Farther debates and strictures upon the loan. Another motion against the lottery, which is again over-ruled upon a division. Mr. Byng's motion for a list of subscribers to the loan, agreed to; other motions rejected. Motion for the commitment of Sir P. F. Clerke's contractors bill, over-ruled upon a division. Mr. Crewe's bill for restraining revenue officers from voting on elections of members of parliament, rejected upon a division. Debate on the Duke of Bolton's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of the navy; motion withdrawn. Loan bill opposed by the Marquis of Rockingham. Pro'est against it. Report from the select committee in India affairs. Debates on the minister's motion for a secret committee to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic. Motion for an amendment, that the committee might be open, rejected on a division. Great debates on Sir George Saville's motion, for referring the petition from the delegated counties for a redress of grievances, to a committee of the whole house. The motion rejected upon a division. Debate on Mr. Burke's motion for*



*papers, tending to an enquiry into the seizure and confiscation of private property in the island of St. Eustatius. Motion rejected on a division. Bill for new-modelling the supreme court of judicature in Bengal. Various propositions, motions, and debates, relative to the affairs of the East-India company. Debates on the minister's bill, for securing to the public a certain participation in the profits of the East-India company. Great debates on Mr. Fox's motion, that the house do resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war. Motion rejected on a division. Lord Beauchamp's bill, for affording relief in certain cases of difficulty produced by the marriage act. Mr. Fox's bill for mending the marriage act. Mr. Fox's marriage bill, lost in the house of lords. Speech from the throne.*

**T**HE rejection of his bill of reform in the preceding session, did not prevent Mr. Feb. 15. Burke from bringing it forward again in the present. He opened his proposition by stating the powerful motives which called upon him to resume his undertaking.—The three celebrated resolutions of the late parliament on the 6th of April 1780.—The general temper, expectation, and wish of the people—And the direct applications to himself by some of the counties. He supported the measure of reform with his wonted eloquence and ability. The first argument was deduced from the state of public affairs, and the dangerous war in which we were involved with so many mighty enemies. This was a ground of policy immediately affecting the state and government, and entirely independent of the applications or wishes of the people. It would operate equally if no such applications had been made, or no such desire subsisted. It would operate with equal force in any constitution of government. When a nation is involved in expences of so vast a magnitude as stretch to the utmost limits of the public ability, economy must be called in to pre-

serve the due proportion between the resources and the demands. It was the duty of ministers to have originally framed and carried into execution such a scheme of reform; it was now their interest to secure themselves from punishment, and to make some amends for their former neglect, by adopting the system, and to give it efficacy by rendering it a measure of the state.

He displayed no small address in his application to the new representative body. The three resolutions of the last parliament. (which had been just read) he observed, were to be considered as a valuable legacy bequeathed to the public, and an atonement for the servility which had stigmatized their previous conduct. They formed a body of maxims, authorizing the people of this country to expect from their present representatives that which is declared to be necessary by their predecessors. They were, indeed, unoperative in their present form; they wanted specific conclusions to give the effect and benefit which they held out. The late parliament had been prematurely dissolved. But if the present parliament neglected to accomplish what the other



ther appeared to have designed, all the consequences of refusing so salutary a measure would be imputed to them, and those resolutions would stand upon the journals, as public monuments of exculpation to their predecessors, and of disgrace to them.

He entertained a confidence he said, of meeting men in the new parliament, who would consider it as their duty to go hand in hand with him, in carrying into execution the wishes of the people; or rather those commands which had been delivered in thunder and lightning, and of which they expected in the succeeding tranquility a faithful and happy execution. The wisdom and power of the present parliament were the foundations on which the public confidence rested. The people would not for a moment believe that parliament wanted integrity to adopt, what its wisdom suggested, and its power could execute. They would not give harbour to such a suggestion, until they could reason from experience. It was the business of parliament to justify the nation. And nothing could be more conducive to their own, as well as to the national interest, than that it should be seen, that a free and generous confidence had more power to secure the fidelity of parliament from the beginning, than complaint, clamour, and violence had in recovering it after it was corrupted.

When enemy succeeded to enemy, and the guilty rashness of ministers leagued with contending states against us, our independence, it had been said, was to be maintained *by the spirit of the people*. Abandoned by our allies, and left

by Europe to our fate; in every situation, in every emergency, and in every danger, we were to find consolation and resource, refuge or conquest, in the spirit of the people. But the effect of spirit, and the spirit itself, must depend upon strength. Strength, and the juices which feed it, the wealth of the country, ought to be carefully nourished and husbanded, with care, with tenderness, and with solicitude, not weakened and exhausted by dissipation and profusion. The method, he said, by which the spirit can be kept alive in the breasts of men, is by the participation of those to whom they look up for example. Let the government *participate* in the sufferings of the people! Let the king shew his subjects an example of retrenchment and œconomy, and the people cheerfully submit to every difficulty and labour.

He supposed the commons in the imaginary situation of being the mere creatures of the crown; of their being constituted, fed by, and totally dependent on the court; and in that state, he asserted, and reasoned to demonstrate, that it would be their duty, and ought to be their inclination, to advise the sovereign to œconomy and retrenchment. By the plan which had been prepared, they would be able to give the king that which kings in general greatly desired—power; for œconomy was power; it was wealth and resource; it was men and arms; it was all that ambition could either covet or exert to accomplish its ends. Were he then himself the creature of a despotic prince, he should, as his counsellor, advise



him, in a time of trial and difficulty, to take from his civil expence, that he might add to his military establishment; to take from shew that he might add to substance; to make his people happy, that he might make them vigorous; to make his war a war of exertion, that his peace might be honourable and secure.

After placing the subject in every advantageous point of view, and adapting arguments to every situation, he informed the house that he laid before them the same plan, which had engaged so much of the time and attention of the last parliament to so little purpose. He had made no alterations in it; and he requested the house, and laid it before them in a hope and confidence, that if they meant to give it countenance and attention, they would do so with fairness and candour, and not with insidious respect in its outset, tempt it to a death of slow and lingering torture. He called upon the noble lord in the blue ribbon, who was to be the arbiter of its fate, and begged that, if he meant ultimately to give it a death-stroke, he would save himself and the house much fatigue, and the nation much anxiety and disappointment, by strangling it in its birth. Let them try the matter on that day, if it was to be tried. He called upon him to do this, and to be, at least for one day, a decisive minister.

Mr. Burke then moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of fundry useless, ex-

pensive, and inconvenient places, and for applying the monies saved thereby to the public service."

The motion was seconded by Mr. Duncombe, who paid high compliments to the mover, not only on account of the bill, but of the very great ability with which he had formerly stated his comprehensive plan to the house, and the firmness and perseverance with which he now had combated every obstacle to the principle of the measure.

The minister, in answer to the call made upon him, said he would very candidly declare, that his opinion on the subject had not at all varied from that which he had entertained on it in the preceding year, and that though he did not disapprove of the plan in *toto*, yet the parts which appeared to him proper to be adopted, bore so small a proportion to the whole of that very comprehensive scheme that he should be obliged to oppose it in some future stage of the bill; he did not think it would be decent or candid for him, upon his own private opinion, to set his face against the bill in its first stage, by opposing its introduction; especially as there were many new members in the house, who, though they might have a general knowledge of the subject, could not be so fully informed upon it as was necessary to their coming to an absolute decision; he would therefore reserve himself untill the bill was printed, and the members were in possession of the necessary information, when he should think it his duty to state such observations and objections as might occur to him, to the house.

Under



Under this unfavourable auspice, the bill was carried through to a second reading; when it was again doomed to experience the weight of that influence which it was intended to reduce, but which for the present it was unable to surmount. As no new ground could be taken upon this subject, we shall not attempt repeating the arguments which were used in the preceding parliament, and which we fully stated in our last volume.

Feb. 26. On the day appointed for the second reading of the bill, it brought out great debate; if it was strongly opposed on the one side, it was no less ably and powerfully supported on the other; and the division not only surprized many, but was more close than the minister himself expected. Mr. Burke wound up the debate, by combating all the arguments that had been brought against his bill, with a degree of ingenuity and ability, which surprized even those who were most acquainted with them. Mr. William Pitt, son to the Earl of Chatham, and the young Lord Maitland, were highly distinguished, by their ability and eloquence in support of the bill.

The motion for the second reading was, about midnight, overruled upon a division, by a majority of 233 to 190. By a subsequent resolution, the bill was put off for six months.

Of all the acts of the minister, during so long a government of public affairs, scarcely any brought upon him so much severity of reprehension within doors, or perhaps so much censure without, as the loan of the present year. Twelve millions were borrowed,

upon terms so advantageous to the lenders, that the price of the new stock rose at market from nine to eleven per cent. above par.

Before this circumstance was, however, known, the loan was, on its own bottom, strongly objected to, and both its manner and principle severely condemned, by Mr. Fox. For on the day March 7. of the minister's opening the budget, as it is called when he had necessarily laid before the house the nature and circumstances of the loan, that gentleman, in a speech of great length, and in which, along with his usual ability, he displayed such a fund of financial knowledge, as seemed to excite surprize, endeavoured to establish, by incontrovertible data, and by arguments that appeared no less irrefragable, that the bargain was exceedingly disadvantageous to the public, and that the money might have been obtained upon much better terms.

But he farther contended, that the loss to the public, however great, and however ill able they were to bear it, was comparatively but a small part of the evil. For although the loan was liable to the strongest objections, both as a question of finance and a matter of œconomy, it was still much worse, and even highly dangerous, when considered in a political view. He calculated the profits on the loan under every probable contingency, at something near a million; and that great sum, he said, was entirely at the disposal and in the hands of the minister, to be granted as douceurs to the members of that house, whether as compensations for the expences of their elections, or for whatever other purpose of



corrupt influence might best suit his views. Thus the attempt made by his honourable friend to correct and restrain undue influence, by controuling the civil list expenditure, would have been of little avail if it had even succeeded, when a sum equal to that whole revenue was to be annually thrown by a loan into the hands of a minister, to be applied to the worst and most dangerous of all purposes, that of procuring and preserving a constant majority in the house of commons upon every question; and thereby affording support and efficacy to all the views and designs of a bad administration, however pernicious or ruinous, and without a possibility of parliamentary redress to the public.

He particularly objected to the proposed lottery, which was added to the douceurs of the loan, and afforded a benefit of one per cent. to the subscribers. This he considered as the most pernicious and destructive of all species of gaming; as immediately affecting the morals, habits, and circumstances of the lower orders of the people; and which upon every principle of policy, should be carefully avoided. He trusted he had clearly convinced the house, that the benefits to the subscribers of the present loan were sufficiently great without the lottery; and he hoped they would render the greatest service in their power to the public, by preventing its inevitable ill consequences. He therefore moved, as an amendment to the minister's motion for agreeing to the terms of the loan, that the latter clause, respecting the lottery should be omitted.

The motion of amendment on

a question of supply brought out a good deal of debate. The minister acknowledged, that the bargain he had made for the public was a liberal one; but he justified it by stating the necessity of the case, and by positively asserting that the money could not have been obtained upon easier conditions. With respect to the ideas thrown out, that the loan was a source of influence, and that half of it was taken in that house, they were, he said, extremely strained. The loan was a public loan very indiscriminately taken; and, as a matter of conjecture (for it could be no more on either side) it was not reasonable to suppose that a large part of it would be taken by members of that house, at the time the terms were proposed. Nor did he believe that it would be so found in fact. He should be sorry to see a bankrupt house of commons; but that would be the probable effect if its members embarked in money transactions to so vast an amount as twelve millions. As to the interest which any minister could be supposed to procure by such a loan as the present, it was a very poor compensation for the great fatigue and trouble of mind occasioned by such a burthen; he had full conviction that no business could be more disagreeable.

It was the undoubted province of the house to consider and judge of the terms of the loan; and it was in their power to accede to them or not. But he requested gentlemen to consider the ill consequences of their refusing to accede to the propositions agreed on. The attention paid by monied men to the treasury would be lessened; and if it were usual for the  
house



house to settle and alter the terms, they must go farther, and conduct the business, and make the bargain themselves. That argument certainly would not go to the support of any thing materially and palpably wrong. In that case the house ought to interfere; but unless the objections were very material, which he trusted they could not be, he left gentlemen to consider the ill consequences of refusing to accede to the propositions which had been agreed on. With respect to the lottery, he said it was a favourite part of every *douceur* with all money lenders; it was an encouragement and advantage to them, without its being of any expence to government; on the contrary, 480,000*l.* was paid in, and remained without interest for the greater part of the year.

Mr. Fox's amendment was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 169 to 111; and the minister's original motion, with the resolutions appertaining to it, were passed without farther difficulty.

This business, however, did not end here. Mr. Fox's discussion of the loan, having probably excited or increased a spirit of enquiry, much information had in the intermediate time been obtained, relative to the circumstances of that transaction, and to the price of the new stock at market, which occasioned an unusual and determined opposition to the report.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke took up the business, and arraigned in the bitterest terms the bargain made by the ministers which he said was so much against the pub-

lic, as to become the subject of conversation, complaint and surprize in all places. He should therefore move for recommitting the report, in order that the house might amend the terms, and prevent, what he termed, so shameful and extravagant a prostitution of the public money. He said the distribution of the loan had likewise been scandalously partial. That instead of being distributed among men of known reputation and character, who had always been the supporters of government in such cases, it had been given to the minister's creatures and friends, as a reward for past, and a retainer for future services; and particularly he assured the house that he had been well informed, that the favoured contractor, whose name had been so long familiar to them, had no less than the prodigious sum of 3,300,000*l.* of the loan, assigned to his share, or at least disposal.

He was supported by Sir George Saville, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Mr. Byng, and some other gentlemen, who besides reprobating the loan in all its parts and circumstances, insisted that the house was not in any manner bound to confirm the conditions.

Nothing, they said, would tend more to injure public credit, than to shew the world, that it was not parliament but the minister that regulated the finances of this country. It was the idea of parliament's examining and controuling the public finances, that had raised the national credit to such high estimation. It was that which gave the stamp and publicity to all our financial operations, and gave security both to the public and  
the



the creditors. That while the enemy were beginning to adopt a mode which they saw proved so highly advantageous to us, the ministers of great Britain were endeavouring to turn parliament into a court of registry, which was to have no other concern with taxes and loans, than to give a sort of official sanction to whatever bargains the minister thought proper to make. Such a conduct would sink the credit of parliament, and consequently that of the nation to nothing.

On the other side, Lord North contended, that he by no means considered his reputation as a minister to be staked in the present transaction. He had made the best bargain he could for the public; but if the house did not approve of it, it would not be binding either on him or on them. Though the committee had agreed to it, if the house did not choose to confirm their resolution, he should be released from the subscribers, as the public would from the bargain. Let those, who thought themselves more competent to the business make another. But even supposing the bargain to be a bad, and he allowed it not to be a hard one; yet he could not bring himself to think, that any reduction that could be now made from the profits of the subscribers, (even supposing them to be as high as they had been represented), could in any degree balance the mischief to the public credit, which such a measure must occasion; and the insuperable difficulties which would be thrown in the way of all future loans, when it was found that the minister had not authority to afford perma-

nence to a bargain, and that the lenders were liable to be stripped of the benefits arising from any favourable change of circumstances, the chance and hope of which, had been among the principal inducements for parting with their money. But parliament certainly had a right to judge; and if they should think that public credit would neither suffer nor be endangered by lopping off the lottery, then undoubtedly, as honour did not stand in their way, they would and ought to do it.

The terms of the loan he said, were perhaps too great; but it was impossible to pronounce with any certainty on that head, from the transactions which had taken place at change. Every bargain which had been hitherto made respecting the new loan was illegal, as those who made them could have no certainty that they had any share whatever in it; nor could it be known until that house had confirmed the resolutions of the committee of ways and means; then, and not before, the list of the subscribers, and of their respective shares, would be made out and sent to the bank. Every body knew how easy it was to make bargains in exchange Alley; and how customary it was to make them, not at any fair or market price, but at an extravagant premium for some sinister purposes; these sort of bargains might be made only for some small sums, and then the point was gained of publishing that the stocks were sold at such a high premium. But it was not from such transactions that the value of stock could be ascertained; nor could any transactions in the alley, until the list of subscribers



subscribers was made out, and the whole of the loan was brought into market, be at all considered as a standard by which to estimate the value of the new stock,

He denied that Mr. Atkinson could have any such enormous share as had been ascribed to him in the new loan. He had not indeed looked into the list; but the thing was incredible; and he would venture to undergo any censure the house should impose if it was found to be a fact. Every one knew, that it was customary for gentlemen who wished to subscribe, to ask for more than they expected or even wished, because they knew the minister seldom allowed them near so much as they asked, and they endeavoured thereby to provide for his lopping off: on this principle, Mr. Atkinson might probably have proposed a large sum; but it was neither to be supposed that it was all for himself, nor that he was taken at his offer; undoubtedly if he was present at the arrangement, he came in for his share, like others, both for himself and his friends; but the whole could not amount to any such sum as had been stated.

The motion for the recommitment of the report bring at length waved, the question was, (as the day before), confined to the lottery; whether that should stand as part of the resolutions. It was carried in the affirmative, upon a division, by a majority of 133 to 80,

The minister was, however, far from yet getting rid of this very disagreeable and vexatious business: indeed, the worst of it was still to come. Mr. Byng, who

had taken extraordinary pains to develope the history of the loan, and to trace out all its relative circumstances, attacked it on another ground, and moved, That a list be laid before <sup>12th.</sup> that house of all the subscribers to the new loan, specifying the sums subscribed by each. But as this motion alone, he said, would be insufficient for bringing out the information necessary to enable the house to come at the bottom of this affair, he intended to follow it up with two others, viz. To lay a correct list before them of all those persons who had offered to become subscribers to the new loan, but whose offers had been rejected; specifying the particular sums they had offered to subscribe. — And, for copies of all letters, notes, or other papers, that had been sent to the minister, his secretaries, the commissioners of the treasury, or any other persons, from whose hands they were transmitted to him, conveying an application or proposals for any part of the loan.

His object in these motions he said, was to convict the minister of having made a worse bargain for the public than he might have made — To shew, that he might have borrowed money at five per cent. — That he was offered the immense sum of 38,000,000 l. and consequently was under no necessity of hurrying on a bad bargain — That these offers were made, by wealthy and responsible men, who were fully equal to the support of their propositions — That their proposals were rejected with contempt; and that it was evident that the new loan could be made



made with no other view than that of corrupt influence.

He observed that it highly behoved the house to vindicate its character, by sifting the affair to the bottom, which could alone remove those imputations which now prevailed. If he failed in his proofs, and in bringing home his charges, the noble lord in the blue ribbon, would not only gain an honourable acquittal, but a complete triumph. His character would be new blazoned; and the public finding that he had been so flagrantly wronged in the present instance, would begin to think he had been equally so in many others.

The minister, choosing to be the guardian of his own honour, and of the means of his exculpation, admitting that he had no objection to the first motion, treated the second as useless, and the third as unfair and improper. For how could any suppressions in the list of subscribers be detected, by the list of those whose offers had been rejected? That as to the third motion, to endeavour to establish the crime of partiality by calling for the key of his escutcheon, in order to examine his private letters and papers, was proposing a new species of inquisition, and such as could never be countenanced in an English House of Commons.

That neither the high prices of premium, nor the number of members of parliament or their connections who appeared on the list, were any proofs of corruption; for the one arose from an alteration of circumstances, and as to the other, there was no reason why the nation should be deprived

of the aid of monied men, merely because they happened to be members of parliament. That therefore, the charges of partiality not being capable of proof, should, and could only be answered by solemn assurances, that no improper management had been used in the distribution, and that the terms were the best that could be obtained. And these he gave in the amplest manner.

Such were the topics employed on each side. The first motion being then agreed to, the second was rejected upon a division; and the third negatived without.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke had not yet given up the idea, notwithstanding the repeated failure of his design of excluding contractors (except under certain modifications) from sitting in the House of Commons. He accordingly brought in a bill for that purpose, which, upon the March 21st. motion for its commitment, brought out considerable debate, being supported and opposed upon the same grounds which we have heretofore more than once stated. The motion of commitment was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 120, to 100; and the bill was, by a subsequent resolution, laid by for six months.

Mr. Crewe's bill, for restraining revenue officers from voting on the election of members of parliament, met, on the same day, with a similar fate; the motion for its second reading being overruled on a division, by a majority of 133 to 86.

The Duke of Bolton having moved for a number of papers early



ly in the session, relative to the loss of the great East and West India convoy which had been captured by the combined fleets in the preceding month of August, they had accordingly been laid before the lords; and on the 15th of February he took the business up by a motion, That that house would, on the Monday se'nnight, enquire into the conduct of the navy, and the cause of the loss of that valuable convoy, of store ships, victuallers, and merchant ships.

The debate on this motion brought out no small share, of the now usual and frequent severity of censure on the ill conduct and government of the navy, and the ruinous ignorance and incapacity of that board which presided in its direction. On the other hand, the conduct of the admiralty was defended by the first lord in his usual manner, and the motion opposed on the old principle, so often urged and reprobated, of exposing the state and condition of the navy to the enemy. It was likewise opposed by other court lords, as being more general, and tending to carry the enquiry farther, than was to be inferred from the original motion for the papers. A great law lord combated it on his own peculiar ground, as an unjust and unpardonable anticipation of another more solemn enquiry, a legal enquiry, by a court martial, into the conduct of the captain, who had the command of the fleet at the time it was captured.

These objections were combated. But the marquis of Rockingham in a speech, in which the

conduct of the house underwent no less censure than that of the admiralty, recommended to his friend, the noble duke to withdraw the motion, merely from the hopelessness of obtaining any redress, or of carrying any enquiry through, however, necessary, or reasonably and justly demanded by the public. That side of the house, he said, had continued to predict consequences, and to hold out preventive remedies, until the time was at length arrived, when all their further exertions would not only be ineffectual in the event, but vain and idle in the design. They would not be agreed to in the first instance; and if they were, he expected but little benefit now from them. He feared the nation was ruined beyond redemption; and under that opinion should give himself no farther unprofitable trouble.—The Duke of Bolton accordingly, after a recapitulation of measures which he ascribed to ignorance, incapacity and absurdity, of instructions, which he said, exhibited nothing but a succession of blunders, mistakes and contradictions, and which councils of war had been in vain held to interpret, and, in fine, such a mixture of folly and confidence, as had never been exhibited in any naval administration in this country since the foundation of the monarchy, at length withdrew his motion; hoping, however, that the time would shortly arrive, when not a partial, but a full enquiry, would be made into the conduct of the navy.

The loan bill, after bringing out continual execration in all its stages



stages through the House of Commons, was carried through to a third reading, with extraordinary dispatch, and an omission of some of the customary forms in that of the Lords. In that March 21<sup>st</sup>, state, it was encountered with no small acumen by the Marquis of Rockingham; who, after only slightly touching upon the irregular manner in which it had been hurried through, without being committed, and every necessary form being dispensed with, contrary, he said, to all precedent, and rule of parliamentary proceeding, directed his objections immediately against the substance of the bill.

He stated several estimates and calculations to shew, that the subscribers received a premium of about ten per cent. for the loan of their money; so that the public were to pay 1,202,000*l.* for borrowing 12,000,000*l.* and that at the extravagant and usurious interest of five and a half per cent. He did not doubt, he said, but the measure originated in necessity; that is, in ministerial necessity; for notwithstanding the numerous places, pensions, contracts, and every other species of emolument in the disposal of the minister; notwithstanding that last resource of a weak and unpopular administration, the lavish hand with which honours were conferred, upon all sizes and descriptions of persons, such were the measures of government, that the minister found himself compelled to resort to this shameful waste of public money, in order to fix and attach the wavering and hesitating minds of his abettors. Thus, by

the reduction in the value of stock, (which, as the effect of their measures, was to be attributed to the ministers) and by the imprudence of the present bargain; 21 millions are added to the capital of the national debt for the loan of twelve; five and a half per cent. perpetual annuity is given; and new taxes to the amount of 650,000*l.* a year, are to be levied upon the people.

After dwelling for some time on the topics which had been so largely treated in the other house, he proceeded to shew the terms upon which the money had been raised during the late war, when the Duke of Newcastle presided at the head of the Treasury. The profits on the omnium of the loan of 2 millions in the year 1758, he stated from authentic documents, to be only one and a quarter per cent. in 1759, upon 4 millions one half per cent. discount; in 1760, one and a half profit upon 8 millions; and in the following year, only three quarters per cent. although 12 millions were raised.

It was not, he said, until 1763, the first year of Lord Bute's administration, that the minister ever thought of extending his influence, by plundering the nation in the midst of those distresses which are the inevitable concomitants of a state of war. This abominable system was adopted by an administration, in which a secret overruling influence was introduced, the fatal consequences of which, he feared, would only terminate with the overthrow of our constitution, if not the total destruction of the nation itself. That fortunate and wise administration



nistration, which he had first mentioned, wanted no aid or support from corrupt or secret influence; they were equally superior to bribery on the one hand, and to the crooked machinations of secret intrigues on the other. The influence of that day arose from a very different source; from a well founded confidence in the wisdom of their measures; from a well-earned popularity; from their spirited and vigorous plans, most happily and successfully executed; from an able and faithful disbursement of the public money committed to their care and management; and, on the whole, resting upon the only true basis, on which national prosperity and success can ever be safely established a firm and fixed attachment to the constitution, and a determination to preserve every security and blessing we derive from it.

He concluded with contending, that the minister had broken his faith with parliament and the nation; that though he should not put a negative on the bill, he deemed himself called upon, as an act of duty, to testify his total disapprobation of a loan, which, in a time of such public calamity as the present, when the utmost economy was, more particularly than at any other, become absolutely necessary, wantonly and corruptly lavished about a million sterling; and that, in his apprehension, merely for the purpose of influencing or bribing the representatives of the people in parliament, to give their countenance and support to the continuance of a most wicked, impolitic, and ruinous war.

The lords in administration did

not make the smallest reply to the marquis; and the bill being read a third time passed.

It, however, brought out a protest signed by eight lords, of whom was the Bishop of St. Asaph; and which includes many severities, but generally upon the same ground that had been gone over by the marquis.

We have some time ago seen that a select committee was appointed to enquire into the affairs of India. This committee had already presented a long report relative to affairs and transactions in the east, and was still in the course of its enquiries, when an account was received of the unfortunate war in the Carnatic, and of the dreadful ravages made by Hyder Ally. This intelligence being communicated to April 30th. the House of Commons by the minister, he moved for the appointment of a committee of secrecy, to enquire into the causes of the war now subsisting in the Carnatic; and of the present condition of the British possessions in those parts; and to report the same, with their observations thereon. Although they acknowledged, on all sides, bad conduct of affairs in India, had rendered enquiries on that subject generally grateful, yet the proposal of a secret committee was greatly disliked and much objected to by the opposition.

They said, if the enquiry was seriously gone into, and fairly, openly, and impartially conducted, without being converted into a job, and rendered the mere engine of party and ministerial views as had been the case of former enquiries, nothing could meet their approbation



approbation more fully, as nothing could be more highly useful and necessary. But if these, and these only, were the fair and laudable objects in view, why carry on the business in the dark? Why refer it to a secret committee? No body was now to learn, that notwithstanding the name and form of a ballot, the members of it would be virtually appointed by the minister. The nation had already sacrificed too fatally, both in the East and in the West, to jobs, to patronage, to partial proceedings, and to interested views. By these the empire had been convulsed in all its parts, and reduced to its present fallen state. It was the glory of our constitution, that our courts of justice were open to all the world, and all our judicial proceedings publicly carried on. It was this, and not merely our laws, that afforded so high a reputation to the administration of justice in this country, and so decisive a superiority over that of others. Besides, the members of a select but open committee, would receive great aid, in examining so vast a mass of papers, and enquiring into such a multitude of facts, from the occasional assistance of other gentlemen, many of whom would be led to attend from their great knowledge in the affairs of that country. Nor was it by any means to be forgotten, that however fairly the business was conducted, a secret committee would be liable to much public doubt and suspicion. It was always the nature of secrecy to inspire suspicion.

They desired the minister to consider, that the East was now, almost, our last stake; that it was

our principal remaining source of wealth and power. That the evils and dangers there had multiplied and risen to a most alarming height. That the lives and fortunes of many individuals, and the preservation of that great source of wealth and power, were all staked on the proposed enquiry. He was therefore requested, if he did not intend it merely as a mockery of justice, only to lay the clamour of the present moment, that he would, from a regard to public opinion, to the most essential interests of his country, and to justice itself, institute a committee of selection instead of secrecy. What advantages might not then be expected from the labours of a committee, which was aided by all the ability, information, and industry in that house? They besides wished that he would extend the objects of enquiry much farther; so as to take in the whole affairs, and the government of India, as well as those matters which related only to the Carnatic.

The minister declared that the enquiry was meant to be seriously entered into, and that he had not the most distant intention of its being in any degree partial. He considered the subject as extremely weighty and important, and he hoped it would be enquired into fairly, seriously, and dispassionately. He only preferred a secret committee, from the much greater dispatch with which they transacted business than any other. The objects of enquiry were likewise of a nature which required secrecy in the committee. The same motive of dispatch, which was now so necessary, redoubled him averse



to multiplying the objects of enquiry; as that must retard its progress. He therefore wished to confine it to the Carnatic only, as the immediate scene of danger, and affording cause for the present apprehension and clamour. The affairs of Bengal were undoubtedly of the greatest consideration and importance; but they were not so immediately urgent.

The gentlemen on the other side, it was said, had totally mistaken the object of the enquiry; for it was not a judicial one. It was not intended that the committee should decide on the conduct of any man, much less proceed to punishment: their business would be simply to report facts, without giving any opinion upon them: and if those facts should appear to the house as grounds of accusation against any individual, he would then have an opportunity of defending himself, and the proceedings against him must be public. What had been said about proceedings in the dark was therefore unfounded. The proceedings of the committee must all come out in the end, if the house should think it necessary to call for their minutes; a circumstance which removed all the objections made to a supposed secrecy.

These reasons did not at all satisfy the opposition. The committee, it had been said, was only to report facts; but these facts were causes; the motion said that the causes of the war in the Carnatic were to be enquired into; it would not be found easy to state facts of that kind without giving an opinion along with them. But the very motion itself put the matter entirely out of the question;

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for the committee were not only desired to enquire into the causes of the present war, but they were specially directed to report their observations upon it. They concluded, that it appeared evidently upon the whole face of the matter, that the enquiry, like all others instituted of late years by ministers, was intended only to deceive the nation; and would be found, in the event a mere mockery of justice, with the additional evil, of being rendered an engine for answering the most pernicious and unconstitutional ministerial purposes. Such would ever be the nature and the end of enquiries conducted with secrecy. The house were therefore earnestly called upon to consider the vast importance and magnitude of the subject; that we were in the very last crisis of our fate, and that the existence of our commerce and possessions in the East, must depend upon the spirit and policy of the measures which were now to be pursued; and that, disdaining all party views and ministerial purposes, they would appoint an open select committee, as the only means by which substantial justice could be obtained, and by which the affairs of this country in India could in any degree be restored to their former state.

Mr. Fox accordingly moved, as an amendment of the minister's motion, that the words "of secrecy" should be omitted; in which he was seconded by Mr. Burke. The question being put upon this amendment, it was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 134 to 80. The original motion was then carried.

The event of the ballot was just  
[\*N] as



as it had been foretold by the opposition. Of fifteen members, who composed the secret committee, a majority of at least four to one, were of the minister's particular friends, and most of them in high office. This occasioned no small dissatisfaction and complaint on the other side; and such remarks were made on the nature of the committee, and such ill-boding prognostications of its conduct, as brought out no small warmth of reply from some of the new members. The secret committee, besides being endued with the usual powers of demanding papers and examining witnesses, were authorized to sit in the India House; to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place, as it suited their convenience; and to meet and pursue their enquiries during the recess of parliament.

The delegates which had been appointed by several of the associated counties, in order to give support and efficacy to the subject of their former petitions to parliament, met in London to the number of between thirty and forty. They had themselves, as acting for their constituents, prepared a petition to the House of Commons, in which the substance of those already presented being compressed within a narrower compass, the matters of grievance complained of, and the redress proposed, were brought forward into one clear point of view. But as many persons, otherwise fully coinciding with their opinions, were exceedingly jealous of the measure of appointing delegates, and so far from hearing or receiving any thing from them, would not acknowledge the poli-

tical existence of any such body, upon that account, and in order to obviate the difficulties which would have been thrown in the way upon the same ground by their declared opposers, they subscribed the petition merely as individual freeholders, without any assumption or avowal of their delegated powers or character, although they were matters known to every one.

The petition was presented by Mr. Duncombe, one of the representatives of the county of York, and continued upon the table for some weeks, until the recovery of that gentleman's colleague, Sir George Saville, who was to proceed with the business. May 8th.

Sir George introduced his motion for referring the petition (after the first reading) to a committee, with a speech of very considerable length, in which, with his usual accuracy and comprehension, he stated the causes, progress, and history of petitions without doors, with the reception they met, and the effect which they produced within; particularly reciting the resolutions of the last parliament on the 6th of April, which afforded so clear a sanction to the complaints of the people, and by which that house was pledged to a speedy redress of their grievances.

The motion of commitment meeting with a strong and determined opposition, and being no less vigorously and ably supported, all the arguments *pro* and *con*, that had hitherto been used upon the subject of petitions, grievances and redress, with all those that could now be thought of, were repeated or brought forward; the whole



whole being blended with new matter, relative to the powers assumed by the delegates; which, though not properly within the line of debate, as they did not appear in that capacity with respect to the petition, was however, continually pressed into notice by those who opposed the motion. The debates were long, and exceedingly interesting; several constitutional points, with respect to the interference of the people, and the powers of government, were ably and fully discussed.

The motion for committing the petition was overruled upon a division, by a majority of 212 to 135.

May 14. Mr. Burke's motion for an enquiry into the conduct observed on the late capture of the island of St. Eustatius, particularly with respect to the seizure and confiscation of private property, as well as to many other outrages stated to have been committed there, brought out a long and most important debate, scarcely less interesting to mankind in general, than to this nation and empire in particular. The motion went to an address to his majesty, for copies of all proclamations, memorials, orders, and instructions, from, to, or by the commanders by sea and land, and of all official correspondence from or to any of his majesty's ministers, relative to the disposition of the property belonging to the States General and to individuals, inhabiting or interested, in the places or territories taken from the said States General in the West Indies.

As the absence of the commanders who were so deeply concerned in the subject of the en-

quiry, was made the principal ground for opposing the motion by administration, and as the business was again brought forward, with additional information and evidence by the same gentleman in the ensuing session, to which the account of this interesting discussion more properly appertains, it is the less necessary for us to enter into the matter of the present debate. It is perhaps needless to observe, that the knowledge of ancient and modern history, and of the laws of nations, displayed by the mover, was not inferior to the philanthropy (as well as true policy) which dictated, or to the ability with which he supported his motion.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Stanly, and well supported by Mr. Fox, and other members of the opposition, who seemed to contend with the mover, in representing the transactions at St. Eustatius, as the most impolitic, the most disgraceful, and the most dangerous, of any that were ever recorded in the history of this country. The American Secretary, and the Lord Advocate of Scotland, were, in point of argument, the principal opposers of the motion.

The question being put, the motion was rejected, upon a division, by a majority of 160 to 86.

The committee for examining the petitions from Bengal, having delivered in their report, a bill, for new modelling the supreme court of judicature in Bengal, for indemnifying the governor and council, for their resistance to the decrees of the said court, and for directing in future the operation of that jurisdiction, was brought



23d. in by General Smyth. This bill, after some opposition, and modification in its passage, was at length carried through both houses, and received the royal assent by the end of the session.

The terms upon which the minister had some time ago proposed a renewal of the East India Company's charter, were deemed by the company so highly injurious to the rights, and so exceedingly prejudicial to the interests of that body, that all negotiation was broken off, and the business lay entirely dormant during the two last years. We have seen in the last session, that the minister carried a vote through the House of Commons, for giving the three years notice decreed by act of parliament to the company, previous to the dissolution of their charter, that the capital stock or debt of four million two hundred thousand pounds which was owing to them by the public, should be fully discharged, according to the power of redemption, by the 5th of April, 1783.

It was now undoubtedly time to bring matters to some conclusion with the company; and in order to quicken their motions, and to shew them the folly and danger of not submitting to such terms as he was disposed to grant, the minister brought the business in so terrific a form into parliament, as seemed calculated to make any conditions that could almost be proposed eligible. Among the propositions which he held out for the consideration of the House of Commons, were the following—Whether it would be proper for the crown to take the territorial pos-

sessions and revenues entirely into its own hands, or to leave them to the management of a company? Whether it would be proper to throw the trade to India entirely open, or to grant a monopoly of it to another company? Or, if it should be thought fitting to grant a new charter to the present company, he proposed that it should be only for a short term, along with so vast a participation to the public in their profits and revenues, that it was scarcely possible, in the most favourable and fortunate circumstances, they could ever be able to increase their dividends above their present standard of 8 per cent.---He farther proposed, that a tribunal should be established here for the sole purpose of controuling and judging of the management of affairs in India, and for punishing such servants of the company as should be convicted of having abused their power; that all dispatches received from India by the directors should be communicated to the Secretary of State, and all dispatches shewn to him before they were sent. To crown the whole, he made a demand of six hundred thousand pounds, as a debt due to the public; which he founded on a resolution of the commons in 1773, establishing a participation in the profits of the company, which was said, not to be at all included, or confirmed by, the terms of the subsequent act of parliament, passed in that year upon the same subject.

The opposition reprobated the minister's propositions, in an unusual stile of severity and execration. They declared, that they included and intended the most flagrant injustice



justice, and the most barefaced public robbery, that had ever been ventured upon, under any constitution of civil government, however arbitrary. It was still worse in a commercial state than in any other; at once overthrowing every idea of security in the possession of all property whatever, whether founded on the laws and the course of justice, or on confidence in the public faith. And, they insisted that neither the minister, that house, nor the legislature at large, who were all parties in the question, could at all be competent, under any colour of justice, to decide on the rights of the company, with respect to its territorial possessions and revenues. The house were more than once called upon, to recollect the danger attending the violation of charters. Massachusetts Bay afforded them a notable instance, the consequences of which would long be felt by the nation. They might also learn from the American war, that public robbery was not only disgraceful but ruinous to a nation.

The subject necessarily brought out, in its long and various progress through the summer, most of those arguments which we have heretofore seen, when the questions arising upon the rights of the company, the claims of the public, and the interference of government, have, upon several occasions, been so fully and ably discussed.

Nor was the business less agitated in the company itself. Negotiations were opened between the minister and the directors; and various proposals made, and conditions offered, without com-

ing to any conclusion. Courts of proprietors were frequently held; and in one instance, they overruled, or refused to confirm an agreement which had been entered into by the directors. In general, the terms held out by administration were deemed so grievous and unjust, that it was more than once offered in those courts, that it would be better at once to dispose of all their property at home and abroad in the best manner they could, and putting an end to their political existence, stake their title to it on a legal decision, than submit to demands so exorbitant and ruinous.

In the mean time, the bad news which arrived from India, and the doubtful and dangerous state of the company abroad, could not but affect the face of affairs at home, and operate considerably upon the measures and transactions on both sides. The view of obtaining a large sum of money, for the renewal of their charter, from the company, was, in the present state of things, totally closed. The minister was wearied by the tediousness of the business, and, though he carried every question by a prodigious majority, he was no less tired out by the vexatious debate which it continually produced; at the same time that he was teased by the continual calls and complaints of opposition, for suffering all the best part of the session to elapse, and deferring business of the first importance, and questions of the greatest magnitude, until most of the independent members had retired to the country, and that the house was in a manner deserted.



June 1st. The minister accordingly brought in a temporary bill, allowing the company for a limited term, to continue their exclusive trade to India; to manage the territorial acquisitions and possessions in Asia, and to receive the revenues arising therefrom. The future provisions of this bill, though they tended to establish a very great participation to the public in the revenues and profits of the company, were not much controverted; as the shortness of its duration would afford an opportunity for settling those matters upon a better footing. But the retrospective effect of it, in compelling the company to pay the demand of 632,000*l.* made by the minister, under a claim of participation in its past profits, was strenuously combated by the opposition, who represented it as a measure of the utmost violence and injustice. The company likewise petitioned, and were heard by counsel against the bill. Chance, however, had nearly effected, what the exertions of the opposition and company were totally unequal to. Through inattention and bad attendance, the thinness of the house probably induced the opposition, unexpectedly to bring a question for going into a committee on the bill to a division; which was only carried by a majority of 28 to 25, so that the bill was within three of being lost. It met with some faint opposition in the House of Lords, where the Duke of Chandos declared, that he could not consent to a bringing a bill of rapine and plunder in aid of supply. We should observe, that the minister's claim of 632,000*l.* upon the com-

pany had been reduced in its passage through the House of Commons to 402,000*l.* This bill received the royal assent, along with the Bengal judicature bill, at the close of the session.

The restrictions of the marriage act of the year 1751, had not only been much complained of by the younger part of the world, but had drawn the censure of some more serious, and even well-informed men, who supposing it unfavourable to population, considered it as contrary to the policy of all states, but particularly to that of a commercial nation; and who condemned it likewise as being aristocratic in its principle.

An inconvenience, arising not so much from any end proposed by the law, as from some incidental circumstances of the penalties which were to enforce obedience to it, was the cause of its being at this time brought into discussion. As publicity was one of the objects aimed at in this law, it enacted, that all marriages celebrated in places, where banns had not been usually published, and marriages celebrated before the act, should be considered as void *ab initio*. It happened, that a great number of new chapels and places of worship had, according to various exigencies, been erected since the passing of that law; and while the more ostensible, and originally operative parts of the law were well remembered, nobody thought of examining an old act of parliament, on any idea that its penalties extended to future and necessary contingency. These newly erected chapels, being used for all other religious purposes, marriages were solemnized



nized in them, without any idea of contravening the letter or spirit of the law. All these were, however, shaken. The litigious industry of a country attorney, and disposition of the officers of a parish, at length brought to light the full effect of this clause. It was evidently ridiculous, that the validity of a marriage should depend upon the skill of the parties in the antiquities of the place of celebration. And as the point might become every day more obscure, and more a subject of discussion, the evils, already severely felt, threatened the most alarming and general consequences, in the most delicate and valuable of all political considerations. Such is the test of legislation! The dependencies of civil affairs are so nice and various, that the contingent effects are often of greater moment than the immediate ones. A single inaccuracy in one law, may shake the frame of the whole community. The present instance, is one among many, to impress men in such matters with the necessity of deliberation and foresight.

The first legal decision upon this new question of law, arose upon the calamitous case of a pauper, with a family of eleven children, who being denied a settlement by the parish, notwithstanding an order of the justices in his favour, the matter came into the court of King's Bench; where the judges, though exceedingly contrary to their inclinations and feelings, thought themselves under a necessity of adhering to the letter of the act.

This induced Lord Beauchamp to introduce the business in the

House of Commons, and to bring in the heads of a bill for affording relief to the many thousands who were innocently involved in so grievous and calamitous a situation. Such was the concurring zeal of all parties, to prevent those irremediable mischiefs which were likely to arise from a knowledge of the late decision, that though the subject was only introduced on the 28th of May, the bill was read the third time, and passed, on the 7th of June.

The marriage act had in its origin been opposed with great zeal by the late Lord Holland; and Mr. Fox considering the opposition to it as devolved by descent upon himself, wished to extend the provisions of Lord Beauchamp's bill much farther, than merely the relief intended with regard to the single object in view.

This was likewise the wish of many others who disapproved, either in the whole or in part, of the marriage act. But it not being deemed prudent to run the risque of delaying the operation or preventing the effect of the new bill, by clogging it with any matter which might produce an opposition, Mr. Fox, as soon as it was passed, entered, with his usual ability, into a full statement of the marriage act, in which he reprobated in the severest terms its principle and design, painted in the strongest colours, the extreme impolicy and pernicious consequences of its restrictions, and represented the whole, as being equally tyrannical and absurd. He observed, that by the newly discovered blot in that law, now confirmed by a legal decision, most of the clergy in the kingdom



kingdom had been ignorantly guilty of felony by the celebration of marriages in the new chapels; so that (as he laughably continued) we might expect to see most of our prelates, either transported to America, or sent in their lawn sleeves to work on board the ballast lighters. He concluded by moving for leave to bring in a bill for amending the marriage act; the amendment going to the repeal of every part of that law, excepting what related to the registering of marriages.

The other side of the question was taken up by Mr. Burke, and supported with great ability. He set the matter upon the considerations due to parents and relations, as Mr. Fox had confined it to those of the parties themselves. He urged and enforced all the topics which naturally present themselves in opposition to clandestine marriages, contracted between persons unequal in rank, fortune and every circumstance, at an age, in which the law does not allow discretion to perform any other act whatsoever. He contended, that the marriage act had pretty justly hit the medium, between close and mischievous restraint, and the former laxity, which had been the cause of such disorders and so many just complaints. He said that the period of free agency in this important matter, being reduced to that of legal discretion in other respects, there were no complaints on either side. If in the pursuit of improvement any incidental inconveniencies had arisen, we ought not for the cure of it to resort to the original evil.

Lord Beauchamp's bill passed

the House of Lords and received the royal assent; but Mr. Fox's bill was less fortunate being lost on the second reading, without a division; the lateness of the season had, however, been held out as a reason, for its not then being proper to enter into the consideration of a question of such importance.

The hope of conciliation in some manner or form with America, and consequently of withdrawing her from her new connections, was not yet entirely extinct with the opposition; and under this impression, Colonel Hartley, on the last day of May but one, had moved for the bringing in a bill, to vest the crown with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and finally to agree, upon the means of restoring peace with the provinces of North America. The ministers seemed disposed to have met the question only with a silent negative; but being rather forced into a debate by Sir George Saville, it afforded an opportunity to Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, to throw out so much keen censure and invective upon the whole subject of the American business from the beginning, that a gentleman on the court side declared, the motion was at least entitled to one praise, that of having produced two of the most elegant and powerful philippics against administration, which had ever been delivered in that house. The motion was rejected on a division, by a majority of 106 to 72.

An account of the battle of Guilford, in North Carolina, having soon after appeared in the Gazette, together with those subsequent events, by which it appeared that the victorious army had



had notwithstanding suffered the consequences of defeat, in being obliged to abandon the country, with all the objects of their entering it, and to retire to the sea side, Mr. Fox thought this intelligence, so authenticated, afforded a proper foundation for bringing the business again forward.

He accordingly, on the 12th of June, making the Gazette the ground of his proceeding, moved, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war; at the same time giving notice, that he intended to move a resolution in the committee,—“ That his majesty’s ministers ought immediately to take every possible measure for concluding peace with our American colonies.”

As this motion occasioned an exertion of all the ability on either side of the house, it necessarily brought out all the arguments that had yet, or that could now be offered, on the questions, of the propriety of continuing the American war, the grounds for hoping or despairing of success, the prudence or policy of seeking a peace with America, the probabilities of obtaining it, or of detaching them from their allies, if fought, the consequences of granting independence to the colonies, which must be laid down as the first preliminary towards obtaining such a peace, and whether the crown was not already endued with sufficient powers for concluding a peace with America, if ever the necessity of such a measure should be established? Both the competency of parliament to any interference in the business of the executive power, and the propriety,

if competent, of such interference, were likewise brought into question, and fully discussed. These, with other matters arising from the subject, were debated with great ability till towards midnight, when the motion was rejected upon a division, by a majority of 172 to 99.

The usual vote of credit for a million being obtained, an end was at length put to this long, and exceedingly tiresome session of parliament. In the July 18th. speech from the throne, they were comforted for the unusual length of attendance, by the satisfactory reflection, that their time had been employed in a faithful discharge of their duty to their country, in the present arduous and critical state of public affairs. An entire approbation of their conduct, and a perfect confidence in the loyalty and good affections of this parliament, was declared. The zeal and ardour which they had shewn for the honour of the crown; their firm and steady support of a good cause; and the great efforts they had made to enable his majesty to surmount all the difficulties of this extensive and complicated war, must, it was said, convince the world, that the ancient spirit of the British nation is not abated or diminished. That in the midst of these difficulties, they had formed regulations for the better management and improvement of the revenue; they had given additional strength and stability to public credit; and their deliberations on the affairs of the East India company had terminated in such measures as would it was trusted, produce great and essential advantages



tages to these kingdoms, The subject of India affairs was again and again recurred to; the benefits to be derived from the territorial possessions, and the attention to be paid to the restraining of abuses, particularly noticed; and it was concluded, that the business would be resumed and completed at their next meeting. The usual declarations, of wishing the restoration of the public tranquility, and of endeavouring to bring back the deluded subjects in America to the happiness and liberty they for-

merly enjoyed, were now made. But, though peace was the earnest wish of his majesty's heart, he declared, that he had too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, the powerful assistance of his parliament, and the protection of a just and all-powerful providence, to accept it upon any other terms or conditions, than such as might consist with the honour and dignity of his crown and the permanent interest and security of his people.



# CHRONICLE.







## C H R O N I C L E.

## J A N U A R Y.

December 30. 1780.

**T**HE Bishop of Osnaburgh left Buckingham House, accompanied by colonel Grenville, on his way to the Continent. Nothing could be more affecting than the parting between the prince and the rest of the royal family. Their majesties both wept severely: and the Prince of Wales, in particular, was so much affected with the misfortune of being deprived, for so long a period, of the sole companion of his youth, that he stood in a state of entire insensibility, totally unable to speak, or to express the concern he felt so strongly.

Jan. 1. 1781. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was declared of age, and appeared at court in his new character.

*India House.* By a report of the committee of proprietors, appointed to examine the East-India company's accounts, the balance in favour of the company on Wednesday the 20th ult. appeared to be 13,451,877l. including the value of the East India House and warehouses, as estimated by the company's surveyor in January last.

Rome, Jan. 3. In a consistory  
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held the 14th inst. the three new cardinals, Mancinforte, Antamori, and Altieri, received the hat from the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff. Cardinal Pamphili died the 4th instant at Verona. Cardinal de Simone died the 16th, at his seat at Terni; and the same day died at Rome, Cardinal de Boxadors, formerly General of the order of St. Dominic. There are at present eight hats vacant, besides three that the Pope had reserved *in petto*, two in the consistory of June 23, 1777, and one in that of July 18, 1779.

A fire broke out at the Temple hall ale-house, in Shire-lane, Temple-bar, which consumed the same, with the two houses on each side adjoining, besides damaging two or three others. Two men, a woman, and a child, perished in the flames.

A gentleman was taken into custody for treasonable 5th. practices, named Henry Francis de la Motte, which he bore with the title of baron annexed to it. He has resided in Bond Street, at a Mr. Otley's, a woollen-draper, for some time.

When he was going up stairs at the secretary of state's office in Cleveland-row, he dropped several papers on the stair-case, which  
[L] were



were immediately discovered by the messengers, and carried in with him to Lord Hillsborough. After his examination he was committed a close prisoner for high treason to the Tower.

The papers taken from him are reported to be of the highest importance. Among them are particular lists of every ship of force in any of our yards and docks, the complement of men they have on board at the time of their sailing, with remarks of their being well manned, when short of the regulated number, &c. He has even gone so far as to furnish the most accurate lists of the seamen in the different hospitals at Portsmouth and Plymouth.

In consequence of the above papers being found, Henry Lutterloh, Esq; of Wickham, near Portsmouth, was afterwards apprehended and brought to town. The messengers found Mr. Lutterloh ready booted to go a hunting. When he understood their business, he did not discover the least embarrassment, but delivered his keys with the utmost readiness. In his drawers were found cash and bank notes to the amount of about 300*l.* but upon a careful perusal of the notes, it was discovered they were all drawn payable to the same person, and dated on the same day with those found on La Motte. Mr. Lutterloh is a German, and had lately taken a house at Wickham, within a few miles of Portsmouth; and as he kept a pack of hounds, and was considered as a good companion, he was well received by the gentlemen in the neighborhood.

In a few days afterwards a third person, named Ryder, was ap-

prehended and brought to London, and who is said to be the person from whom Lutterloh derived all his information respecting the state of our marine and dock-yards.

Ryder the last war performed signal services to his country, by his extensive knowledge of the soundings on the enemy's coast; and for his active exertions he was rewarded with a pension of 200*l.* a-year, which has been regularly paid him ever since. At the same time he has been employed in the office at Plymouth; and by being so capable of giving assistance to the admiralty, he has been employed by them in contriving signals; and it has been through his means that the enemy has been furnished so exactly with our signals.

On the preceding day, a man named Rougee, and a woman named Dobrey (with whom he cohabited) were apprehended at their lodgings in Greek-street, Soho, in consequence of an information lodged against them, charging them with having conveyed various packets of intelligence to France, by way of Margate and Ostend. After a long examination both were committed to prison.

*Admiralty Office, Jan. 10.*

Captain Dacres, of his majesty's ship *Perseus*, and the *Fortune* sloop, arrived on the 7th instant in the Downs, with the *Catherina Wilhelmina*, a Dutch East-India ship of 900 tons, from Rotterdam to Batavia, laden with large masts and other naval stores, and having on board one hundred and thirty thousand dollars in specie.—The *Perseus* has also taken and sent into Portsmouth the *Friendship*, a Dutch



a Dutch vessel, laden with fruit. —The Griffin and Rambler cutters have taken Le General Ville Patoux, French privateer, carrying 12 guns and 56 men.—And Lieutenant Furnival, of the Nimble cutter, has taken La Subtille French privateer of 14 guns and 43 men.

The sessions ended at the 12th.

Old-Bailey, when the following prisoners received sentence of death, viz. James Smith, for robbing Tho. Morris, on Constitution-hill, in St. James's-park, of two half crowns; Charles Sheppard, for breaking into the dwelling-house of Jane West, in St. Botolph's, Aldgate, with intent to steal her goods; Abraham Dry, for robbing Janet Atkinson on the highway near the Broad sanctuary, Westminster, of a bundle containing a quantity of stockings and other pedlars goods; William Dobey and John Darbey, for assaulting James Bing in a field near Tottenham court road, and robbing him of a pair of silver shoe-buckles and some money; Mary Jones and Ann Gilson, for stealing in the shop of Mess. Allnut and Cox, in Southampton-street, Holborn, 57 yards of Persian silk; Thomas Maple and Joseph Maple, for breaking into the dwelling-house of John Seager, the King's-head, in Gray's-inn-lane, and stealing a table cloth, a silk cardinal, and other things; Anne Martin, alias Harris, alias Lansdale, alias Jones, for stealing in the dwelling-house of Geo. Eltoft, to whom the day before she had been hired as a servant, a quantity of silver plate, a metal watch, two counterpanes, and other things; she was also convicted for

stealing in the house of Peter Crawford, Esq; at Clerkenwell, where she had been hired about five hours, a large quantity of silver plate, value 40l. and upwards.

This night's Gazette contains a proclamation for 13th: a public fast and humiliation to be observed throughout England and Wales, on Wednesday the 21st day of February next, and in Scotland on Thursday the 22d day of that month.

The House of Commons agreed to the report of the 25th: resolution of yesterday, for granting 80,000l. for the relief of the sufferers from the late hurricanes at Barbadoes, and 40,000l. for those at Jamaica.

A letter from Shrewsbury says, "Between twelve and one o'clock on Thursday morning last a shock of an earthquake was felt by many inhabitants in different parts of the town, providentially without doing any damage; it was so strong as to awaken several persons out of their sleep."

At the meeting of the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, the following candidates received the premiums adjudged to them for drawings:

Miss Leonora Deyongh, of Bow, Middlesex, the lesser silver pallet for a drawing of flowers.

Mr. W. P. Tompkins, of Queen-Anne street East, the greater silver pallet, for a drawing of landscapes.

Miss Anne Smith, of Portland-road, the lesser silver pallet, for a drawing of landscapes.

And the golden medal was adjudged to W<sup>m</sup> Mellish, Esq; for having planted on his estate in



Nottinghamshire, 47,000 larch-trees.

24th. Lord Geo. Gordon was brought up to the bar of the Court of King's-Bench, by virtue of a writ of Habeas Corpus, issued to the Lieutenant Governor of the Tower.

The writ of Habeas being read, and a return made of it, the court ordered the indictment to be read; previous to which Lord George Gordon requested permission of the court to be heard a few words. This being complied with, his lordship remarked, "that he was astonished to find, on his arrival at Westminster, that the doors of the hall were shut, and consequently that the people had not free access to his trial. He then enumerated the various hardships that had attended his singular situation and long confinement: said he had suffered much in consequence thereof by the force of public prejudice: expressed his surprise that such a vast number of jurors should have been summoned on his trial, as by this means he was deprived of the usual benefit of challenging his jury: he had likewise heard that the very judges of the land had been consulted on his case; but he hoped the fact would prove, that he had not been thus prejudged. Witnesses, he found, were brought up from Scotland against him; what they were to prove he knew not; nor did he know how he was to bring up witnesses from the same quarter to confront them, having been informed, that the jurisdiction of the court did not extend to Scotland.

"He understood by the law of the land, that the overt-act ought

to be specially set forth in the indictment for high treason; but as no particular charge was specified in his, he should find himself at a loss to meet it with such evidence as he might otherwise be enabled to produce. —He hoped, however, and trusted, that the court, as was customary in similar cases, would become his counsel in points where he stood in need of such indulgence; adding, that he only wished for a candid and impartial trial."

Lord Mansfield having assured his lordship, that he would meet with every indulgence the court could consistently grant him, the indictment was read over, and the clerk of the crown asked the prisoner to plead to it; when his lordship said, "Not guilty."

The attorney-general now moved the court "for the prisoner to be again brought up to the bar of the court on Monday the 5th of February, then to be put upon his trial;" which being made a rule of court, his lordship was remanded back to the Tower, under the custody of the lieutenant-governor.

The West India mail, 31st. brought over by the Anna Teresa Packet, Captain Crosby, arrived on Monday evening at the Post Office, and brings dispatches to the admiralty from Sir George Brydges Rodney, dated the 10th of December, with advice, that he arrived at St. Kitt's from New-York two days before, with the following ships of the line, viz. Sandwich 90 guns, Centaur 74, Ruffel 74, Triumph 74, Resolution 74, Alcide 74, Terrible 74, Shrewsbury 74, Torbay 74, Suffolk 74, and Intrepid 64: that he had



had been joined off Barbadoes by the *Alfred* of 74, *Monarch* 74, and likewise by the *Ajax* 74, and *Vigilant* 64, from St. Lucia.

Admiral Hood had been met within ten days sail of Barbadoes, all well.

DIED, *Dec. 30, 1780.* At Purser's-cross, Fulham, Mrs. Eliz. and Mrs. Fra. Turberville, in the 77th year of their ages, of an ancient and respectable West country family; they were twin sisters, and both died unmarried. What adds to the singularity of this circumstance, they were born the same day, never were known to live separate, died within a few days of each other, and were interred the same day.

Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bart.

*Jan. 1, 1681.* In White hart-yard, Drury-lane, Mary Parker, aged 108.

## F E B R U A R Y.

*Hague, Feb. 1.* The states of Holland and West Friesland were assembled both yesterday and this day, as were also the different colleges of admiralty: the prince stadtholder is almost daily in council, and this day the three placards, lately published by their High Mightinesses, will be sent to the different provinces.

The marine treaty signed at Copenhagen between the plenipotentiaries of the Empress of Russia and those of the court of Denmark on the 28th of June 1780, relative to the freedom of the neutral navigation, has appeared here, and seems to be entirely founded upon the memorial and declaration of the empress upon that subject;

and the articles are nearly similar. To this treaty the king of Sweden acceded on the 21st of July 1780, and their High Mightinesses on the 20th of November in the same year.

On Monday was determined, after a hearing of three days, before the Barons of the Exchequer, the long depending cause between the Vicar of Kensington, and several of his parishioners; when it was decreed, that peaches, melons, pines, and all other hot-house plants, and exoticks, and all shrubs, engrafted trees, and nurseries, are tytheable in kind, whatever expence may attend the cultivation.

The following narrative of the voyage of five of the vessels arrived in Ireland belonging to the last East-India fleet from China to the Cape is contained in a letter from an officer on board the *Calcutta* to his friend in Edinburgh. 3d.

"We sailed from China on the 20th of January, in company with the *Worcester*, *Royal Henry*, *Morse*, and *Alfred*; and instead of the usual tract by the straits of Sunda and Banca went by the straits of Malacca, to avoid the risk of falling in with an enemy. On the 26th of February we took our departure from Achinhead, and to get clear of danger gave the islands of Mauritius, &c. a large berth.

"Being strictly ordered to keep to the southward, to shun any cruisers that might be off the Cape, we were, by strong southerly currents, and north-west winds, driven into the latitude of 41 degrees and a half, and experienced a long run of bad weather. From the 29th



29th of April, that we were in the latitude of the Cape, to the 6th of June, we had (almost without intermission) the most violent gales of wind and bad weather. During the gales we parted company with the *Morse*.

“ Upon the 7th of June, the *Royal Henry* proving very leaky, we were under the necessity of bearing away for Madagascar, that she might be able, if possible, to stop her leaks. On the 25th we arrived safe at St. Augustin's Bay, Madagascar, where we had the good fortune to fall in with the homeward bound fleet from the coast, viz. the *Belleisle* 64, *Asia* 64, and *Rippon* 60, with the *Ganges*, *General Barker*, *Talbot* and *Norfolk* India-men.

“ This fleet had come in very sickly, and had been lying there about a week. Very soon after came in the *Morse*, with whom we had parted company the 4th of May; she had sprung a leak, and had been obliged to throw four of her guns and part of her cargo overboard.

“ The crews of the ships having got well rid of their several disorders, and having got on board all the necessary refreshments, we on the 28th of July sailed for Cape Bona once more. After experiencing again two very hard gales of wind, by which several of the fleet parted company, we at length had the good luck to meet all again, and come into the Cape together the 22d of August. Upon our arrival here we had the satisfaction to find, that what had appeared to us most unfortunate in several parts of our passage, had really been most lucky. Indeed I believe a chain of more lucky

events never happened to a fleet before.

“ 1. By our going to Malacca we avoided three sail of French ships of the line in the straits of Sunda, which probably would have taken us all.

“ 2. By our not being able to reach the Cape the first time, we avoided five sail of French ships, which were cruising for us.

“ 3. By getting to Madagascar we fell in with the fleet, which we were actually ordered to go into the Cape to join, and also had the good fortune to find the *Morse* again.

“ 4. If we had arrived at Table Bay a week or 10 days sooner, when we had the last severe gale, we must undoubtedly all have perished;—for, by the accounts of the inhabitants, no ship could have rode it out.”

Saturday the Court of King's Bench was opened, 6th. and the previous business of admissions and bail being finished, a petition was read from the poor prisoners of the King's Bench prison, for the usual allowance to be paid them since the time of their enlargement by the late riots. Lord Mansfield could not, he said, grant the prayer of the petitioners, because they were not in actual custody, and therefore had a power to provide for themselves, which when confined they are not supposed to have. He added, that since the first day of the term, he had received a great number of letters from all parts of the kingdom, informing him of the abuses of some attorneys, endeavouring to delude the poor, arrested and in custody, to pay them money for their discharge. In order to remedy



medy this, he had now ordered a list to be published of all persons, and their places of abode, who had surrendered, also the names of the bail and attorneys concerned since the 7th of June last. That unless the same were added to the names, the surrender should for the future be void. And he ordered that the list should be so printed and published, that every future certificate should be no indemnity, unless it contained the additions of all parties.

5th. This morning Lord George Gordon was brought from the Tower to the Court of King's Bench, Westminster-Hall, to take his trial for a charge of high treason: after a trial which lasted one and twenty hours he was acquitted\*.

12th. A dreadful fire broke out at Capt. Thoburn's, near King Edward stairs, Wapping, which, assisted by a strong south-westerly wind, presently communicated to a number of houses and warehouses contiguous, a misfortune principally fatal, on account of the narrowness of the streets, both sides of the way being on fire at the same time; the flames were so rapid for some time as to defy the utmost efforts of the firemen and inhabitants. About forty houses were destroyed, besides sheds, &c. Also about four houses in Sir William Warren's Square, with every house on both sides the way between King Edward's Stairs and wheat-sheaf-Wharf.

The high winds this night did considerable damage amongst the shipping. Several houses were

blown down in various parts of London and Westminster.

The Recorder made the 16th. report to his majesty in council of the thirteen convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, who were condemned in January sessions, viz. James Smith, Charles Shepherd; Abraham Day; Ann Martin, alias Harris, alias Lansdale, alias Jones; John Larby and Wm. Doby; Jn. Henley; Ann Smith, and Eliz. Thompson, alias Blackson; Joseph Maple and Tho. Maple; Ann Gibson, and Mary Jones; when the four first were ordered for execution, and the nine last were respited during his majesty's pleasure.

This night's Gazette 17th. contains his majesty's order in council for the release and discharge of all ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the states-general, which had been detained by virtue of the order in council of Dec. 22, 1780.

On Tuesday a special 24th. jury, before Lord Mansfield in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster Hall, determined the important cause between Mr. Cole, proprietor of Ely place, in Holborn, and the officers of the parish of St. Andrew Holborn, in favour of the plaintiff, by which Mr. Cole is established in the quiet possession of a very considerable estate, protected from the burdens of the assessments of the parish, of which it was contended to have been a part. The jury by their verdict have confirmed a privilege which has been obtained ever since the year 1290, regarding the episcopal palace of Ely, on the site

\* For a particular account of this trial, see the Appendix to the Chronicle.



of which Ely-place is now built, as extra-parochial, and not subject to parish assessments.

*Amsterdam, Feb. 27.* John Adams, Esq; has opened a loan for a million of florins for the United States of America, according to the printed plan of which, each share shall amount to 1000 florins, and bear five per cent. interest per annum. Mess. Neufville and sons, merchants here, have the management of this affair, and the obligations, &c. are signed by Mr. Adams, and countersigned by Mess. Neufville, and registered by the notary, Anthony Mylins. The repayment of this capital (for which the Thirteen United States of America engage themselves all together, and each of them separately, as well as for the punctual payment of the interest) will be made after the expiration of 10 years; a fifth part, or 200 obligations each year, to be determined by lots, drawn in presence of the notary and witnesses, so that in 15 years all the capital will be paid.

DIED, at Norwich, aged 74, Henry Goodall, D.D. Prebendary of Norwich, Archdeacon of Suffolk, Rector of Mattishall with Pottesley, and also of Bixley with Earl Framingham, in Norfolk; likewise commissary of the peculiar jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of Norwich.

At his chambers in the Temple, Edw. Capell, Esq; deputy inspector of plays. He devoted the last 37 years of his life to the study of Shakespeare's plays, of which he published an edition in the year 1768. Since that time he has been employed in compiling and printing the illustrations to it, the

greater part of which we are informed are already finished. He was the alterer of Antony and Cleopatra, acted at Drury lane 1758. He was also editor of a volume of ancient poems called "Prolusions."

## M A R C H.

At the beginning of this month the distemper among the horned cattle broke out in the isle of Thanet. It began at Mrs. Cowell's, at Salmston, near Margate, and is supposed to have been brought over from Ostend by two sheep skins, which being thrown on the beech were taken up with some sea-weed, and laid on a dung-hill. To these a cow smelt, and rolled on them. Six other beasts died at Manston; five more were shot there, and buried on the 9th; several others died; some were shot. On the 12th, an order of council was issued (as usual) prohibiting the removal of distempered cattle, and ordering them to be killed, and buried at least four feet deep, with their hides flayed, &c. Two more were seized with it at Minster on the 16th, and immediately killed and buried. By the above, and other precautions, it is hoped, that it will spread no further. Some had been previously removed to Ash and Chislet; though nothing seems easier than to confine them in this island, there being only three outlets, viz. at Sandwich, Sarr, and Reculver.

The following account of the loss of the General Barker <sup>2d.</sup> East-Indiaman is given in a private letter from Holland, from a gentle-



gentleman on board: "In the hard gale of wind which came on between eleven and twelve at night on the 12th inst. we parted with three cables a-head, and soon after lost every anchor and cable we had. The following day we fired signals of distress, but could get no assistance. We were at last drifted against the Kentish Knock, where we lay for six hours; by the help of a strong tide we got off in the evening, but not without the loss of all our boats, and cutting away our main and mizen-masts. The gale continuing on the 15th, we were driven on shore on the coast of Holland, in which dreadful situation we remained all night, expecting every moment to be our last, and in which horrid suspense fifteen of the crew actually perished. In the morning the Dutch very humanely came out to our assistance, and rescued about sixty of us from a situation more easily to be imagined than I can describe. We are now at Norwaygon, where we meet with every sympathy our condition merits."

On Saturday was tried before Mr. Justice Buller and a special jury at Guildhall, the important cause between Mr. Langdale, the distiller, who sued the late lord mayor under the riot act, to recover of the inhabitants of the city the damages he sustained by the destruction of his premises and goods during the late disturbances. The attorney-general, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Murphy, were counsel for the plaintiff, and the recorder, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Rose, for the city. Mr. Langdale went for 51,559l. 19s. 7d. under several heads, viz. the great warehouse,

with the spirits behind the house, in Upper Holborn, at 22,478l. 3s. 8d. at prime cost; the furniture 1010l.—at Holborn-bridge 7831l. 2s. 9d. besides the dead stock of mills, worms, pipes, and damage done to several houses adjoining to Mr. Langdale, held by him under leases. There was great dispute about the estimates, as the witnesses were not properly prepared to answer the counsel with their calculations. The recorder made a long speech. He contended, that Mr. Langdale had no right to recover, because the fire was communicated from the spirits which were first set in a blaze to the buildings and other property. To this point one witness was examined. The judge seemed against the distinction. Mr. Langdale admitted the receipt of 14,662l. from the Excise; 11,423l. of the Union Fire-Office; 1683l. 8s. 8d. of the London Assurance Company; 900l. of the Hand in Hand Fire Office; but nevertheless he brought his action to include these several sums for the benefit of the Excise and different offices. The judge without delivering any opinion left the whole case to the consideration of the jury, who withdrew for near two hours, and gave a verdict for 18,729l. 10s. damages only. The jury added also, that Mr. Langdale could not recover the insurances in trust. The verdict is reserved for the opinion of the judges, whether goods and stock in trade are within the meaning of the act of parliament, and a new trial will be moved for next term by the city, as the jury gave a verdict for the goods and stock in trade, which are included in the damages given, contrary, as the



the counfel say, to the riot act, whereby these buildings are to be repaired, and no other recompences provided for.

Charles Logie, Esq; his majesty's late consul general at Morocco, arrived in town with dispatches from Gov. Elliot of Gibraltar. Before Consul Logie left Morocco, the emperor, under the influence of the gifts he had received from the Spanish court, threatened the inhabitants of Tangier with the most dreadful effects of his resentment if they held any friendship with the English; and at his injunction, 50 of the principal inhabitants went to the consul's house and demanded an audience; on an interview being given, they successively went up to Mr. Logie, spit in his face, pointed their daggers to his breast, and called him by every opprobrious appellation that could be used. Mr. Logie reports, that the greatest scarcity of grain prevailed through the country, no rain having fallen for these three last years.

*Amsterdam, March 8.* The persons appointed to receive the subscription entered into by the inhabitants of this city for the relief of their countrymen who are in prison in England, have addressed the Duke of Richmond, and begged of his grace, so famed throughout Europe for his sentiments of generosity and humanity, to give an eye to the disposal of the money sent to England for the above praise-worthy purpose. The duke, touched with so distinguished a mark of confidence, returned the following answer in his own hand-writing.

"I cannot but be much flatter-

ed at being chosen to have the care of the money subscribed by the inhabitants of Holland for the relief of their imprisoned countrymen: full of esteem, and admiration of their sentiments of humanity and beneficence, I beg the gentlemen subscribers to be assured that I will willingly exert all my power in the execution of the trust reposed in me; and if I can be of any use towards rendering their generous efforts more advantageous, I will do it with all my heart.

(Signed) RICHMOND."

In consequence of which the subscribers have sent one thousand pounds sterling to England, and have desired the duke to appoint a proper person to have the distribution of it; they took the same opportunity to signify to his grace with what humanity the English prisoners were treated in Holland.

This morning sailed the following ships, with a 14th. large fleet of victuallers, &c. for Gibraltar, viz. Britannia, 100, Vice-admiral Darby, Rear-admiral Kempenfelt, Captain Bradley; Royal George, 100, Rear-admiral Ross, Captain Bourmaster; Prince George, 98, Rear admiral Digby, Captain Williams; Queen, Maitland; Duke, Douglass; Formidable, Cleland; Namur, 90, Sawyer; Ocean, Ourry; Union, Dalrymple; Foudroyant, 80, Jarvis; Alexander, 74, Longford; Bellerophon, Onslow; Canada, Collier; Cumberland, Peyton; Courageux, Mulgrave; Defence, Cranstone; Dublin, Dixon; Edgar, Elliot; Fortitude, Bickerton; Marlborough, Penny; Valiant, Goodall; Bienfaisant, 64, Braithwaite; Inflexible, Cotton; Lion, Cornwallis;



lis; Magnanime, Wolfely; Non-fuch, Wallace; Repulse, Dent; Medway, 60, Harmood; Minerva, 38, Fielding; Flora, 36, Williams; Monsieur, Phipps; La Prudence, Waldegrave; Ambuscade, 32, Conway; Emerald, Marshall; Crescent, 28, Pakenham; Kite, 14, Trollope; and Furnace, Firebrand, Harpy, and Lightning fire ships; which are to be joined from Plymouth by two frigates, and from Ireland by the St. Albans and Vestal."

15th. The following is a list of his Majesty's ships on the Jamaica station which were lost or damaged in the late hurricane, viz. Stirling-Castle of 64 guns, lost, the Captain and about 50 people were saved. Phoenix of 44 guns, lost on the Cuba shore, most of the people saved. Scarborough of 20 guns, lost at sea, and every person perished. Hector of 74 guns, lost all her guns and masts. Grafton of 74 guns, lost all her masts. Egmont of 74 guns, ditto. Trident of 64 guns, ditto. Ruby of 64 guns, ditto. Bristol of 50 guns, ditto. Endymion of 44 guns, ditto. Ulysses of 44 guns, ditto. Pomona of 28 guns, ditto. Thunderer of 74 guns, lost.

20th. Two gold medals of 15 guineas each, given annually by his Grace the Duke of Grafton, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, for the encouragement of classical learning, were adjudged to Mr. George Law, of Queen's, and Mr. Robert Pedley, of St. John's, B.B.A.

22d. At a Court of Common Council, 1000l. was ordered to be paid out of the Chamber, towards the relief and support of the sufferers by the late

hurricanes in the West India Islands, to the Treasurer of the Committee, for their relief.

DIED, at Wrest - House, in Bedfordshire, aged 30, Lord Polwarth, only son of the Earl of Marchmont, and son-in-law to the Earl of Hardwicke. Dying without issue, the English barony of Hume, created in 1776, is extinct.

Thomas Knight, Esq. at Godmersham, in Kent, in the 80th year of his age. This gentleman, who died possessed of a large estate, was elected citizen in parliament for Canterbury, A. D. 1734, and was many years chairman at the quarter sessions. His paternal name was Brodnax, which early in life he exchanged for that of May, and afterwards by a statute of 9 Geo. II. he took the name of Knight, which occasioned a facetious member to propose "a general bill to enable that gentleman to take what name he pleased." Through a long extent of life he ever maintained a dignity ornamental of human nature, and a piety irreproachable, which nothing but the sincerity of his religion could inspire; evidenced by a constant attendance on his christian duties, and realized by a most exemplary patience and resignation during a tedious and painful illness. His own family have lost in him a most indulgent parent, his relations and friends a ready and able help, and the neighbourhood a munificent patron and benefactor.

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## A P R I L.

*Hague, April 1.* We are assured, that Mr. Van de Parre, director of



of our East-India Company, and Mr. de Boers, advocate of the said company, are returned from Paris; that the former with the approbation of their High Migh-  
tinesses, has there signed a treaty offensive and defensive for the Dutch East India Company; one of the conditions of which is, "that six French men of war, already sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, and which are to be joined by some others from the island of Mauritius, shall assist in protecting the Cape, and the possessions of our company in the Indies, in conjunction with the ships of the latter now there." We are assured, that the alliance was concluded the end of last month; consequently the Cape is safe from every insult; and the more so, as the governor foreseeing the hostilities, has put the place in a proper state of defence, and armed 6000 peasants.

2d. Captain Donnellon, convicted of the murder of Sir Theodosius Boughton, about seven in the morning was carried in a mourning coach from Warwick gaol to the place of execution, and hanged according to his sentence; after which his body was given to the surgeons to be dissected. Before he was turned off he addressed the spectators in the following terms: "That as he was then going to appear before God, to whom all deceit was known, he solemnly declared, that he was innocent of the crime for which he was to suffer."

3d. The subjects proposed by the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, for the two prizes given by the Right Hon. John Townshend and James Mansfield, Esq.

members for the University of Cambridge, are,

For Senior Bachelors: *Quænam sint causæ cur Asiatici servitutis semper fuerint patientiores, quam Europæi?*

For junior Bachelors: *Utrum sit in oratorum numero habendus, qui non sit omnibus iis artibus, quæ sunt libero dignæ, perpolitus?*

*Dublin, April 7.* Letters were on Thursday received in town from Captain Murphy, of the *Charming Mary* privateer of Dublin, to his owners, which contain the agreeable news of his having taken and brought into Loughswilly, a rich Dutch merchant ship, from St. Eustatia, bound to Amsterdam, computed to be worth 30,000*l.* She had 300 hogshheads of sugar on board. The *Charming Mary* mounted only eight guns.

*India House, April 10.* At a general Court of Proprietors of East India Stock held, according to advertisement on special affairs, Mr. Jones rose and introduced the following motion:

"That a Committee of six Directors, and six Proprietors, be appointed, to consider of their chartered rights, and of the nature and extent of their right to the territorial possessions acquired in India; and at the same time to consider of propositions to be offered as the basis of an agreement between government and the Company, for the prolongation of their exclusive right to trade in India."

This meeting was in consequence of a motion made in the House of Commons by Lord North the day before, "That  
this



this House will, on Wednesday the 25th of April, resolve itself into a Committee, to consider of the propriety of the Crown taking into its own hands the territorial acquisitions of the East India Company, and securing to the public a share in the revenue arising therefrom. On this occasion Lord North insisted upon it, as an established maxim, that whatever territorial acquisitions are made by subjects, must necessarily belong to the public; and that consequently he was as clear as he was of any thing whatever, that the territorial possessions in India are the undoubted right and property of the crown and people.

11th. Came on the election of a Governor, Deputy Governor, and twenty four Directors of the Bank of England, for the year ensuing, when the following gentlemen were chosen: William Ewer, Esq. Governor; Richard Neave, Esq. Deputy-Governor; Samuel Beachcroft, \* Daniel Booth, \* Lyde Browne, Richard Clay, William Cooke, Edward Darrell, George Drake, \* Peter Du Cane, Martyn Fonnereau, Peter Gaussen, \* Daniel Giles, Christopher Hake, William Halhed, Thomas Scot Jackson, \* Job Mathew, Benjamin Mee, \* Joseph Nutt, Edward Payne, \* Geo. Peters, \* Henry Plant, Christopher Puller, William Snell, Sam. Thornton, and Mark Weyland, Esqrs. Directors.

Those marked with \* are new Directors.

*India House, April 12.* This day the report of the ballot for the choice of Directors was made at the East India House, by Mr.

Devisme, Chairman of Scrutineers.

The numbers were:

Richard Hall	-	839
John Hunter	-	580
Samuel Peach	-	528
Joseph Sparkes	-	855
John Smith	-	797
George Tatem	-	724

The Norrissian prize for 1781 was assigned to Mr. Jos. Whiteley, of Magdalen College, Cambridge, for his Essay on the Advantages of Revelation.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with 16th. their ladies, met at the Mansion-house, and from thence proceeded, attended by the Governors of the City Hospitals, City Marshals, &c. to St. Bride's church, where an excellent sermon was preached by the Right Rev. Dr. Ross, Lord Bishop of Exeter; after which, the report of the state of the City Hospitals was read before the Governors.

In Christ's Hospital, 188 placed out, 10 whereof instructed in mathematics and navigation. Remain 1177; buried 13.

In St. Bartholomew's, 3942 cured. Out-patients relieved, 6054. In the Hospital, 382. Out-patients, 209. Buried 177.

St. Thomas's, 3249 cured. Out-patients relieved, 3861. In-patients remaining, 470. Out-patients, 263. Buried 259.

Bridewell. Admitted, 459. Maintained in Trades, 37.

Bethlehem. Admitted, 200. Cured, 179. Remain, 267. Buried, 20.

*Paris, April 21.* Monsieur de Monteille being on a cruize off Cape François, with a squadron of six sail of the line and three frigates,



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frigate, from Toulon, upon the 25th of February met with a most violent gale of wind, which commenced about eight P. M. and continued to blow very hard until the next day at five A. M. in which time the fleet suffered very much.

List of the squadron, and the damages they have sustained.

	Guns.
Le Palmier	74 (flag) lost 36 guns
Le Victoire	74 lost lower masts
L'Intrepid	74 lost upon the rocks
Le Conton	64 no damage
Le Triton	64 ditto
Le Refleche	64 lost her lower masts
Le frigate Gentille	44 safe
L'Aidromache	44 ditto
L'Atalonte	38 sunk by the Palmier, who ran foul of her

*Admiralty-Office, April 23, 1781.*  
*Copy of a Letter from Captain Patten, of his Majesty's Ship Belle Poule, to Mr. Stephens, dated Leith Road, 18th instant.*

I beg you will please to acquaint their lordships, that his Majesty's ships Belle Poule and Berwick being near the entrance of the Firth of Edinburgh, on the 17th of April, at day-break, we fell in with, and after a short action took the Calonne privateer, of 32 guns, and 240 men, commanded by Luke Ryan. She had been but five days from Dunkirk, and had only taken and ransomed one small brig.

At the annual election for President, Council, and officers of the Society of Antiquaries, the following noblemen and gentlemen were chosen for the year ensuing:

*Members of the Old Council continued:*  
 Jeremiah Milles, D. D. F. R. S.  
 Dean of Exeter, President. The

Honourable Daines Barrington, F. R. S. V. P. Owen Salisbury Brereton, Esq. F. R. S. V. P. Edward Bridgen, Esq. F. R. S. Sir William Chambers, Knt. P. S. F. R. S. Richard Gough, Esq. F. R. S. Director. Edward King, Esq. F. R. S. V. P. Michael Lort, D. D. F. R. S. V. P. Thomas Morell, D. D. Sec. William Norris, M. A. Sec. Daniel Wray, Esq. F. R. S.

*New Members of the Council:*  
 George, Earl of Chesterfield. John, Lord Bishop of St. David's. Sir Henry Charles Englefield, Bart. F. R. S. Richard Kaye, D. LL. F. R. S. John Munro, M. D. F. R. S. Robert, Lord Petre. Robert Richardson, D. D. John Topham, Esq. F. R. S. Sir Richard Worsley, Bart. F. R. S.

*Officers:*—President, the Dean of Exeter. Treasurer, Edward Bridgen, Esq. Secretaries, the Rev. Mr. Norris, and the Rev. Dr. Morell. Director, Richard Gough, Esq.

*Navy-Office, April 30.* By the returns from the Navy-office, presented to the House of Commons by Lord Lisburn, Jan. 23, 1781, it appears, that from Sept. 29, 1774, to Sept. 29, 1780, there were raised for his Majesty's sea service, including marines, 175,900 men, that of them in the five years, beginning with 1776, and ending with 1780, 18,545 died, 1243 were killed, and 42,069 deserted.—Total 61,857. And by returns from the War-office, presented by the secretary at war, it appears, that there were raised in Great Britain and Ireland for his Majesty's land service, militia and fencible men in North Britain not included, from Sept. 29, 1774,



to Sept. 29, 1780, 76885 men, of which there have died in N. America and the West-Indies 10,012; been taken prisoners, including those under the convention of Saratoga, 8629; deserted 3801; and been discharged the service 3885. —Total 26,327. The British corps and recruits sent to North America and the West-Indies were, in 1778, 3774; in 1779, 6871; and in 1780, 10,237. —Total, 20,882.

“*Constantinople, April 30.*

On the 23d instant, a fire broke out in the quarter of this city which is almost entirely inhabited by lawyers. It was so violent, that notwithstanding all possible assistance, it continued burning eleven hours; it is computed that 200 houses were destroyed.

A fortnight ago the plague broke out again in this city; the hotel of the Venetian ambassador has been affected with it, one of whose domestics is dead. It is very probable that this terrible calamity was brought hither from Salonica, from whence we learn that it has made such ravages there, that though two thirds of the inhabitants had left the place, it carries off upwards of 100 persons daily.”

DIED, Lady Mary Carr, sister of Lord Darlington, and wife of Mr. Carr of the Adelphi. —Among other qualities, better and more valuable to her family and her friends, a distant acquaintance may be allowed to mark her memory, as a woman of a distinguished taste; it was her ladyship who directed the laying out of much of the ground, at Mr. Carr’s fine place, at Cocken. Cocken is a cultivated ground on the Wier,

three miles beyond Durham; it is by many thought a rival to what was Mr. Morris’s ground at Chepstow; the style of the country is at both places much the same, very bold inequalities, woods, and rocks; the river Wier, on which Cocken is situated, is at the south rock very finely smooth; at the north rock the current is as finely rough, so far producing a harmony of the completest kind, the other objects ornamenting the scene; but without the inclosure, are Durham cathedral, the ruin of the abbey, belonging to Dr. Kaye, prebend of Durham, the spire at Chester le Street, and Lumley Castle; the whole forming many enchanting scenes, yielding both in beauty and sublimity to none but Piercefield.

At his house in Kennington, in his 72d year, Sir Joseph Ayloffe, Bart. of Cranfield, Suffex, V. P. A. S. and F. R. S. He was descended from a Saxon family antiently seated at Bocton Alos near Wye, co. Kent, in the reign of Hen. III. who removed to Hornchurch, co. Essex, in that of Hen. VI. and to Sudbury in that of Edw. IV. Sir Wm. Ayloffe of Great Braxted, co. Essex, was knighted by James I. and afterwards created a baronet 1612; and from his eldest son by his 3d wife, the late baronet was the fourth in descent and fifth in title. His father and grandfather were both of Gray’s-Inn. He was born about the year 1708, admitted of Lincoln’s-Inn, 1724, and of St. John’s Coll. Oxf. elected F. A. S. Feb. 10, 1731, one of the first council under their charter 1751, vice president 17 , F. R. S. 17 . In 1748, he prompted Mr. Kirby, painter



painter in Ipswich, to make drawings of a great number of monuments and buildings in Suffolk, of which 12 were engraved, with a description, 1748, and more remained in his patron's hands. On the building of Westminster-bridge he was appointed secretary to the commissioners 1736-7; auditor general of the hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem 1750; and on the establishment of the Paper-Office on the respectable footing it at present is, by the removal of the state papers from the old gate at Whitehall to new apartments at the Treasury, he was nominated one of the three keepers of them; and 1772 published in 4to, "Calendars of the Antient Charters, &c. and of the Welch and Scottish Rolls now remaining in the Tower of London, &c." with a judicious and learned account of our public records, by way of introduction. He drew up the account of the chapel on London bridge, of which an engraving was published by Vertue 1748, and again by the Society of Antiquaries 1777. His historical description of the interview between Hen. VIII. and Fra. I. on the Champ. de Drap d'Or, from an original painting at Windsor, and his account of the paintings of the same age at Cowdry, were inserted in the *Archæol.* vol. iii. 1775, and printed separately to accompany engravings of two of these pictures by the Society of Antiquaries. His account of the body of Edw. I. as it appeared on opening his tomb, 1774, was printed in the same volume, p. 376. His intimate acquaintance with every part of Westminster-abbey and city displayed itself in his accurate de-

scription of five monuments in the former, engraved by the same society, who must reckon, among the many obligations which they owe to his zeal and attention to their interests, the last exertions of his life to put their affairs on the most respectable and advantageous footing, on their removal to their new apartments in Somerset house. He superintended the new edition of Leland's *Collectanea*, in 9 vols. 1770, and of the *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, in 2 vols. 8vo. 1771; to both which he added a valuable appendix; to the latter the charter of Kingston on Thames, of which his father was recorder. His extensive knowledge of our national antiquities and municipal rights, and the agreeable manner in which he communicated it to his friends and the public, must make him sincerely regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. He married Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of Tho. Railton, Esq; of Carlisle, by whom he had one son of his own name, who died at the age of 21, Dec. 19, 1756.

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### M A Y.

Was holden, at Sion College, the anniversary meeting of<sup>1st</sup> the London Clergy, when a Latin sermon was preached in St. Alphage Church, by their president, the Rev. James Waller, D.D. After which the following gentlemen were elected officers for the year ensuing: the Rev. John Douglas, D.D. president; Peter Whalley, LL.B. and William Romaine, M.A. deans; Thomas Weales, D.D. Samuel Carr, M.A. George Stinton,



Stinton, D. D. and Henry Whitfield, D. D. assistants.

*Dublin, April 24.* Yesterday being quarter day of the guild of merchants, the subject, which has lately engaged the public attention, of Portugal's refusing the entry and sale of Irish manufactures, received a full investigation. In the course of a long debate, after many able speakers had expatiated upon the schemes of some persons in England, to render the boasted grant of a free trade to Ireland a mere nullity, and that the Court of Portugal had adopted this injurious partiality of refusing our manufactures through their artifice, it was on the other hand clearly evinced, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and the Right Hon. Mr. Eden had taken, on the earliest information, the most active part to obtain an immediate remedy. This having fully appeared from two letters of Mr. Eden, and from other authorities, and that there was a great probability of their endeavours being crowned with the wished-for success, it was resolved, that the thanks of the guild should be presented to his Excellency the Earl of Carlisle, and to the Right Hon. Mr. Eden, for their warm and earnest exertions in favour of the commercial interests of Ireland.

*Trieste, May 4.* There is a plan here on foot to build about thirty vessels against the next spring, in order to carry on a trade with all nations, and with the belligerent powers under the Austrian flag; great advantages are expected from this trade.

8th. Yesterday the Court of Exchequer gave judgment in the cause, wherein Messrs. Eyre and

Strahan, his majesty's printers, were plaintiffs, and Mr. Carnan, bookseller, was defendant. The bill was brought against Mr. Carnan, for printing the Form of Prayer appointed to be used on the General Fast day, when the exclusive right of his majesty's printers to print the said Form of Prayer was fully established, and a decree given in their favour with costs.

*Naples, May 8.* Mount Vesuvius has been very quiet for a long time, but the mountain called Somma, not very far from the former, opened last month, and the lava runs very violently. No one suspected this mountain to contain so much combustible matter, nor has any lava issued from it before during the memory of man.

*St. James's.* This day, after the levee, Dr. Brownlow 9th. North, Bishop of Worcester, kissed his majesty's hand, on being translated from that see to the Bishoprick of Winchester. As did Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, on his translation to the see of Worcester.

Yesterday was held the anniversary meeting of the 19th. Sons of the Clergy; at which were present the right honourable the lord mayor; his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, president, the right honourable the lord chancellor, Sir John Skynner, vice-president, his Grace the Archbishop of York, his Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Marquis of Carmarthen, the Earl of Hillsborough, their lordships the Bishops of Rochester, Bath and Wells, Litchfield and Coventry, Bangor, Chester, Lincoln and



St. David's; Lord Coleraine; Aldermen Plomer, Clarke, Woolridge, Pugh, and Kitchen; Sheriffs Sainsbury and Chrichton; the Deans of Durham and Windfor, Sir Thomas Egerton, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Philip Yorke, Esq; with many of the clergy and gentry. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Markham, Rector of St. Mary, White-chapel, from Jeremiah xlix. 11. 'Leave thy fatherless children, I will preserve them alive, and let thy widows trust in me.'

Collection at St. Paul's

on Tuesday the 15th	l.	s.	d.
inst. — — —	200	5	6
Ditto, on Thursday the 17th	261	13	6
Ditto, at Merchant Taylors-hall — —	567	2	4

Total 1029 1 4

A donation of fifty pounds, by the late Anne Fox, and a further sum of 24l. 7s. 10d. being the half year's dividend on the sum of 1626l. 4s. 9d. in the three per cent consol. bank annuities, purchased with the legacy of the late Margaret Dongworth, made a part of the collection at the hall.

21st. A general court of proprietors was held at the East-India House in Leadenhall-street, in order to take into consideration the propositions submitted by the directors for the basis of an agreement between government and the company, when some new matter was started that will require very serious discussion. It arose from words in the first proposition, that all the company's present chartered privileges shall be preserved entire, so far as is

consistent with the rights of the crown *and legislature*. It was proposed to leave these last words out; and Mr. Rous was called upon for his opinion, who made no scruple to declare that the rights of the legislature were *novel rights*. That the rights of the crown were distinct; and so were those of the company derived from, and dependent on, those of the crown; but he ventured to give a decided opinion that the law and constitution knew of no rights of the legislature independent of the known privileges of parliament, which had nothing to do in the present case. The words therefore *and legislature* were struck out.

Lord North (the whole house being in a committee) moved, that the propositions of the general court of East India proprietors be laid before the committee; as follows:

"That all the East-India company's present charter rights be preserved to them entire, so far as is consistent with the rights of the crown: that their exclusive trade be prolonged for 10 years from March 1, besides the three years notice to be given according to the act of Geo. II. and that, in order to the utmost of their power to alleviate the public burthen, the directors are empowered to pay into the Exchequer 600,000l. on condition of receiving in return bills on his Majesty's Exchequer, which, in case of any unexpected exigences on the part of the company, the commissioners of customs and excise should receive as cash for the company's accruing duties; such bills not to bear interest, or to be brought to market like other bills."

His



His lordship rose and declared his disapprobation of the said propositions, moving the following resolution at the same time :

“ That it is the opinion of this committee, that three-fourths of the surplus of the net profits of the East-India Company, ever since the Company's bond debt was reduced to 1,500,000*l.* and the Company's dividends have been 8 per cent. per ann. belong to the public, and that 600,000*l.* in lieu thereof to be paid into his majesty's Exchequer by installments at such times as shall be agreed upon.” This produced a warm debate, but was finally carried in favour of Lord North.

A cause came on to be tried before Lord Mansfield, in which Mr. Wilson was plaintiff, and Dr. Myersbatch (*the late water Doctor*) was defendant, for the recovery of 200*l.* for a bill of exchange returned from Germany. The Dr. so long ago as 1779, drew a bill to his own order on a person in an obscure place near Hamborough. This bill was returned protested ; and the defendant, being then abroad, could not be come at till last summer, when the action was brought. He set up a two-fold defence ; one, that he had no value for the bill ; the other, that he had failed to give notice of non-payment in due time, and therefore had made the bill his own. But both pleas failing, the jury gave a verdict for the whole sum, with interest and costs of suit.

The felons and deserters confined in the Savoy prison, attempted an escape, by undermining and breaking through the wall ; but being discovered, two rank and

file were stationed in the prison to prevent the like attempt for the future. These the villains secured, made themselves masters of their arms, and made a desperate attempt to force the guard, who were obliged to fire among the assailants, three of whom were killed, and nine wounded.

Yesterday there was a 24th. general court of the proprietors of East-India stock at their house in Leaden-hall-street, pursuant to adjournment, for the final determination by ballot of the following question, viz.

“ That this court doth approve of the propositions read and amended at a general court held on Monday the 21st, to be offered to government as the basis of an agreement for the prolongation of the company's exclusive trade.”

For the question - 256

Against it - - 32

DIED, at Whitbeck, near Whitehaven, Rich. Harrison, well known by the name of Tea-kettle Harrison, many years a guide over the Sands ; the same day died also his wife, and his daughter-in-law ; and the next day his son also departed this life.

At Snitterfield, Warwickshire, the Rev. Rich. Jago, M. A. vicar of that place, and Rector of Kimcote, Leicestershire. Mr. Jago was author of “ Edge Hill,” a poem, 1767, 4to ; of “ The Blackbirds,” a beautiful elegy in the *Adventurer* (see Dr. Johnson's *Life of West*) ; and of many other ingenious performances. He was the intimate friend and correspondent of Mr. Shenstone, contemporary with him at Oxford, and it is believed his school-fellow. He wrote “ Labour and Genius,” a

[M] 2

poem,



poem, 4to. 1768; took the degree of M.A. July 9, 1738; was of University College; was the author of several poems in the 4th and 5th volumes of Doddsley's Poems; and published a sermon, in 1755, on the Causes of Impenitence considered, preached May 4, 1755, at Harbury in Warwickshire, where he was then vicar, on occasion of a conversation said to have passed between one of the inhabitants and an apparition in the church-yard there.

*At Dublin*, in the 66th year of his age, the Right Hon. William Crosbie, Earl of Glandore, Vis. Crosbie, of Ardet, and Baron of Branden, one of his majesty's most hon. privy council of Ireland. In Nov. 1745, he married Lady Theodosia Bligh, sister of the present Earl of Darnley, and by her, who died in May 1777, he has left issue one son and three daughters. His lordship married secondly the relict of — Ward, Esq; by whom he had no issue.

## J U N E.

1st. On Wednesday a general court was held at the bank of England when the proprietors were informed, that government had agreed to renew the charter of the governor and company of the Bank of England (which will expire anno 1785) for 25 years, on condition that the bank advances to government 2,000,000l. at the interest of three per cent. per ann. to be paid off within three years out of the sinking fund.

4th. Saturday 19 prisoners were tried at the Old Bailey, one of whom was capitally convicted,

viz. Alicia Hamilton, for stealing four silver watches, a metal watch, and a coffee-pot plated with silver, the property of Mr. Ward, in his house in Hyde Street, Bloomsbury. John Macneal and William Ridgely, were tried for stealing from an auction-room, lace to the value of 2000l. they were convicted and sentenced to be ballast-lighters. Three other prisoners were convicted of grand larceny, and the remainder acquitted.

The session being ended, the recorder passed sentence of death on 14 capital convicts.

The session of the peace is adjourned to the 14th curr. and the session of gaol delivery to the 11th of July next, at the Old Bailey.

*Paris, June 5.* All the ships taken belonging to Commodore Hotham's fleet, are, by order of that court, come into Brest to be sold, and a great number of purchasers are already arrived there. They have all been condemned as good prizes except one, which will be restored. It had been taken by an English privateer, who had put it under the protection of the escort of the St. Eustatia fleet. The States of Holland have reclaimed nothing on this occasion, though the contrary appears in several Dutch Gazettes; some claims have, indeed, been made by bankers, and a few other particulars, whose pretensions have not been admitted by the council of prizes. They have appealed to the council of state, who will finally settle the dispute in a few days.

*Copy of the Sentence of a General Court Martial, upon the Trial of Lieutenant Governor Corbet.*

“The court having duly considered and weighed the evidence.



evidence given in support of a charge against the prisoner, Lieutenant-governor Moses Corbett, with that produced by him in his defence, is of opinion, that he, the said Moses Corbett, is guilty of the whole charge exhibited against him, and doth adjudge, that he be therefore superseded in his commission of Lieutenant-governor of the island of Jersey."

8th. Last week a court-martial was held at Sheerness, on the Captains of the *Ariadne*, *Fury* sloop, and *London* armed ship, on a charge of not bearing down and engaging three French privateers which they fell in with last summer, and which, in consequence, escaped. Capt. Squires, of the *Ariadne*, was honourably acquitted; but Captain Agnew of the *Fury*, and Capt. Rains of the *London*, were sentenced to be broke.

9th. A melancholy accident happened at Liverpool. The eldest son of the Rev. Mr. Kirkpatrick, about nine years old, died, convulsed, in consequence of eating a considerable quantity of the roots of hemlock-dropwort, mistaking them for the earth-nut, the flowers having some resemblance. He, with four other boys of the neighbourhood, had collected a number of these roots in the fields adjoining to the Leeds canal, of which they had each eat some, and were affected, in proportion to the quantity taken with giddiness and heaviness. One of them was, besides, seized with twitchings for some hours; but he, as well as the others, having been made to vomit, recovered. Though emetics were given in large quantities to the youth who

died, yet the stomach partook so much of the general insensibility, that these produced not the least effect, and, in spite of all that could be done to save him, he died in about four hours. So fatally certain is the effect of the poisons of this class, whose immediate action is to destroy the power of the stomach to expel them, by which means only the mischief can be put a stop to;—whereas many mineral-poisons may be decomposed by an alkali (as pot-ash) and even the danger from drinking spirits may be greatly lessened, by conveying into the stomach large quantities of water to dilute them, after the power of vomiting, as well as of swallowing, is lost. [*See, on this subject, our vol. for last year; and, in the London Medical Journal, July, 1781, a more particular account of this accident given by Dr. Houlston of that place.*]

Ostend, June 11. The evening of the 15th inst. the whole city was illuminated, on account of the publication of the placart, by which his imperial majesty declares this to be a free port.

Captain Moutray, of the *Ramillies*, was tried by a 13th. court-martial, held on board one of the king's ships on the Jamaica station just before the departure of that fleet; by which circumstance they were delayed from sailing for several days. After enquiring into all the particulars of the unfortunate capture of the large and valuable outward bound-fleet under his convoy, he was, by the sentence of the court, suspended.

Brussels, June 14. The emperor arrived here about 11 o'clock on Thursday night, and since that time



time has been almost continually employed in attending to the petitions and requests of his people. On Friday he saw only two or three of the principal ministers. On Saturday he received the public bodies, and yesterday and this day he has given audience to every one who demanded it. It is not merely the rich and the noble who find admittance to the imperial presence; the poor of every denomination are received with equal grace and favour; every claimant has the privilege of telling his own story in his own way to the father of his people, who receives them all unattended by a single person, and lays aside every form which might awe the modest and the humble from making their wants or distresses known to him.

*India House.* Yesterday 15th. a general court of proprietors of East-India stock, was held at their house in Leadenhall-street, to determine by ballot the following question, viz. 'That this court doth approve the report of the committee appointed by the general court on the 10th of April last, to enquire into the chartered rights of the company laid before the general court, on Thursday the 7th curr. and that the petition therein mentioned be fairly transcribed, and sealed with the company's seal, and presented to the House of Commons.' The balloting closed at six o'clock, and at seven the scrutineers made the following report:

For the question 258

Against it — 127

According to government accounts, the number of prisoners exchanged by cartel with France

since the commencement of the present war, is 44,000, and upwards.

*Hanover, June 15.* Since the return of Lieutenant-general Faucitt from London, we are raising two new regiments of 1000 men each, for the service of Great-Britain.

*Copenhagen, June 16.* On the 7th of this month, the chamberlain Beringschiold was conducted to the citadel under a strong guard, and confined where the unfortunate Count Brandt was; and it is said three or four other rooms are preparing for different prisoners of state. As to the crime of this gentleman it is not publicly known, but it is said by some that he held an illicit correspondence with the court of Stockholm; whilst others assert, that he endeavoured to render the present ministry odious in the eyes of the peasants, in order to foment a sedition among them.

*Admiralty-Office, June 19, 1781.*  
*Extract of a Letter from Captain Fanshaw, of the Egmont, to Mr. Stephens, dated at Sea, the 31st of last month.*

In the course of our voyage from Jamaica, the Endymion took the French ship le Marquis de la Fayette, ——— Galletha, Commander, 1200 tons, mounting 40 guns (pierced for 60), 200 men, laden with arms and cloathing on account of the American Congress, and bound to Philadelphia, after a handsome running action of about two hours.

Yesterday a Court of common council was held 16th. at Guildhall, at which were present the lord mayor, four aldermen, the two sheriffs, Mr. Recorder,



order, and a great number of commoners.

Mr. Merry moved, that the adjourned motion of the last court, 'That the resolution of the 2d of October, 1780, for the chamberlain not to pay the then lord mayor any more than the sum of 352l. 19s. as the balance due to him of the city's ample allowance for the expences of his mayoralty, be rescinded,' be now agreed to. After a very long debate, in which the old arguments were recapitulated on both sides, the question was withdrawn; and another motion made. 'That 1000l. be paid Brackley Kennet, Esq; in lieu of all demands he may have on this city on account of his mayoralty;' which was agreed to.

*Florence, June 23.* Several severe shocks of an earthquake have for some weeks past done great mischief in many parts of the pope's state, particularly in the province of Umbria; the city of Cagli was totally thrown down, and many people were buried in the ruins. It extended on the other part to San Sepolchro, a Town in Tuscany, where, and in the neighbourhood, it caused great damage. In the last week the great duke sent a considerable sum to the relief of the inhabitants, who had fled into the country, and still live in wooden huts.

26th. Yesterday the Rev. Mr. Bate, editor of a morning paper, surrendered himself in the Court of King's-bench, to receive judgment for the insertion of a libel in his paper against the Duke of Richmond. Mr. Lee and Mr. Peckham severally spoke to the enormity of the offence. Mr. Bear-

croft spoke in extenuation for the defendant. Mr Justice Willes pronounced the judgment. He said, that a gentleman of the defendant's function to employ himself in penning paragraphs against the most amiable persons in this country was very improper. The defendant was sentenced to be in the custody of the Marshal of the King's bench prison one year.

*Bologna, June 29.* We still continue to feel shocks of earthquakes; at St. Donat Della Carda, the curate and 113 people were crushed, and all the houses in the neighbouring villages destroyed; several thousand persons are said to have perished by those sad disasters, and for miles together nothing but ruins are to be seen.

DIED, Suddenly, at Bristol Hot Wells, Lady Miller, author of "Letters from Italy, by an Englishwoman," and of other more glorious works of charity, humanity, and goodness, which will remain more durable monuments of her virtues, and of her loss. Her Ladyship died about the middle period of life, in her chair, and without a groan. The wealthy and the indigent will have equal cause of regret; for she did not study to enlarge and multiply the elegant entertainments of the former, with more assiduity than she sought occasion to administer the comforts of the latter. Of this thousands who have visited her villa, near Bath, or who reside near its vicinity, can witness. Her merits excited some envy, but her heart retained not the sense of injuries, and she was not more easy of access, than of conciliation. Few persons in the county of So-



merfet could be lefs fpared, by the fons of riches or poverty, to an early tomb ; nor will any be more fincerely lamented by both.

## J U L Y.

4th. Yesterday Mr. Attorney general moved the court to pafs fentence upon the late printer of the London Courant, on the late printer of the Noon Gazette, on the publisher of the Morning Herald, and on the printer of the Gazetteer, for having published a libel againft the Ruffian ambaffador. Mr. Attorney expatiated upon the enormity of the libel, and urged the court to pafs fuch a fentence as would prevent the further abuse of the liberty of the prefs.

After hearing affidavits of the different prifoners, the court were pleafed to order, that the original publisher of the paragraph in queftion fhould be fined one hundred pounds, imprifoned for a year, and at the expiration of his confinement be fet on the pillory for one hour. The Noon Gazette printer, for having copied the paragraph, was fentenced to pay a fine of 100l. and a year's imprifonment ; and, as he had alfo published a paragraph next day, juftifying what he had done, he was for this fecond offence ordered an additional fix months imprifonment, and to ftand on the pillory. The Morning Herald publisher was ordered to pay a fine of 100l. and to be imprifoned a year ; and the printer of the Gazetteer (being a female) was fentenced to pay 50l. and to be imprifoned fix months.

5th. Yesterday Mr. Wheildon, publisher of the Whitehall

Evening Poft, and Mr. Ayres, printer of the Middlefex journal, were ordered to attend in the Court of King's-bench, for the publication of a libel againft the Ruffian ambaffador, and were each fentenced to pay a fine of 100l. and fuffer a year's imprifonment.

The feflions began at the Old-Bailey, when 22 pri-<sup>11th.</sup>foners were tried, feven of whom were capitally convicted. Nine were convicted of felony, one of petit larceny, and five were acquitted.

This morning came on before Judge Willes, at the<sup>14th.</sup> Old-Bailey, the trial of Mr. de la Motte for high-treafon. Mr. Lutterloh, the chief evidence againft the prifoner, fwore, that he had been employed by M. de la Motte to procure for the French miniftry the moft authentic intelligence refpecting our naval operations, at 50 guineas per month. A number of papers found in Mr. Lutterloh's garden were produced, and proved to be his hand-writing, giving an exact detail of the ftate of our docks, the failing of our fleets, the number of men on board each fhip, and other ufeful information, which had been obtained through the means of a clerk in one of the public offices in the naval department. Among other circumftances contained in thefe papers, was an account of Governor Johnftone's intended operations. The trial lafted 13 hours, when the jury, after a fhort deliberation, pronounced the prifoner Guilty, when fentence was immediately paffed upon him, ' To be hanged by the neck, but not till dead ; then to be cut down, and his bowels taken out and burnt before



before his face, his head to be taken off, his body cut into four quarters, and to be at his majesty's disposal.' The prisoner received the awful doom with great composure, but inveighed against Mr. Lutterloh in warm terms.

It is said that in the last war, he was colonel of the regiment of Soubise, and behaved on several occasions with gallantry. Upon the conclusion of the war his regiment was broke; soon after which the title of Baron Deckham, with an hereditary estate, devolved to him. Having lived beyond the limits of his fortune, he retired to England some few years since, where he has continued to reside till the commission of that act which he is to expiate by the forfeit of his life.

His behaviour throughout the whole of this trying scene, exhibited a combination of manliness, steadiness, and presence of mind. He appeared at the same time polite, condescending, and unaffected, and, we presume, could never have stood so firm and collected, at so awful a moment, if, while he felt himself justly convicted as a traitor to the state which gave him protection, he had not however mistakenly felt a conscious innocence within his own breast, that he had devoted his life to the service of his country.

The Sheriffs of London and Middlesex having received M. de la Motte, on Friday morning, from the Lieutenant of the Tower and being desirous that he should have every possible comfort, took upon themselves to confine him, on Friday, in New-prison, Clerkenwell, where he had a very commodious apartment, and was attended by one of the under sheriffs,

who sat up in his bed-chamber all the night, and who brought him from thence on Saturday morning to the bar. They also applied on Friday, by letter, to Lord Stormont, respecting the place of his confinement, in case of conviction, representing to his lordship, that in the present ruinous state of Newgate, there was no apartment of safe custody in that jail, except the cells, already over-crowded with capital convicts, and that the other prisons in the county were not properly subject to the control of the sheriffs; humbly submitting to his lordship, whether it might not be proper, in case the prisoner should be convicted, to order him to be recommitted to the Tower. His lordship, in a few hours, returned an answer, by letter, to the sheriffs, signifying to them his majesty's pleasure (in consequence of their representation) that Mons. de la Motte, if convicted, should be remanded to the Tower, and desiring that they would give immediate notice to one of the principal secretaries of state of his conviction, if it should so happen, that the necessary directions might be given to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to receive him back from the sheriffs, into his custody. In consequence of this, as soon as sentence was pronounced, the sheriffs dispatched one of their under sheriffs to the secretary of state's office, who, in little more than an hour, brought back an order from Lord Hillsborough, in Lord Stormont's absence, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to which place M. de la Motte was conveyed at twelve o'clock at night, by Mr. Sheriff Chrichton, accompanied by Sir Stanier Porten, one of the under secretaries of state, who having

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ing been an evidence on the trial, was necessarily attended all day at the Old-Bailey, and, at the request of the sheriff, was so obliging as to accompany him to the Tower, to remove any difficulties that might arise concerning the receiving of the prisoner at that late hour of the night. Mr. De la Motte was in another coach, attended by Mr. Akerman, who says, that he never in his life saw a man in his situation with more becoming firmness and fortitude; and that he only expressed the same wish to him as he had to the sheriffs, that his dissolution might be immediate, by striking off his head, if his majesty would graciously grant him that indulgence. After waiting about a quarter of an hour, till the necessary directions could be obtained for opening the gates, Mr. Sheriff Crichton delivered over, and took leave of the prisoner, who expressed in the warmest terms, his most grateful acknowledgment to Mr. Sheriff Sainsbury and him, for their polite attention to him while in their custody; and particularly for the trouble they had taken in obtaining an order for his being sent back to the Tower.

*Brussels, July 17.* On Tuesday last, the 10th inst. their Royal Highnesses the Archduchess and Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen made their first public entry into this capital, to take upon them the government of the Austrian Netherlands. Since the arrival of their royal highnesses at Brussels, the nobility, and other inhabitants of the place, have used their utmost endeavours to manifest their unfeigned joy and attachment: and the whole city was illuminated during three successive evenings.

The East-India company have received advices of the safe arrival of the following ships, which sailed in June, 1780, at the several places of their destination, viz. Pigot, Capt. Morgan; Earl of Mansfield, Capt. Frazer; Glatton, Captain Clements; Lord Holland, Capt. Williams; and Vansittart, Captain Young, at China: Dartmouth, Capt. Thompson; Neptune, Capt. Scott; Belmont, Capt. Gamage; Grosvenor, Captain Coxon; and Rochford, Capt. James Todd, at Coast of Bay; and Royal Admiral, Hoddart, at Bombay.

*Portsmouth, July 21.* Yesterday failed with a fair wind the following ships:

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Britannia	100	{ Admiral Darby Capt. Bradley
Royal George	100	{ Admiral Rois Capt. Bourmaster
Victory	100	Howarth
Duke	98	Sir C. Douglas
Queen	98	Maitland
Formidable	98	Cleland
Namur	90	Sawyer
Ocean	90	Ourrey
Union	90	Dalrymple
Foudroyant	80	Jarvis
Alexander	74	Lord Longford
Courageux	74	Lord Mulgrave
Cumberland	74	Peyton
Edgar	74	Elliott
Valiant	74	Goodall
Defence	74	Cranston
Inflexible	64	Cotton
Repulse	64	Sir Digby Dent
Emerald	32	Marshall
Ambuscade	32	Conway
Alarm	32	Cotton
Crocodile	24	King
Narcissus	24	Edwards
Zebra	16	Bourchier
Harpy	}	Fireships.
Furnace		
Firebrand		
Lightning		



3<sup>rd</sup>. The latest letters from Turkey advise, that the plague has broke out both at Smyrna and Cairo.

DIED, in Cumberland, Tho. Wintrop, a farmer. Though not quite 80 years of age, he was followed to the grave by 27 children, 74 grand-children, and 13 great-grand-children; he had been three times married; to his first wife before he was 17.

In the county of Tipperary in Ireland, Mrs. Mathew; whose funeral exceeded any thing of the kind ever seen in that kingdom. Besides the different corps of Mr. Mathew's volunteers, who came upwards of 20 miles to meet the body, and to pay the last honour so justly due to the respected wife of their esteemed commander, all the nobility and gentry of the county and its neighbourhood seemed to vie with each other in their expressions of sorrow. The aged, the young, and infant tears were shed for the death of this beauteous, worthy, and accomplished woman. Nor was this tribute more than justly due to so much virtue and exalted merit. One hundred and fifty mourning coaches, fifty-four of which were drawn by six horses, with a great number of servants, were sent by them to join the funeral procession; and when it arrived within a few miles of the place of interment, every thing was arranged in melancholy state and funeral order. His Grace the Archbishop of Cashel, dressed in his full pontificals, with his mitre on his head, accompanied by a long train of his diocesan clergy, appeared, and joined the solemn march, as did

also the titular or Popish Archbishop, with his clergy, together with the greatest tenantry in Ireland; also one hundred and twenty domestics dressed in black, and a numerous train of old men and women in deep mourning, pensioners, who were cloathed and fed by the humane hand of this charitable woman; and almost all the inhabitants of the country round. The place of interment of that ancient and respectable family is in the centre of Thomastown-park (the greatest and most princely demesne in this kingdom), embowered in a wood, in the cemetery of a ruined monastery; to this there is no road; but the peasantry of the place, unsolicited, and of their own free motion, since the death of their much-loved and lamented mistress, gravelled a road through the park, of some miles in length to it, and over the sacred spot, where her remains were to be deposited, erected with pious hands a rude though handsome mausoleum. The procession, which extended near five miles, being arrived here, his grace the archbishop performed the funeral service, whose distress was so visible, and whose feelings were so nicely expressed, with the circumstances of the place, the number, and the unfeigned sorrow of those who assisted, added an awful dignity to this grand and mournful scene. Eight noblemen bore the pall on this occasion. The family dissensions, which for a century have divided the great people of the country, seemed to be buried with the body, and is an happy presage of succeeding days of peace and harmony.



## AUGUST.

1st. Lieut. Macdougall, of his majesty's cutter Flying Fish, captured off Whitby the Maro Deur privateer, of 14 six and four pounders, and 74 men, belonging to Dunkirk, with the loss of one man killed and nine wounded. The enemy had four killed and ten wounded. The Flying Fish mounts 12 carriage guns and 64 men.

*Mentz, Aug. 6.* Our elector has obtained the pope's permission to abolish two of the richest convents in this city, and the bull, permitting the said suppression, contains a remarkable exhortation to the catholic princes, that they will as much as in their power prevent the Protestants from availing themselves of the abolition of religious houses in favour of their schism.

*Fortitude, at Sea, Aug. 7, 1781.*

The admiral desires the captains of his majesty's ships who were in the line on the \* 5th to accept and communicate to the officers and seamen of the ships they commanded, his thanks and perfect approbation of their good conduct and bravery shewn on that day.

H. PARKER.

10th. On Thursday came on before the lord chancellor, at Lincoln's-inn-hall, the hearing of a petition from a young gentleman, entitled, when of age, to an estate of 600l. a year, besides considerable personal effects, complaining of a person having cut down timber upon the estate to the value of 800l. and requesting his lordship to order the payment of this money into the Court of

Chancery. The solicitor-general made some remarks on the conduct of the person. Mr. Price, on the part of the person, said he hoped his lordship would permit his client to deduct about 400l. which he had expended in the education of the young gentleman, and also stood engaged by contract for further sums to his schoolmaster: but the lord chancellor said, No: the present application was confined only to the 800l. and every shilling of that money his lordship ordered into court.

*Whitehall.* Letters were this day received from Peter Chester, Esq; late Governor of West Florida, giving an account of the surrender of that province to the arms of Spain. That the garrison was obliged to capitulate on the 8th of May, and the articles were signed on the 8th, by which the British troops, &c. were allowed to march out with the honours of war, to be conducted to one of the ports belonging to Great Britain, the port of St. Augustine and the island of Jamaica only excepted; and not to serve against Spain or her allies until properly exchanged.

*Hague, Sept. 14.* The Prince Stadtholder returned yesterday from the Texel to the *Maison de Bois* at two o'clock in the morning. We have learned the following particulars respecting his voyage, which are too interesting to be passed over in silence. His serene highness was accompanied by his chamberlains Baron de Kell, and the Comte de Heiden, and General Stocken. He was received at the

\* In the action with the Dutch off the Dogger Bank.



Helder on the 8th, by the Baron de Boetzelaer, deputy from the body of the nobles of the province of Holland to the admiralty at Amsterdam, and by Mr. Boreel, advocate-fiscal, to the admiralty, and the principal naval officers who were at anchor in the Texel. The prince entered a sloop with Admiral Hartsink, and sailed for the man of war L'Admiral General, where he held a council of war, the issue of which was, to give orders for dispatching the Ajax cutter, and le Dauphin, to reconnoitre. Orders were also given for the Jason and la Bellone frigates, of 36 guns each, being stationed at the entrance of the harbour. On the 10th, the Ajax reported, having seen five English men of war, and a cutter; and they soon after came within view of the port, upon which le Sud Baveland of 64 guns, was dispatched to reinforce la Jason, and la Bellone. Towards evening, our ships and those belonging to the English, being within sight of each other, Rear-admiral Van Braam, to whom his serene highness had given the command of the fleet, gave the signal for weighing anchor; on the 11th the whole fleet set sail, and was to be joined by the ships in the Vlie, with our merchantmen that were bound for the Baltic; and as the Meuse division had put to sea on the 10th at six in the evening, it is probable that it is reinforced by this time, or at least, that it soon will be.

17th. *St. James's.* The king and the Prince of Wales embarked at Greenwich in different yachts, and proceeding down the river were saluted as they passed Wool-

wich Warren, by the ships in Long Reach, and by Tilbury and Gravesend forts, and about four in the afternoon anchored in Sea Reach.

The yachts got under way at five in the morning, 18th. and arrived at Blackstake about nine; went on shore, and visited the dock-yard and new fortifications. About 12 they left the yard and returned to the Nore, where they were saluted by Vice-adm. Parker and his squadron, who were that moment come to an anchor. The vice-admiral had the honour of dining with his majesty; and in the evening the king and the prince went on board the Fortitude, in which ship the admiral's flag was flying. The royal standard was hoisted, and the whole fleet saluted with 21 guns each. His majesty soon after retired into the great cabin, where the captains and officers of the squadron were graciously received, and had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand. His majesty and the prince, after visiting the several parts of the ship, returned to their yachts, and sailed for Chatham, where they arrived at 9 next day.

This day an express arrived at the admiralty from Admiral 28th. Darby, with an account of his safe arrival, with the following ships under his command, off Torbay, from a cruise.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Britannia	100	{ Vice Ad. Darby Capt. Bourmaster
Royal George	100	Bradley
Victory	100	Howarth
Queen	98	Maitland
Duke	98	Sir C. Douglas
Formidable	98	Stanton
Namur	90	Sawyer
Ocean	90	Ourry

Union



Union	90	Dalcymple
Foudroyant	80	Jervis
Marlborough	74	Penny
Courageux	74	Lord Mulgrave
Valiant	74	Goodall
Defence	74	Cranston
Cumberland	74	Peyton
Arrogant	74	Cornish
Conqueror	74	Balfour
Alexander	74	Lord Longford
Hercules	74	Brisbane
Edgar	74	Boston
Repulse	64	Sir Digby Dent
Inflexible	64	Cotton
Medway	60	Hammond

Twelve large frigates, six of which mount 36 Guns, and six fire-ships.

*Gloucester, Aug. 20.* A neat marble monument has been lately erected in our cathedral, to the memory of Dr. Warburton, late bishop of this diocese, upon which appears the following inscription:—

To the Memory of  
WILLIAM Warburton, D. D.  
For more than xix years Bishop of this  
See.

A Prelate  
Of the most sublime Genius, and exquisite Learning.

Both which Talents  
He employed through a long Life,  
In the support

Of, what he firmly believed,  
The CHRISTIAN RELIGION;  
And

Of what he esteemed the best establishment of it,

The CHURCH of ENGLAND.

He was born at Newark upon Trent,  
Dec. 24, 1698.

Was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester,  
Jan. 20, 1760.

Died at his Palace, in this City, June  
7, 1779.

And was buried near this Place.

Beneath the Entablature is the head of the bishop in a medallion.

DIED, in Liquorpond-street, Esther Davies, aged 103. She had subsisted by charity above 30 years, and hoarded near one hun-

dred and sixty pounds, which were found in her lodgings.

At Carrickfergus, Patrick Blakeney, Esq; aged 104, formerly a captain in the army, and served under the Duke of Marlborough.

On Windsor-forest, John Armstrong, aged 99 years, who had been a wood-cutter on that forest in the reign of three kings.

## S E P T E M B E R.

*Constantinople, Sept. 1.* The troubles which prevail in Egypt oblige the Porte to send a considerable army thither. A revolt is also broke out in Romelia, principally in the district of Kirkilick; and the commandants who were sent thither to punish the mutineers, have been massacred by them, as well as the greatest part of the soldiers under their command.

This day at noon the lord mayor held a wardmote in the vestry of St. Mary-lé-Bow Church, Cheap-side, for the election of an Alderman of Cordwainer's ward, in the room of the late Alderman Hayley, deceased.

Two candidates only offered, viz. William Pickett, Esq; citizen and goldsmith, and Barnard Turner, Esq; captain of the city association; both these gentlemen addressed the assembly in the usual manner.

Upon the show of hands, which were held up twice, to prevent mistake, the lord mayor declared the majority to be in favour of Mr. Turner, but a poll was demanded by the friends of Mr. Pickett; however, Mr. Pickett soon after thought proper to relinquish the contest, in a handsome



some speech, expressive of his high opinion of Mr. Turner, and wishing him health to enjoy the gown.

4th. Yesterday afternoon, about five o'clock, a disturbance broke out in New-prison, Clerkenwell, which has been some time expected, on account of the great number of prisoners confined there (upwards of 200) there being no part of Newgate tenable but the condemned cells. Several magistrates assembled on Saturday, and took every precaution in their power. A woman brought a hanger concealed into the prison, with which the ringleader armed himself, rushed between the gates, and attacked the Turnkey, but was fortunately seized, and severely wounded in the struggle: the most active of the prisoners had in the mean time forced the others, with drawn knives, to join them in a general attempt to force open the gates; but the sentinels being now alarmed, a sergeant's guard, which attends the prison, turned out, and fired about fifty shot into the prison-yard, by which three prisoners were killed, and twelve wounded: the prisoners then submitted, and were properly secured.

The ringleader in the above riot was ——— Trentham, who had got his irons entirely off; the second was one Lee, committed for coining, whose irons were sawed so nearly through, that a slight touch with the fingers would have broke them asunder; and the third was a man for house-breaking. These three were killed.

*Hague, Sept. 18.* We are assured that the Dutch squadron, which put to sea to escort the trade to the Baltick, is returned into port, by

order of the court, who feared they would not be strong enough to resist the English forces, now the combined fleets have finished their cruize. One of the said Dutch fleet, called the Prince Willem, of 74 guns, by the ignorance of the pilot, struck a sand-bank, near the Helder, and is totally lost, but the crew are saved.

Yesterday the sessions ended at the Old-Bailey, 19th. when 22 capital convicts received judgment of death.

The Recorder, when he passed sentence on the abovementioned 22 capital convicts, remarked, that the number of offenders every sessions shewed so much the increase of vice, that he was afraid it would become necessary to withhold mercy, by way of deterring in the utmost degree the repetition of those daring robberies which had lately alarmed the metropolis: he said the experiment had been tried with success, at a time like the present, when the town abounded with desperadoes, to condemn all to their sentence, and he did apprehend the dreadful trial would be renewed. He therefore advised the convicts to a serious and unfeigned repentance.

The following East-Indiamen are taken up by the company, in addition to those already intended to be employed in their service the following season, which will make in all twenty-seven sail:

Bute,	British King,
Ankerwyke,	Europa,
Shrewsbury,	Godfrey,
Talbot,	Royal George.
Gatton,	

Every East-Indiaman which goes out this ensuing season will take a quota



a quota of soldiers for the service of the company, amounting to 260 for each ship. As 27 ships are in the whole to sail, this will constitute all together, an army of 6020 men. These soldiers will fill the ships so compleatly, that an order has been given, that no ladies shall be received on board as passengers, which is a very unusual prohibition. The captains of the different vessels have been also abridged in their privilege of private quantity; the established weight which they have been permitted to carry, for years back, on their own account, having been fifty-six ton, and it is now reduced to eighteen, for the conveyance of the soldiers; but as a compensation for this diminution in the quantity, they have been permitted to carry copper, which was previously prohibited; and this article bears so high a value in India, that it is thought the eighteen ton of that freight will be equal in profit to the 56 tons of any other materials.

22d. A general meeting of the proprietors of bank stock, agreeably to advertisement in the Gazette for that purpose, was held at the great room in the bank on Wednesday last, to determine by ballot the following question: 'if it was the sense of the proprietors to increase their dividend one half per cent.' which was carried, so that it will now be six per cent.

—Thursday the said proprietors had a general meeting in order to confirm the ballot of the preceding day, and also to make a call of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the company, which was agreed to, and to be paid in as under—

—1 per cent. the 19th of Oct.  
2 per cent. the 20th of Dec.  
2 per cent. the 17th Jan.  
3 per cent. the 15th of Feb.

— 8 per cent. which will make an increase to their capital stock of

862,400  
10,780,000 former capital.

— 11,642,400l. their capital stock now. So that the interest at 6 per cent. will be 698,544l. per annum.

Yesterday came on at 23d. Guildhall the election of a representative in parliament for this city, in the room of George Hayley, Esq; deceased. The two candidates were the lord mayor and Alderman Clark. The court being opened by the common cryer, the recorder and city remembrancer came forward on the hustings, and acquainted the livery with the business of the day. After the usual ceremonies were observed, the two candidates were put in nomination; and on the shew of hands, the sheriffs were of opinion the choice had fallen on the lord mayor, but to remove all doubt they were put up a second time, when the shew appearing greatly in favour of the lord mayor, his lordship was declared duly elected. He addressed the livery in a speech of some length, thanking them for the honour they had conferred on him, and promising to exert his utmost endeavours on every occasion to support the constitution of his country, and the rights and privileges of his fellow citizens. Mr. Alderman Clark also spoke a few words on the occasion. A poll was then demanded



ed in favour of Alderman Clark, which began at three o'clock and closed at five.

DIED, at Rotterdam, one Richard Solomons, aged 110 years.

In St. John's-street, Thomas Theebridge, who had by his wife thirty-six children, all born alive, twelve of whom are now living. He was fifty years painter to the Charter-house.

## O C T O B E R.

1<sup>st</sup>. On Saturday a common hall was convened, according to the annual custom on Michaelmas-day, to elect a lord mayor for the ensuing year. The poll for a member of parliament, then carrying on, was accordingly adjourned, by proclamation, at one o'clock, and the lord mayor and aldermen, with their attendants, being seated, the recorder declared the purpose of the meeting in a short speech. He said, that "though he was happy at all times to have an occasion of addressing himself to the livery whom he so much respected, he did not think proper to interrupt the business in which they were at present engaged, longer than it was necessary, by any speech of his. They well knew the purpose for which they were convened, and the importance of it, namely, to elect a lord mayor for the ensuing year, as chief magistrate of the first city in the world; and from the prudent choice they had been accustomed to make in former years, he doubted not that they would make as wise an election of a proper person at present."

The lord mayor and aldermen then returned to the council chamber, and the sheriffs remained on the hustings to nominate the several aldermen who had served the office of sheriff, for the livery to return two, according to the custom of the city, whose names are immediately to be carried by the sheriffs to the court of aldermen, who scratch for which of the names they approve.

The greatest shew of hands appeared for Mr. Alderman Plomer. The appearance was doubtful between Mr. Alderman Peckham and Mr. Alderman Newnham, who were next in number; but, upon a second shew of hands being demanded by the sheriffs, it was decisive in favour of Mr. Newnham.

The Aldermen soon returned from the council chamber, and it was announced, that the election had fallen upon Mr. Plomer, who then came forward, and spoke to the following purport:

"Give me leave to return you my thanks for the share you have had in electing me to an office so honourable and so important; it shall be my endeavour to merit your approbation, and to promote the happiness of my fellow-citizens.

"I hope to be favoured with your advice and assistance, whenever it shall be necessary for me to call you together; it will give me great pleasure to act in conjunction with you, gentlemen, who I am certain will not mislead me; it is my desire also to live friendly and upon good terms, not only with every member of the court, but likewise with all persons whatsoever."



The poll for a member of parliament was then resumed.

At the final close of the poll on Saturday at four o'clock, for a member to represent this city in parliament, the numbers were, for Sir Watkin Lewes 2685; for Mr. Alderman Clark 2387; majority for Sir Watkin Lewes 298.

Sir Watkin Lewes then came forward on the hustings, and thanked the livery for this signal mark of their approbation, assuring them, that on his part nothing should be wanting to support the principles which he had always maintained, and to merit the honour conferred on him. An uniformity of conduct he would endeavour always to preserve, and no influence should ever bribe him to desert the cause in which he had engaged, or betray the trust his fellow citizens had reposed in him. Alderman Clark made a short speech, thanking his friends for the assistance they had given him during the poll. Alderman Woolbridge attempted to speak, but the noise was so great that he could not be heard.

*Cadiz, Oct. 2.* Advices have been received which confirm the account that the revolt at Peru had entirely subsided; that Tupac Amora, the leader of the revolt, had been taken, and with his family, and the principal officers, sent to Cusco. Don Joseph de Vella, the Spanish general, on entering Tupac's capital, ordered 18 of the revolt,ers to be immediately hanged. Six pieces of cannon, six chests of money, also a large quantity of arms, powder, and ammunition, fell into the hands of Don Joseph, together with two packets of papers, con-

taining the correspondence maintained by the revolt,ers, which will afford an insight into the promoters and concealed abettors of this rebellion.

*Turin, Oct. 3.* On the 29th past her Royal Highness the Princess Carolina, fourth daughter of the king of Sardinia, was married to his Serene Highness Prince Anthony, brother to the Elector of Saxony. His Royal Highness the Prince of Piedmont, was proxy on this occasion. A few hours after the ceremony, the elector's ambassador extraordinary set out for Augsburg, where he will wait to receive the princess, and conduct her to Dresden. Her Royal Highness went from Moncallier the next day, and was accompanied as far as Vercelli by the King and Queen of Sardinia, and the Prince and Princess of Piedmont; and yesterday their majesties, with their royal highnesses, returned to Moncallier.

*Edinburgh, Oct. 6.* On Monday last some trials were made of the hundred pounder carronade lately mounted on the battery at Leith; a gentleman who was present informs us, that the gun, being loaded with 11 pounds of powder, and elevated to 15 degrees, threw its shot about two miles into the sea; and, by way of comparative trial with one of the 24 pounder guns belonging to the battery, a shot was fired at the same time from one of them, with the same quantity of powder and elevation, and by the observation of the guard and others at the end of the pier, the 100 pound shot went farther than the 24 pounder by about 30 yards. Another trial was made at an elevation of four degrees, when the



the 24 pounder shot ranged between 300 and 400 yards farther than the 100 pound carronade.

Several other experiments were made on this gun, by firing at a mark, and throwing shells and grape shot, all which seemed to succeed perfectly well. There was a number of spectators upon this occasion, among whom were the Duke of Buccleugh, the lord advocate, Capt. James Ferguson, of the navy, &c. who all seemed much satisfied with the performance of the gun.

*Brazil, in Switzerland, Oct. 7.*

Some matters relative to the establishing peace in Geneva, which the cantons of Zurich and Berne could not so well determine, have been twice debated upon in the council of the King of France, and after mature deliberation upon the nature and causes of the dissensions at Geneva, his majesty perceives that the guarantee he granted that little republic in 1738, in conjunction with the cantons of Zurich and Berne, so far from contributing to its tranquillity, has only served to foment the spirit of discord among the citizens of Geneva. This, together with the consideration how improper it is for the differences of an inconsiderable people to take up the time of the ministers of a great King, has induced his majesty to write to the cantons, co-guarantees with him, of the regulation of 1738, and to the republic of Geneva, that he holds himself from henceforward, disengaged from the guarantee of the republic of Geneva, and that he leaves it entirely to them to endeavour to restore peace to that republic; nevertheless that his own interest will not suffer him to

see with an indifferent eye any innovation in the government, or any disorderly tumult, but will, in any such case, use the power he has in his hands to put an end to them.

*Cadiz; Oct. 8.* This morning the disagreeable news was brought to camp of the loss of three transports from Carthagena, having on board, besides stores, provisions, and ammunition, a regiment of light infantry, consisting of 700 men, which marched from Cordova, and all the officers, seamen, and soldiers, perished in the sea.

An instance of recovery which lately took place in 15th. the Liverpool Infirmary, not more remarkable than pleasing, was laid before the public, by order of the board.

A hale, strong man of 32, Isaac Ellison, of Saint Helen's, was attacked by a fever in June last, in which he was delirious, and which continued eleven days. From that time he lost entirely both his speech and hearing, tho' his health and strength returned perfectly, and he could explain himself clearly and sensibly by writing. When he had remained in this state above two months after his fever left him, he applied to the infirmary, and was admitted an in-patient. In about a week afterwards he heard the clock strike and a musket fired, though when admitted, he was not sensible of the loudest, neither was he capable of uttering the least sound. Within a fortnight he could hear a person speaking moderately loud near his ear, and could answer very intelligibly in a whisper, and before he had been a month in the infirmary he could



hear perfectly, and his speech was restored to him — The means Dr. Houlston employed for his relief were chiefly bleeding, the dry vomit, warm bath, æther and electricity.

16th. On Saturday night Mr. Cricket, marshal of the High Court of Admiralty, arrived in town with Ryan and several other prisoners. Ryan was put under an arrest, and slept that night at a house in Doctors Commons.

Yesterday Ryan and his mate were examined before the worshipful William Wynne, Doctor of Laws, and King's advocate, at the Horn Tavern, in Doctors Commons, and fully committed to New Prison, Clerkenwell.

The only questions asked of Ryan were the following, viz. Whether his name was Ryan? Whether the names Luke Ryan, signed to the bond for his English Letter of Marque, which was produced to him, were of his hand writing? To both of which he answered in the affirmative, which was the whole of his examination.

Both Ryan and his mate seemed much affected with their commitment, wrung their hands and wept, and seemed in very great agitation. Ryan says, that the mate, when he engaged him, was starving in France, and shipped himself with him as an American, and he insists that America is the place of his birth.

22d. The young Dauphin of France was baptised by the name of Louis Joseph Xavier François. The sponsors were the Emperor and the Princess of Piedmont, represented by the Count de Provence, and Madame Elizabeth.

Hamburg, Oct. 25. The whole of the town of Rastadt, in the Archbishoprick of Saltzbourg, on the borders of Austria, two buildings only excepted, was reduced to ashes on the 15th of September by lightning: the two buildings that escaped were the convent of the capachin friars, and the corn-magazine, which had been raised for the benefit of the poor.

This day a very numerous and respectable meeting of 31st. freeholders, convened by the high sheriff for taking into consideration the low price of wool, was held at the castle at Lincoln. It being proved that wool was fallen in price 50 per cent. within these five years. A committee was appointed to enquire into several different plans for a redress suggested by the county at large; and to co-operate with such other counties as may be in a similar situation.

DIED, Isaac Martin Rebow, Esq; colonel of the eastern battalion of Essex militia, and recorder of Colchester, which borough he had represented in five parliaments.

## NOVEMBER.

A petition of a very extraordinary nature was presented 3d. to the High Court of Chancery by Mr. Schreiber, stating, that his son, an infant of 17 years of age and a ward of that court, had been decoyed away from his tutor's, a clergyman of character, and influenced to marry Mrs. Greene, a widow, and therefore praying judgment against the said Mrs. Green, her mother, and all concerned in that transaction, for a contempt of court: the lord chancellor,



cellor, after hearing the affidavits read, enlarged upon the infamy of trepanning infants, and lamented, that the court could inflict no severer punishment for offences so atrocious than imprisonment; and concluded with ordering the offenders to attend the court on the next day for hearing petitions. With regard to the infant, the lord chancellor ordered him to be returned to his father; but he was no sooner out of court, than he conducted his lady to an elegant carriage that stood waiting for her, and behaved with the gaiety and gallantry of a full grown gentleman.

5th. The recorder has directed that 28,219l. be raised upon the inhabitants of the city, to repair the damage in the late riots; to be paid by the constables, who are to collect the same, into the chamber of London immediately as the same is raised, to prevent embezzlement, whereby the inhabitants would be further sufferers.

10th. The cotton-mills at Hockley, near the town of Nottingham, took fire, and in less than two hours that spacious building was reduced to a shell.

12th. On Tuesday last, being the first day of this present Michaelmas term, a very unusual ceremony, at least at this time, was performed in the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, being that of swearing in the four knights to return the writ of right, wherein John Earl of Leicester was defendant (who claims Penshurst-place park and premises, as the only son and heir male of Joceline Sidney, and Elizabeth his wife, the late Earl and Countess of Lei-

cester, both deceased) and Elizabeth Perry, widow, tenant, (who claims the same premises as the daughter of Colonel Thomas Sidney, deceased, and as the niece of the said Earl Joceline.) The four knights came into court girt with swords, and were then swore lawfully and truly to chuse 12 other knights, *Gladiis cinctis*, to declare the truth between the parties, which 16 knights form the grand assize.

An official account was received from the commis- 13th. sioner of his majesty's navy at Hallifax, of the capture of the Magecienne French frigate of 32 guns and 280 men, by the Chatham man of war of 50 guns. The frigate engaged the man of war half an hour, had 32 men killed and 54 wounded. The Chatham, Capt. Douglas, had only 2 men killed, and 4 wounded.

Wm. Townshend, late 17th. Lieutenant of the Rover privateer of Bristol, was executed at Execution Dock, for the wilful murder of Capt. Giralmo Silvestini, of the Victoria, a Venetian ship, by ordering a gun to be fired into the vessel, which killed the captain. He acknowledged the gun to be fired by his order, but without the least intention to kill any body. He behaved with great penitence.

Three hundred and forty 18th. flat-bottomed boats, of various sizes, were destroyed in the Boat-house at St. Maloes by fire, supposed to be wilfully done.

A new and very strong fortification is erected in Stokes-bay, near Portsmouth, where our merchant ships usually ride. The Gilcicker, which was a sea-mark



for pilots, is taken down, and another erection is set up at some distance to answer the purpose. The buoys between that place and Spithead are also removed.

21st. The Great Duke and Duchess of Russia arrived at Vienna in perfect health, accompanied by his imperial majesty in the same carriage, who had gone to meet them on the road.

23d. Wednesday morning John Wilkes, Esq; as Chamberlain of London, waited on Sir George Brydges Rodney, at his house in Albemarle-street, with the honorary freedom of the city in a gold box.

30th. Upon opening lately a small part of a tumulus, or burrough near the Roman Foss-road in the parish of Hampnet, Gloucestershire, it was discovered to be full of graves of a singular construction. They were made of rude massy stones collected together, some of them about six feet long, three feet broad, and a foot and a half thick; these were put in, or on the ground, sideways, in rows, and the bodies deposited north and south in the divisions or compartments. The whole was covered over with lesser stones and earth, which made the tumulus; though several of the larger stones appear now above the surface. Each compartment contained a body. The bones in general were in a very decayed and mouldering state, but some of the jaws were perfect and had teeth in them of a fine white. The tumulus is about twenty yards long, and ten broad. If the bodies deposited are Roman, they must have lain in the ground fifteen or sixteen hundred years.

Came on before the Court of Exchequer at Edinburgh a trial of great consequence to the mercantile people of Scotland, where. in Mess. Falls of Dunbar were plaintiffs, and the hon. commissioners of his majesty's customs for Scotland defendants, by declaration of trespass on the case, for the defendants refusing to issue orders on the receiver-general, for payment of certain bounties claimed by the plaintiffs, for busses employed by them in the white-herring fishery; when, after a trial of thirteen hours, the jury, after withdrawing a few minutes, returned a verdict against the defendants, for damage equal to the bounties and interest, and full costs of suit.

DIED, in Bartholomew-lane, aged 83, the youngest and last of twenty-one children, Mr. Mungo Murray, brother of the late Wm. Murray, Esq; of Polmaise.

Of the stone in his kidneys, at the seat of Earl Fitzwilliam, in Northamptonshire, the Rev. Tho. Crofts, M. A. F. R. and A. SS. Chancellor of Peterborough, and Rector of Donyat, co. Somerset, distinguished for his general attainments, as well in ancient erudition, as in the refinements of modern information, gleaned in a long course, not of reading only but of the most intelligent travels. He was also distinguished for a most rare and critical knowledge of books. His many friends will bear ample testimony to the former, in their regret for the loss of his conversation; of the latter he has left a convincing proof in one of the most chosen of private libraries.

At his house in the Warren, Wool-



Woolwich, aged 77, Lieut gen. Geo. Williamfon, col. of the 2d battalion of the royal regt. of artillery; he was near 60 years an officer, and was buried on the 16th at Woolwich with military honours.

Fra. Simpson, LL.D. advocate in the Court of Arches, official to the Archdeacons of London, Canterbury, Middlesex, and Rochester, Chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln, and Fellow of Trinity-Hall, Cambridge. He was nephew to the late Sir Edw. Simpson, Dean of the Arches, and was editor of Bishop Ellys Tracts on Spiritual Liberty.

## DECEMBER.

1st. Came on in the Court of Common Pleas, at Guildhall, before lord Loughborough, an action brought against the commander of a cutter, for detaining a vessel and its contents, consisting of rum and tea, to the amount of 3000l. as smuggled goods. The Judge said, he had no doubt of the goods being run, but as they were seized beyond the reach of the excise laws at sea, a verdict must follow, and the jury gave 3000l.

6th. A common-hall was held at Guildhall, pursuant to a requisition of several of the livery to the lord mayor, when the common cryer having mentioned the cause of their being summoned, Mr. Hurford came forward and moved, that an address, petition, and remonstrance, be presented to his majesty by the lord mayor, al-

dermen, &c. on the present alarming state of affairs, which being agreed to, the following address was read by Mr. Bishop, and unanimously approved of, and the sheriffs ordered to go up to know when his majesty will be pleased to receive the same\*.

*Admiralty-Office, Dec. 7.*

Capt. Macbride of the Artois writes, that on the 3d inst. he had made prize of the Hercules and Mars privateers, belonging to Amsterdam, both new ships carrying 24 nine pounders and ten cohorts each, fast sailers, and commanded by two Hogenboomers, father and son, inhabitants of Flushing. The father was well known last war by the nickname of Hardapple, and did much mischief to our shipping and trade. The Hercules had 164 men, of whom 13 were killed, and 20 wounded. The Mars had 160 men, of whom nine were killed, and 15 wounded. The Artois had only one man killed, and six wounded.

The sessions ended at the Old-Bailey, when the following prisoners received sentence of death, viz. Charles Peat, for assaulting Richard Downes, Esq. on the highway on Finchley Common, and robbing him of 23s. in different coins; Hannah Brown, for stealing a large quantity of wearing apparel, linen, laces, and other things, in the dwelling-house of Miss Catharine Thistlethwayte, in South-Audley-street, where she was servant; and Geo. Townsend, for stealing a mare, the property of Mr. Hedge, a watchmaker at Colchester, in 11

\* For a Copy of the address, see the State-Papers.



**sex.** Benjamin Honey was convicted of feloniously killing and slaying Richard Hobbs. They were both bargemen, had quarrelled on board, and agreed to decide the matter on shore, in which the deceased, by a fall, received a concussion of the brain, of which he died the same day.

A man for publishing a certain inflammatory hand-bill, intituled, "England in blood," and recommending a certain paper, then shortly intended to be published, called, "The Thunderer," and tending to inflame the minds of his majesty's subjects against the peace and good government of the kingdom; and which bills were, to a great amount, distributed in the afternoon of the 6th of June, 1780, at the time the rioters were proceeding to destroy the gaol of Newgate, and, perhaps, if not providentially stopped, the whole metropolis; was fined five shillings, and sentenced to be imprisoned one year in Newgate.

Being the anniversary of the institution of the Royal Academy, a general assembly of the academicians was held at the Royal Academy, Somerset-place, when P. J. De Louthembourg was admitted an academician, and received his diploma signed by his majesty: three silver medals were given, one to Mr. Peter Holland, for the best drawing of an academy figure; one to Mr. Charles Rossi, for the best model of an academy figure; one to Mr. Geo. Hatfield, for the best drawing of architecture, being the front and spire of St. Giles's in the fields, done from actual measurement.

The assembly then proceeded to elect the officers for the year en-

suing, when Sir Joshua Reynolds was re-elected president.

Council.

Geo. Barret, Nat. Hone, G.M. Moser, Tho. Sandby, Edw. Burch. Charles Catton, P. J. De Louthembourg, Jos. Nollekens, Esqrs.

Visitors.

Charles Catton, Nath. Dance, Benj. West, John Zoffanii, James Barry, J. B. Cipriani, P. J. De Louthembourg, Jer. Meyer, Esqrs. Rev. Mr. William Peters.

Yesterday there was a numerous meeting of electors, <sup>11th.</sup> and other inhabitants of Westminster, at Westminster-hall, to consider of such measures as may be thought adviseable in the present situation of the kingdom. The committee having taken their places on the steps leading up to the Court of Common-pleas, Mr. Fox opened the business in a long speech, the purpose of which was to draw a comparison of the management of public affairs during the administration of lord Chat-ham, and some present persons in office; this he did in a variety of instances, proving, as he said, that the former had raised us to the highest pinnacle of reputation and glory, as a magnanimous, free, and independent people, while the latter had reduced us to distress. After some other gentlemen had delivered their opinions, an humble petition and remonstrance, in substance the same as that agreed on at Guildhall, London, was produced, which being read, was received with bursts of general applause, and a committee appointed to present it to his majesty.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Southwark it was also resolved, that.



that an address be presented to his majesty, to the same purport with that of the city of London, by a committee.

13th. A few evenings ago, when the family of Mr. Pickett, goldsmith, of Ludgate-hill, who resides in Harpur-street, near Red lion-square, were retiring to rest, his eldest daughter, as she stood by the fire side, was employed in some little act of dutiful attention to her father, when the fire unperceived caught hold of her clothes, and in an instant her whole dress was in a blaze. The father was struck motionless on the occasion, but recovering a little, burnt his hand in attempting to extinguish the flames; and the young lady finding no relief, ran from room to room to seek it, but in vain. In her progress she set fire to the bed, which was with difficulty extinguished, and where she fell the floor was actually on fire. No relief could be given her till her clothes were totally burnt off her back, when her whole body was left as if it had been broiled, or rather burnt on a grid-iron. Medical assistance was soon procured, but it was impossible for human art to afford the least relief; and in this dreadful state she lay till the next evening, and then expired.

19th. This day, pursuant to advertisement from the sheriffs, there was a general meeting of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, at the Mermaid, at Hackney, when it was unanimously resolved that a similar petition to that of the city of London should be presented to the king by their two representatives in parliament.

At a meeting of the West-India merchants, Mr. Bailey<sup>21st.</sup> in the chair, it was unanimously resolved, that an humble address and petition be presented to his majesty, representing the dangerous state of the West-India islands, and imploring immediate relief. Several other resolutions were also entered into unanimously, there being no opposition.

At the above meeting it was declared, by a formal resolution, that what Mr. B. Gascoyne had said in the house of their not being under any apprehensions for the safety of the West-Indies, was delusive, false, and groundless.

Same day a meeting of the freeholders of Surry was held at the Spread-Eagle, Epsom, Sir Francis Vincent in the chair, when Mr. Budgen moved for a petition and remonstrance to the sovereign; the motion was supported by Admiral Keppel, Sir Joseph Mawbey, Sir Robert Clayton, and others, and carried.

DIED, in Stafford-row, Westm. aged 72, Mrs. Madan, daughter of Spencer Cowper, Esq; formerly one of the justices of the Court of Common-pleas, and relict of Col. Martin Madan, who died at Bath in 1756. This lady very early distinguished herself by her poetical talents, as appears by her "Verses to the Memory of Mr. Hughes," 1720, printed with his poems; and "The Progress of Poetry," in the *Flower Piece*, 1731. She has left two sons, the Rev. Martin Madan, author of *Thelyphthora*, &c. and Spencer Madan, D. D. Prebendary of Peterborough. Her eldest daughter was married to Wm. Cowper, Esq; of Hartingfordbury (her first cousin) and her



her youngest to the Hon. Colonel (now Lieut. Gen.) Maitland.

At Halifax, aged 102, Mr. Robert Butterfield, who, from 40 years industry as a wool-stapler, acquired 40,000l.

At Romsey, Hants, Mr. Cotton, of that town, aged 91; it is remarkable that he died on the anniversary of his birth.

At the house of Mrs. D'Almeida, at North-end, Hampstead, (to whose family she had been servant near fourscore years) Mrs. Filer Foa, aged 110; she retained all her senses till within three days of her death.

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*A General Bill of All the Christenings and Burials, from Dec. 10, 1780, to Dec. 11, 1781.*

Christened.	Buried.
Males 8774	Males 10499
Females 8252	Females 10210
<hr/>	
In all 17026	20709
Increased in the burials this year	
192.	

Died under two years of age	7083
Between 2 and 5	2399
5 and 10	882
10 and 20	725
20 and 30	1518
30 and 40	1640
40 and 50	2021
50 and 60	1649
60 and 70	1391
70 and 80	950
80 and 90	394
90 and 100	51
100	2
102	1
103	1
108	2

*Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the year 1781.*

Berkshire, Ed. Lovenden, of Buscot, Esq.

Bedfordshire, John Hervey, of Northill, Esq.

Bucks, Joseph Bullock, of Caversfield, Esq.

Cumberland, Thos. Story, of Mirehouse, Esq.

Cheshire, W. Davenport, of Bramhall, Esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, John Johnson, of Leverington, Esq.

Cornwall, Sir J. St. Aubin, of Clowance, Bart.

Devonshire, Jn. Burrage Cholwich, of Farrington, Esq.

Dorsetshire, Lewis Dymock Grosvenor Tregonnell, of Dorchester, Esq.

Derbyshire, Samuel Frith, of Bank-hall, Esq.

Essex, Rich. Wyatt, of Hornchurch, Esq.

Gloucestershire, John Morris, of Shephouse, Esq.

Hertfordshire, Thomas Clutterbuck, jun. of Waterford, Esq.

Herefordshire, E. Patteshall, of Allensmoor, Esq.

Kent, John Cator, of Beckenham, Esq.

Leicestershire, Edm. Cradock Hartopp, of Newbold, Esq.

Lincolnshire, Edw. Nelthorpe, of Seawby, Esq.

Monmouthshire, Wm. Jones, of Nash, Esq.

Northumberland, Cha. Brandling, of Gosforth-house, Esq.

Northamptonshire, N. Raynsford, of Brixworth, Esq.

Norfolk, Rt. Lee, Doughty, of Hanworth, Esq.

Notting-



Nottinghamshire, L. Rollenston, of Watnall, Esq;

Oxford, Rd. Paul Jodrell, of Lewknor, Esq;

Rutlandshire, Tho. Sanders, of Mercott, Esq;

Shropshire, Edward Charles, Windsor of Harnage Grange, Esq;

Somersetshire, John Ford, of Hadspen, Esq;

Staffordshire, Ph. Keay, of Abbots-Bromley, Esq;

Suffolk, Charles Kent, of Farnham St. Genoveve, Esq;

Southampton, Benjamin Smith, of Lys, Esq;

Surry, William Northey, of Epsom, Esq;

Suffex, Wm. Peachy, of Kidford, Esq;

Warwickshire, John Webb, of Sherborne, Esq;

Worcestershire, John Darke, of Bredon, Esq;

Wiltshire, W. Hayter, of Newton-Toney, Esq;

Yorkshire, Humphrey Osbaldeston, of Hunmanby, Esq;

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, Lewis Williams, of Pentwyn, Esq;

Caermarthen, Sir W. Masell, of Iscoed, Bart.

Cardigan, David Lloyd, of Altyroden, Esq;

Glamorgan, C. Bowen, of Merthymawr, Esq;

Pembroke, H. Scourfield, of Robeston hall, Esq;

Radnor, Jonathan Bowen, of Knighton, Esq;

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey, Jonathan Bobyckan Sparrow of Redhill, Esq;

Carnarvon, Edw. Carreg, of Carreg, Esq;

Denbigh, the Hon. Tho. Fitzmaurice, of Leweny, Esq;

Flint, Henry Thrall, of Bachegrig, Esq;

Merioneth, Edward Lloyd, of Meafmore, Esq;

Montgomerysh. Hugh Mears, of Finnant, Esq;

*The following is an exact Account of the Woollen Cloth made in the West Riding of Yorkshire, from March 1780, to March 1781, with the amonut of the Increase from the twelve Months preceding that Period.*

Broad cloth. 102,018 pieces containing 3,099,127 yards. Increased this year 7593 pieces containing 399,496 yards.

Narrow cloth. 98,721 pieces containing 2,671,397 yards. Increased this year 11,412 pieces, containing 100,073 yards.

BIRTHS for the year 1781.

Jan. 14. Lady of Sir J. Thorold, a son.

31. Lady of the Rt. Hon. Earl of Traquair, a son.

Feb. 8. Her Highness the Duchess of Courland, a princess, of Mittau.

26. Lady of Lord Carlow of the Kingdom of Ireland, a son.

One of the Sultanas of the Grand Signior, a princess, at Constantinople.

March 6. Lady of Sir Andrew Hammond, a daughter.

15. Lady of the Hon. Francis Talbot, a son.

April 9. Lady Abingdon, a son and heir.

The Consort of the Arch-Duke



Duke Ferdinand, of a son, at Milan.

13. Lady Hope, a son, at Pinky-house, Scotland.

May 5. Right Hon. Lady Kinnaird, a daughter, in Park-str. Westminster.

Lady of Sir Edward Astley, a son.

July 12. Lady Cadogan, a daughter.

Aug. 4. Lady of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Worfeley, Bt. a daughter.

5. Lady of the Earl of Radnor, a son, in Grafton-street.

Lady of Lord Viscount Stormont, a son.

20. Lady Tancred, of a second son, at Sir Thomas's seat, at Lyndhurst, New Forest, Hampshire.

Sept. 10. Lady of Rt. Hon. Lord Bagot, a son.

22. Lady of Hon. John Byng, a son.

Oct. 10. Lady of Lord Visc. Weymouth, a daughter.

The Rt. Hon. Lady Paget, a daughter.

Lady of Sir Harbord Harbord, Bart. M. P. a son.

14. Lady of Sir John Peshall, Bart. a son and heir.

Nov. 14. Lady of George Gipps, Esq; M. P. a daughter.

26. Countess of Harrington, a son.

Dec. 8. Countess of Shelburne, a daughter.

10. Lady Grantham, a son and heir.

21. The Lady of Major Kennedy, a son,

25. Countess Percy, a daugh. Her Grace the Dutchess of Rutland, a son.

# MARRIAGES, 1781.

Dec. 2, 1780. Sir John Wedderburn, of Ballindean, Bt. to Miss Dundas, daughter of the late Col. Dundas, of Dundas.

Jan. 5, 1781. The Earl of Laneshorough, to Miss Latouche.

In Ireland, Duke Giffard, Esq; eldest son of Sir Duke G. Bart. of Castle-Jordan, co. Meath, to Miss Maddock.

25. Sir James Hereford, of Safton-court, co. Herf. to Mrs. Fra. Hopton, of Worcester.

31. At Lambeth chapel, Geo. Warde, Esq; nephew of Gen. Warde, and capt. in Ld. Amherst's troop of horse-grenadier guards, to Miss Madan, daughter of the Rev. Dr. M. and niece of Earl Cornwallis.

Feb. 5. Nicolls Raynsford, Esq; of Brixworth, Northamptonshire, to Miss Souter, of Beaconsfield. Rich. Wilson, Esq; to Miss Eliz. Fountayne, daughter of the Dean of York.

March 6. By special licence, the Hon. Lord Althorp, son of Earl Spencer, to Miss Bingham, daughter of Lord Lucan.

Sir Tho. Jones, Knt. to Miss Fitzgerald, daughter of Lady Fitzgerald.

10. Lord Mahon, to Miss Grenville, daughter to the late Right. Hon. Geo. Grenville, and sister to the present E. Temple.

27. At



27. At Canterbury, the Rev. Rich. Sandy's, Vicar of Reculver, to the Right Hon. Lady Fran. Alicia Aflong, relict of Wm. Aflong, Esq; and young. sister to the Earl of Tankerville.
- April 2. Mr. Andr. Drummond, to Lady Mary Percival, eldest daughter of Lady Egmont.
10. Capt. Rodney, of the 3d reg. of guards, son of Sir Geo. Brydges Rodney, Bart. to Miss Harley, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Tho. Harley.
29. John Henderson, Esq; son of Sir Robt. Henderson, Bart. to Miss Robertson, daugh. of Gen. Robertson, Governor of New-York.
- May 2. James Falls, Esq; of Ostend, to Miss C. Herries, sister of Sir Robt. Herries, of London.
20. John Edward Maddocks, Esq; to Miss Frances Perryn, youngest dau. of Mr. Baron Perryn.
21. Right Hon. Ld. Audley, to Miss Delaval.
25. Mr. Croft, son of Rich. Croft, Esq; Pall Mall, to Miss Smythson, dau. of Sir J. Smythson, Bt.
- June 2. Rev. Henry Jenkin, Rector of Ufford, co. Northampton, to the Hon. Miss Aug. Evelyn.
10. Tho. Bond, Esq; of Wimbledon, to Miss Bewicke, daughter of the late Sir Robert.
23. Arthur Knox, Esq; to Lady Mary Brabazon, eldest dau. of the Earl of Meath.
30. John Vaughan, Esq; M. P. for co. Caermarthen, to Miss Maude, daugh. of Sir C. Maude, Bart.
- July 3. At Moreton, co. Dorset, Evelyn Shirley, of Clift, Esq; son of the Hon. George Shirley, of Easington, Warwickshire, to Miss Phyllis Byam Wollaston, dau. of the late Charlton Wollaston, M. D.
17. Robert Auriol Drummond, Esq; son of the late Abp. of York, to Miss Harley, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Tho. Harley.
19. At Exeter, by special licence, Sir Geo. Collier, Knt. late capt. of the Canada, to Miss Fryer, dau. of W. Fryer, Esq;
27. The Hon. Horatia Walpole, eldest son of Lord Walpole, to Miss Churchill, daughter of C. Churchill, Esq;
- Lately*, at Gretna-Green, the Hon. Capt. Shirley, son of Ld. Ferrars, to Miss Ward, niece to Visc. Dudley. Edw. Wheeler, Esq; one of the Supreme Council of Bengal, to Miss Dunford, daughter of Geo. Dunford, Esq;
- Aug. 14. At Chester, Sir Peter Warburton, Bt. to Miss Alice Parker.
21. At Norwich, Wm. Drake, jun. Esq; member for Ammersham, Bucks, to Miss Rachel Ives of that city.
27. At Bengrove, Suffex, the Hon.



Hon. George Napier, to the Right Hon. Lady Sarah Lenox.

Sept. 1. At Staunton, Harold, the Hon. Washington Shirley, to Miss Ward, niece to the late Lord Viscount Dudley and Ward.

8. John Hughes, Esq; of Betsinger, Kent, to Miss Hardy, niece to the late Admiral Sir Charles Hardy.

29. Princess Carolina, 4th dau. of the king of Sardinia, to prince Anthony, brother to the Elector of Saxony.

At Cuddesden, Oxf. the Rev. Henry Ford, of Christ-Church, to Miss M. L. Yates, niece to the bishop of Oxford.

Oct. 3. At Isleworth church, by his uncle, the Hon. and Rev. Wm. Neville, under a special licence, the Hon. Henry Neville, eldest son of Geo. Lord Abergavenny, to Miss Robinson, only daughter of John R. Esq; of Sion Hill, co. Middlesex.

12. Sir Fred. Reynolds, Knt. of Hatfield, Herts, to Miss M. Townshend, of Hatton-street.

15. Edw. Smythe, Esq; eldest son of Sir Edw. S. Bart. to Miss Holford, only daughter of Peter H. Esq;

18. Rev. Cha. Birch, of Chichester, Suffex, to Miss Anne Seymour, 2d dau. of Hen S. Esq; of Hanford, co. Dorset, and niece to Earl Cowper.

Sir Jennison Gordon, of Hertford-street, to Miss Hatton, of Northamptonshire.

By special licence, the Hon. Mr. Irby, brother to Lord Boston, to Miss Mary Blackman, youngest dau. and coheirefs of Rowland Blackman, Esq; of Barbadoes.

At Moor Monkton church, near York, Sir Tho. T. Slingsby, Bart, to Miss M. Slingsby.

Lord Viscount Fournour, son of the Earl of Winterton, to Miss Chapman, dau. of Rich. Chapman, Esq;

Nov. 8. At Glassaugh, Banffshire, Vice-admiral Duff, of Logie, to Mrs. Morison, of Haddo, dau. of the late Gen. Abercromby.

17. George Drummond, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Public Accounts to Miss Anne Shotter.

Dec. 3. The Earl of Aylesford, to the Hon. Miss Louisa Thynne, eldest daughter of Lord Viscount Weymouth.

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*Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1781, from the London Gazette, &c.*

Dec. 29, 1780. The following noblemen and gentlemen have been appointed of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' household: Groom of the Stole—Lord Southampton. Gentlemen of the bed-



Bed-Chamber—E. of Courtown, Lord John Clinton, Lord Visc. Parker. Treasurer and Secretary—Lieut. Col. Hotham. Master of the Robes and Privy Purse—Hen. Lyte, Esq. Grooms of the Bed-Chamber—Hon. Mr. Legge, Hon. Stephen Digby, John Johnson, Esq. First Equerry and Commissioner of the Stables—Lieut.-Col. Leake. Equerries—Lieut.-Colonel Hulse, Lieutenant-Col. Sir John Dyer, Bart. Lieut.-Col. Stephens.

30. Capt. Andrew Corbet and Capt. Lord Strathaven to be Aid-de-camps in Ordinary to the Earl of Carlisle; and Capt. Sir Jas. Erskine, Bart. Capt. the Hon. Fra. North, Capt. Arthur Ormsby, and Lieut. Rich. O'Brien Boyle, to be his Aid-de-camps in Extraordinary.

Jan. 9. 1781. John Macpherson, Esq; to be one of the Counsellors of the Governor-General and Council of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in the room of Rich. Barwell, Esq; approved by his majesty.

10. Adm. Sir Hyde Parker promoted from being Rear-Adm. of the Red, to be Vice Adm. of the Blue; and Admiral Kempenfelt, Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

20. Dr. Rich. Woodward, Dean of St. Macartin Clogher, to the Bishoprick of Cloyne.

Rev. W. Cecil Pery, M.A. Dean of Derry, to the united Bishopricks of Killala and Achonry.

Feb. 17. George Lord Edgumbe, advanced to the dignity of a viscount, to him and his heirs male, by the name, style, and title, of Viscount Mount Edgumbe and Valetort.

John Hallam, D.D. Dean of Bristol.

March 3. Ralph Heathcote, Esq<sup>r</sup> appointed his majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of the Elector of Cologne, in the room of Geo. Cressener, Esq; dec.

Wm. Browne, Esq; appointed to be Governor of the Bermuda or Somer's Islands in America, in the room of J. G. Bruere, Esq; deceased.

24. The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain unto the following gentlemen, and their heirs male, viz. Sir Robert Barker, Knt. of Busbridge, in the county of Surry; Joseph Banks, Esq; of Ravesby-Abbey, in the co. of Lincoln; John Ingilby, Esq; of Ripley, in the West Riding of the co. of York; Alex. Craufurd, Esq; of Kilburney, in N. Britain. Valentine Rich. Quin, Esq; of Adair, co. of Limerick, in Ireland; Wm. Lewis Andre, Esq; (captain in his majesty's 26th reg. of foot) of Southampton, co. of Southampton; Fra. Sykes, Esq; of Basildon, co. of Berks; John Coghill, Esq; of Richings, co. of Buckingham; and John Mosley, Esq; of Ancoats, co. of Lancaster.

April 3. Edward Emily, A.M. Dean of Derry.—Rev. John MacLeish, the united churches and parishes of Killarow and Kilcho-man, in the presbytery of Kintire, and shire of Argyll and Bute.—Rev. John M'Conochie, the church and parish of Crauford, in the presbytery and county of Lanark.

7. Rev. John Lynch, Doctor of Laws, a Canon or Prebendary of Canterbury, on the resignation of Dr. Rich. Palmer.

14. Tho. Morley, Esq; Capt. Gen.



Gen. and Gov. in Chief of the Leeward Caribbee Islands.

23. John Morris, Esq; in virtue of the king's reversionary grant, sworn into the office of one of the clerks of the Signet, *vice* Sir Joseph Copley, deceased.

May 4. Robert Clements, Esq; Governor of the county of Donegal.

8. Earl of Dalhousie to be his majesty's High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

6. Tho. Shirley, Esq; took the oaths in council as Capt. Gen. and Gov. in Chief of his majesty's Leeward Caribbee Islands.

12. A *congé d'élire* ordered by the king to the Dean and Chapter of Winchester, for electing a bishop, and a letter recommending Brownlow, now Bishop of Worcester to be elected.

June 9. A *congé d'élire* ordered by the king to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, for electing a bishop; and a letter recommending Richard now Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry to be elected.

26. The king has appointed the Rev. Dr. Jos. Mac Cormack, to be principal of the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, in the University of St. Andrews, vacant by the death of the Rev. Dr. Robt. Watson.

July 3. Alex. Crawford, appointed to be his majesty's judiciary baillie for the West Seas of Scotland.

6. Peter Burrell, Esq; knighted.

21. A *congé d'élire* ordered to the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral church of Ely, for electing a bishop of that see; with a

letter recommending the Right Rev. Father in God James Bishop of Gloucester, to be elected.

Aug. 14. The king approved of the appointment of Sir Peter Burrell, Knt. to exercise the office of Lord Great Chamberlain of England, as deputy to the Rt. Hon. Priscilla Barbara Eliz. Baroness Willoughby of Eresby, and Lady Georgina Charlotte Bertie, sisters and coheirs of his grace Robert, late D. of Ancafter and Kesteven, hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England, deceased.

24. Geo. Younge, Esq; captain of his majesty's navy, the honour of knighthood.

G. James Cholmondeley, and Rich. Tickell, Esqrs. commissioners for his majesty's stamp duties, in the room of John Kenrick, Esq; resigned, and Martin Whish, Esq; promoted.

David Stew. Moncrieffe, Esq; one of the Barons of his majesty's Court of Exchequer in Scotland.

Sept. 4. Cha. Middleton, Esq; comptroller of his majesty's navy, created a Baronet of Great Britain, with remainder to Gerrard Noel Edwards, of Ketten, in the co. of Rutland, Esq; and his issue male by Diana his wife, daughter of the said Cha. Middleton.

Cha. Hanbury, Esq; appointed his majesty's agent and consul in the circle of Lower Saxony, and the free cities of Bremen and Lubeck.

The appointment of John Stables, Esq; to be one of the counsellors of the Gov. Gen. and council of the presidency of Fort William, in Bengal, in the room of Philip Francis, Esq; confirmed by the king.



Sir John Dick, Bart. appointed one of the Comptrollers of the Accounts of his majesty's army.

*War-Office, Sept. 25.* 23d reg. light dragoons.—Col. Sir John Burgoyne, of 14th dragoons, is appointed to be colonel; Major John Floyd, of 21st dragoons, lieutenant-col.

Oct. 6. The dignity of a Baronet of Ireland to William Gleadowe Newcower, of Carrickglass, in the county of Longford, Esq; Barry Denny, of Castle Moyle, in the county of Kerry, Esq; and Hugh Dillon Massey, of Donags, county of Clare, Esq;

Nov. 6. Sir Geo. Br. Rodney, Bart. and K. B. appointed Vice-Adm. of Great Britain, and Lieut. of the Admiralty thereof, and also lieut. of the navies and seas of Great Britain, *vice* Ld. Hawke.

Geo. Darby, Esq; Rear-Adm. of Great Britain, &c. *vice* Sir George Bridges Rodney.

Earl Waldgrave, Lord Lieut. and Cust Rot. of the co. of Essex, *vice* Lord Rochford, dec.

Dec. 22. Rich. Cust, D.D. Dean of Lincoln, and also residentiary in that cathedral, both void by the promotion of Bp. Yorke.

Wm. Hayward Roberts, D.D. Provost of the College of Eton, void by the death of Dr. Barnard.

Rev. Philip Barlow, Broughton and Stoke Hammond RR. both in co. Bucks.

brother Francis, the late lord, Dec. 15, 1774. He married April 14, 1770, Miss Chadwick, by whom he has left no issue, on which account the title is supposed to be extinct.

*Lately*, Elizabeth Countess of Ashburnham, daughter and coheir of Ambrose Crowley, Esq; late Alderman of London. She was married to the Earl of Ashburnham, 1756, by whom she had 2 sons and 4 daughters.

*Lately*, at Hertford, the Hon. Mrs. Orme, wife to Robt. Orme, Esq; M. P. daughter of the late Lord Viscount Townshend.

*Lately*, at Ashill, in Ireland, the Hon. Mrs. Coote, wife to Chidley Coote, Esq; and sister to the Earl of Bellamont.

Jan. 13. In Italy, in a very advanced age, the Countess Dowager of Orford, by whose death a jointure of 12,000l. per ann. devolves to the Earl of Orford: her ladyship, by her own desire, was to be buried in Italy.

15. The Queen Dowager of Portugal and Alvarez.

At Bath, Lady Mary Cooley. Sir Henry Cheere, Bart.

19. At Edinburgh, where he went for the education of his son, John Preston, Esq; M. P. for the borough of Navan, and nephew to the Earl of Ludlow: by his death, a very great and extensive property devolves to his eldest son, now at the university in Scotland.

23. John Williams, Esq; one of the judges for the counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor, in South Wales.

27. The Rt. Hon. Lady Bridges, at Chelsea, aunt to his Grace the Duke of Chandos.

## DEATHS, 1781.

Dec. 2, 1780. Right Hon. Tho. Willoughby, Ld. Middleton, and baronet. His lordship was born Jan. 26, 1728, and succeeded his



29. Sir John Chapman, Bart. The title and estate devolve to an only brother, now Sir William, who has long enjoyed a considerable estate at Lowdham, in the county of Suffolk, bequeathed to him by Mr. Onebye.

In Harley-street, Cavendish-square, the Lady of Sir John Dyke, Bart.

Feb. 9. The Hon. Mrs. A. Pitt, Privy-Purse to the late Princess Dowager of Wales.

After a few hours illness, Lady Ranelagh: by her death an estate of 3500l. per ann. devolves on Lionel Felton Harvey, Esq; who married her only daughter, Miss Elvill, by her first husband, Sir John Elvill, Bart.

13. Suddenly, of the gout in his stomach, Gen. Sir Rich. Pearson, K. B. : he went home from the Pantheon in perfect health on the evening before, and expired before eight o'clock the next morning.

15. In Lincoln's-inn-fields, after a few days illness, the Lady of the Right Hon. Lord Loughborough, Lord Chief Justice of his majesty's Court of Common-Pleas.

16. Sir John Major, Bart. of Worlingworth, and Thornham-Hall, both in Suffolk.

March 1. Prince Eugene of Dessau, field-marshal of the Saxon army, in the 76th year of his age, at his palace at Dessau.

7. At Wrest-House, in Bedfordshire, aged 30, Ld. Polwarth, only son of the Earl of Marchmont, and son-in-law to the Earl of Hardwicke. Dying without issue, the English Barony of Hume, created in 1776, is extinct.

In Berkeley-square, Sir Francis Reynolds, Knt.

15. At Edinburgh, Lady Mary Douglas, daugh. of William first Earl of March.

16. Matth. Wyldbore, Esq; one of the representatives for the city of Peterborough in the two last parliaments.

*Lately*, Sir Wm. Molyneux, Bart. one of the verdurers of the forest of Sherwood, and father of Sir Fra. Molyneux.

26. Near Rochester, Sir W. Buchanan, Knt. aged 82, formerly M. P. for Staffordshire.

April 2. The Rt. Hon. Charles Lord Elphinstone.

3. Hen. Thrale, Esq; LL.D. an eminent brewer, and member in the last parliament for the borough of Southwark.

At Bath, the Rt. Hon. Henry Earl Conyngham, Visc. Conyngham, and Baron Mount Charles, of the kingdom of Ireland, and also a privy Counsellor and Lord Lieutenant of the county and city of Londonderry, in that kingdom.

6. At Abercairny, Scotland, the Right Hon. Lady Dowager Rollo.

7. Rev. Robt. Watson, D.D. Principal of the University of St. Andrews, author of *The History of Philip II.*

8. Right Hon. Lady Barbara Gould, daughter to the Earl of Suffex.

11. At Dublin, in the 66th year of his age, the Right Hon. William Crosbie, E. of Glandore, Viscount Crosbie, of Ardfert, and Baron of Branden, one of his majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council of Ireland. In Nov. 1745, he married Lady Theodosia Bligh, sister of the present Earl of Darnley, and by her, who died in May 1777, he has left issue one son and three



three daughters. His lordship married secondly the relict of — Ward, Esq; by whom he had no issue.

16. Sir Jos. Copley, Bart. of Sprotbrough, co. York.

18. At Acomb, near York, Lady Margaret Dalziel, only dau. of the late Earl of Carnwath.

21. At Castlecomer, co. Kilkenny, the Rt. Hon. the Countess of Wandesford.

23. At Glasfaugh, Banffshire, aged 75, Jas. Abercromby, Esq; of Glasfaugh, a General of foot, colonel of the 44th reg. and Deputy-Governor of Stirling Castle.

28. At Bath the Right Hon. Lady Lucy Sherard, sister of the Earl of Harborough.

29. At Bath, the Right Hon. Lord Teynham, Baron Teynham, co. Kent, whose title and estates devolve to his eldest son, the Hon. Henry Roper.

May 3. Lady Charlotte Percy, only daughter of Earl Percy.

6. At Kensington, H. Vaughan, Esq; aged 101, formerly a representative in parliament for Monmouthshire.

7. At Orierton, Pembroke-sh. Sir William Owen, Bart.

9. At Englefield-Green, near Staines, in the 62d year of his age, the Right Hon. William De Grey, Baron Walsingham, of Walsingham, in Norfolk. His lordship was younger brother of Tho. De Grey, Esq; of Merton, in Norfolk, lately representative for that county, and was son of Tho. De Grey, formerly representative for Thetford, co. Norfolk. He was made solicitor to the queen in the year 1761; solicitor general in 1763; attorney-general in 1766; member for Newport in

1761, 1768; member for Camb. University in 1770; Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas in 1771, which he resigned in 1780; and Baron Walsingham in 1780. By his lady, daugh. of Wm. Cowper, Esq; late member for Hertford, he had issued Thomas, now Lord Walsingham, married to Georgiana, daugh. of Lord Boston; Charlotte, married to Joseph Wyndham, Esq;

13. Lieut. Gen. Wm. Amherst (brother to Lord Amherst), adjut. general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the 32d reg. of foot, and Governor of St. John's, Newfoundland.

16. The Hon. and Rev. John Stanley, D. D. aged 90, Rector of Winwick, co. Lanc. (a living said to be worth 3000l. a year), and brother to the late Earl of Derby.

17. In Grosvenor-square, aged 81, Wm. Aislabie, Esq; of Studley-Park, M. P. for Rippon, Yorkshire, and one of the auditors of his majesty's imprest.

20. Lady Montague Bertie, relict of Lord Montague Bertie, 2d son of Robert, the first Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven, by his second wife Albina, daughter of Gen. Farrington.

At his seat of Castleward in Ireland, the Right Hon. Bernard Ward, Lord Baron of Bangor. He was created Baron Bangor May 22, 1770; and is succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son Michael.

22. At Kensington, Rt. Hon. the Earl of Mornington, of the kingdom of Ireland; a nobleman of great worth and abilities.

31. At Abbeville, near Dublin, the Right Hon. Lady Louisa



Howard, one of the daughters of the lord-lieutenant,

June 2. At Little Milton, co. Oxford, Sir John D'Oyly, Bart. aged 71, whose title devolves upon Mr. D'Oyly, of Adderbury West.

3. In Mortimer-street, Tho. Dummer, Esq; member for Lymington in Hampshire.

4. At Rome, aged 51, his Eminency John Octavius Manciforte, Cardinal Priest of the Holy Roman See. This makes the 12th vacancy in the Sacred College.

9. At Dublin, the Right Hon. Lord Dunfany; his estate and title devolves to his son Randal, now Lord Dunfany.

13. At Orton, Huntingd. Sir C. Cope, Bart.

14. The Lady of John Aubrey, Esq; member for Wallingford, Berks.

15. Rt. Hon. John Lord Baron Lisle, aged 79.

23. At Merton, in Norfolk, Tho. De Grey, Esq; elder brother of the late Lord Walsingham, and representative in two parliaments for that county.

27. At Hampstead, Sir John Honeywood, Bart.

At Inverness, Lady Amelia Halkett, Widow of Sir Peter H. of Pitfirran.

July 2. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mr. Baron Maule.

6. At Ely-House in Dover-street, of a dropfy in the breast, in the 68th year of his age, the Right Rev. Dr. Edmund Keene, Lord Bishop of Ely. His lordship was a native of Lynn in Norfolk, and a younger brother of the late Sir Benjamin Keene, K. B. formerly ambassador to Spain, who left him his fortune.

9. At Eton school, the eldest son of Sir Brook Bridges, Bart. His death was occasioned by a fall as he was running the preceding evening, but did not then perceive he was hurt; he awoke several times in the night, and was sick; his brother coming to him to enquire how he was in the morning, he answered he was very well, and expired in ten minutes.

18. At Stobhall, Right Hon. James, Earl of Perth.

29. Suddenly, at his seat at Doddershall in Bucks, the Right Hon. Richard Fienes, Viscount and Baron Say and Sele, and LL.D. His father the Rev. Rich. Fienes, married Penelope, daugh. of Geo. Chamberlain, of Wardington, in Oxfordsh. Esq; by whom he had issue (besides the late visc.) Susanna, who died unmarried; Vere-Alicia, married to Richard Wykeham, of Swacliff, Oxfordsh. Esq; Elizabeth to the Rev. Henry Quartley, Rector of Wicken, Northamptonshire; and Cecilia, to Alex. Gordon, of Greenwich in Kent, Esq. His lordship was the grandson of the Hon. Rich. Fienes, fourth son of William first Vis. Say and Sele, so created July 7, 1624, 22 James I.; and in 1742 (being then fellow of New College, Oxford, of which the Fienes's are founder's kin) succeeded to the title on the death of his father's first cousin, Laurence, and thus became the sixth viscount. He married, in 1754, Christabella, daughter of Sir John Tyrrel, of Buck, Bart. and relict first of John Knapp, Esq; and afterwards of John Pigot, of Doddershall, in the same county, Esq; by whom he had no issue. The title of viscount is now supposed to be extinct.



tingt. Col. Twisleton has lately been called up by writ to the barony.

31. At his seat at Cobham Hall, near Rochester, the Right Hon. John Bligh, Earl and Visc. Darnley, and Baron Clifton, of Rathmore in Ireland; and Lord Clifton, of Lighton Bromswold, in England, hereditary High Steward of Gravesend and Milton in Kent. His Lordship was born in 1719. In 1739, being then a commoner, he was returned member of the Irish parliament for Athboy; and in 1741, of the parliament of England for Maidstone in Kent. In 1747 he succeeded his brother, the late earl; and in Sept. 1766, he married, in Ireland, the daughter and heiress of the late John Stoyte, Esq. He is succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son, Lord Clifton, a youth of 17, now at Eton-school. The late earl has ordered, by his will, his remains to be interred, or entombed, in a mausoleum to be built and consecrated for that purpose in his park. In the mean time they are to be embalmed and soldered up.

*Lately*, at Sidcup, the Hon. Thomas Arundel, Count of the Sacred Roman Empire, brother to Lord Arundel of Wardour.

At Envil, Staffordsh. the Right Hon. Lady Dorothy Grey, aunt to the Earl of Stamford.

At St. Catharine's, Dublin, Sir Richard Woolley, Bart.

At Pyrmont, Baron de Veltheim, lieut. gen. of the cavalry in his majesty's Electoral army at Hanover.

At Stettin, in Germany, in the 66th year of his age, his Serene

Highness Prince Augustus Wm. of Brunswick Bevern, general of infantry in the Prussian Service, and Governor of Stettin.

Aug. 6. Drowned, as he was bathing in the Thames, the 2d son of Sir Charles Cocks, Bart. an amiable and most promising youth of Westminster-school.

30. After a long illness, during which he was several times confidently reported to have been dead, Geo. Hayley, Esq; Alderman of Cordwainer's Ward, and one of the four representatives in parliament for the city of London. He married the sister of John Wilkes, Esq; widow of Mr. Stork, an eminent West-india merchant, and by her had two sons, who died young, and two daughters, one of whom survives.

At Auchiries, the Hon. John Forbes, of Pittligo, aged 68. He was only son to Alexander Lord Forbes, of Pittligo, by his first Lady Rebecca Norton, of London. He married the 2d of Aug. 1750, Rebecca Ogilvie, eldest daugh. of the late James Ogilvie, of Auchiries; by whom having had no issue, the male line of the ancient and noble house of Pittligo, is extinct. The family is now represented by Sir William Forbes, Bart. banker in Edinburgh.

At Tobago, a few days before the French took possession of it, the Hon. Lieut. Sutton, of the 86th reg. of foot, son of the Right Hon. Lord Geo. Sutton.

At Philorth, aged 61, the Rt. Hon. George Lord Saltoun.

The Right Hon. William Earl of Panmure, of the kingdom of Ireland, Col. of the Scotch Greys, and representative in parliament



for the county of Forfar, in Scotland.

Sept. 1. At Dresden, his Serene Highness, Prince Charles, brother to the elector of Saxony, in the 30th year of his age.

10. Sir Thomas Gooch, Bart. of Benacree-Hall, co. Suffolk.

12. At Naples, aged 30, of a dysentery, Lord Rich. Cavendish, next brother to the D. of Devonshire, and brother to the Duchess of Portland. His lordship was member in the last parliament for Lancaster, and chosen at the late general election for the co. Derby.

16. At Bristol, the Right Hon. Dorothy Countess of Harborough, Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of Harborough, of Stapleford, Leicestershire.

21. At Ash-Hall, co. York, Sir Laurence Dundas, Bart. member for Richmond in the last parliament. By the death of Sir L. D. an estate of 16,000*l.* per ann. devolves to his son, now Sir Tho. Dundas. He is also said to have left behind him, in various legacies to his nephews and other relations, the immense fortune of 900,000*l.* in personalities and landed property.

Sir Tho. Mannock, Bart. who is succeeded in title and estate by his brother Geo. Mannock, Esq. of Bromley-hall, Essex.

At Bristol, the Rev. Sir Robert Pynsent, Bart. a gentleman well known for his contest with the E. of Chatham for the Pynsent estate.

At Eyre-Court, in Ireland, the Right Hon. John Lord Eyre.

At Brough-hall, Yorkshire, Sir Henry Lawson, Bart. He is succeeded in title and estate by his eldest son, now Sir John Lawson.

28. At his seat at St. Osyth,

in Essex, aged 64, the Right Hon. William Henry Nassau De Zulestein, Earl of Rochford, Viscount Tunbridge, Knight of the Garter, one of his majesty's privy council, one of the elder brethren of the Trinity-House, a Governor of the Charter-House, Vice-admiral of the coasts of Essex, Lord Lieut. and cust. Rot. of the county, and Col. of the western battalion of the Essex militia. He married Lucy, daughter of Edw. Young, Esq; of Durnford, Wilts, and one of the maids of honour to the Princess of Wales. Dying without issue, his titles and estates devolve to his nephew, Wm. Henry Nassau, Esq; eldest son of the late Hon. Rich. Savage Nassau, formerly M. P. for Malden in Essex.

Oct. 1. In Tavistock-street, Mr. John Charles Newby, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. Bate.

The Right Hon. Vere Beauchamp, Lord Vere of Hanworth, one of the Vice-presidents of the Asylum, and uncle to the Duke of St. Alban's. His lordship was the third son of Charles the first Duke of St. Alban's, by his wife the Lady Diana Vere, sole heir of the 20th and last Earl of Oxford of that illustrious family. He married the eldest daug. and co-heir of Tho. Chambers, Esq; of Hanworth, in Middlesex, and sister to the Countess Temple, by whom he left a son, Aubrey, now Lord Vere, member in the parliament that met in 1768, for Aldborough in Yorkshire, who in 1763 married Lady Catharine Ponsonby, daug. of the Earl of Besborough, by whom he has issue; and a daug. Mary, married in 1762 to Lord Cha. Spencer, next brother to the D. of Marlborough.

3. At



3. At Witham-Place, in Essex, William Lord Stourton, a Roman Catholic peer. He is succeeded in title and estate by his son, the Hon. Cha. Philip Stourton.

4. Sir Rich. Murray, Bart. of Blackbarony. He is succeeded in title by his brother, now Sir Arch. Murray.

6. Right Hon. Henry Fred. Thynne Howe, Lord Chedworth, aged 66. He is succeeded in title and estate by his nephew, Tho. Howe, Esq.

7. Lady Honeywood, relict of Sir John Honeywood, Bt. of Evington, Kent. Her ladyship was aunt to Sir John Filmer, Bart.

13. Cha. Millar, Esq; brother to Sir Tho. Millar, and to the Countess of Albemarle, and equerry to his R. H. the D. of Gloucester.

14. At Beckenham, in Kent, Sir Piercy Brett, Knt. Admiral of the Blue, an elder brother of the Trinity-House, and one of the directors of Greenwich Hospital.

15. At Brussels, the Rt. Hon. Alex. Erskine, Earl of Kelly, in Scotland, Viscount Fenton, &c. &c. He is succeeded in title and estate by his brother, the Hon. Major Arch. Erskine, of the 11th reg. of foot.

16. At Sunbury, in Midd. the Rt. Hon. Edward Lord Hawke, K. B. Vice Adm. of G. Britain, admiral of the fleet, President of the Maritime School, and an elder brother of the Trinity-House.

19. In Fifeshire, Sir Robert Henderson of Fordell, Bart.

20. At Trelowarren, in Cornwall, Sir Rich. Vyvyan, Bt. who is succeeded in title and estate by his brother, now the Rev. Sir Carew Vyvyan.

22. Suddenly, at Burford, Oxfordshire, aged 75, Wm. Lenthall, Esq; one of the Justices of the peace for that county, and great grandson to Lenthall, speaker of the long parliament in Cromwell's time.

24. In Charles-st. Grosvenor-square, aged 97 years 4 months, Lady Gray, relict of Sir James Gray, Bart. and mother of the late Sir James and Sir George.

27. At Nackington, near Canterbury, Mrs. Milles, mother to Rich. Milles, Esq; late M. P. for that city, and to the Lady of Sir Edw. Astley, Bart.

Nov. 5. At Stapleford, co. Leic. the Right Hon. Lady Dorothy Sherard, only daughter of the E. of Harborough, by Dorothy, the late countess.

10. At his house in the Warren, Woolwich, aged 77, Lieut. Gen. Geo. Williams, col. of the 2d battalion of the royal reg. of artillery; he was near 60 years an officer, and was buried on the 16th at Woolwich with military honours.

12. At Hartford, near Huntingdon, Mrs. Wadeson, relict of Robert Wadeson, Esq; formerly of the Island of Barbadoes.

*Lately*, At Lisbon, where he went for the recovery of his health, the Right Hon. Lord John Pelham Clinton, 2d son of the Duke of Newcastle, member for East Retford, co. Nottingham, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

Hon. Edm. Butler, brother to the late Lord Dunboyne.

Dec. 2d. Of an apoplexy, the Rev. Edw. Barnard, D. D. Provost of Eton College, Canon of Windsor, Rector of Paul's Cray, Kent, and one of his majesty's chaplains



in ordinary. He was formerly fellow of St. John's College Camb. and master in Eton-school. He has left one son, now at St. John's.

4. At Norwich, Sir Thomas Churchman, Knt. Alderman of Mancroft Ward. He served the office of sheriff in the year 1757, was elected an Alderman in 1759, and chief magistrate in 1761.

11. At his seat at West Wycombe, Bucks, after a tedious illness, the Right Hon. Fra. Dashwood, Lord Le Despencer, Premier Baron of England, a Privy Counsellor, Lord Lieut. and Cust. Rot. of Buckinghamshire, joint Postmaster-General, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Foundling Hospital and of the Medical Asylum, F. R. and A. SS. and LL. D. His Lordship, in May, 1763, was appointed Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, and Lord Lieut. of the co. of Bucks; and one of the joint Postmasters-Gen. Dec. 19, 1770.

He married Miss Gould, of Iver. Bucks. dau. of the late Henry Gould, Esq. Her ladyship died without issue, Feb. 2, 1760. The ancient Barony of Le Despencer now descends to Sir Tho. Stapleton, Bart. of Grey's Court, near Henley, Oxfordshire, grandson of Vere, Earl of Westmoreland, and Lord Le Despencer.

22. In Upper Brook-st. Grosvenor-square, the Rt. Hon. Lady Frances Coningsby. She was struck with the palsy in her heart as she was going out in her carriage, and expired immediately. By her death, Lord Malden comes into possession of 7000l. a year, and a large sum of money.

25. The eldest son of the late Sir John Cope. The above young gentleman was not above 12 years old, and but a few days on an excursion from Eton College. The title descends to his uncle, a private gentleman.



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*The Trial of George Gordon, Esq; commonly called Lord George Gordon, for High Treason, at the Bar of the Court of King's-Bench, on Monday, Feb. 5, 1781\*.*

*Copy of the Indictment preferred against Lord George Gordon by the Grand Jury.*

“ Middlesex,

“ **T**HE jurors for our lord the king upon their oath present, That George Gordon, late of the parish of St. Mary-Le-Bone, otherwise Marrybone, in the county of Middlesex, Esq; commonly called Lord George Gordon, being a subject of our said sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. not having the fear of God before his eyes, nor weighing the duty of his allegiance, but being moved and

seduced by the instigation of the devil, and entirely withdrawing the love, and true and due obedience which every subject of our said sovereign lord the king should and of right ought to bear towards our said present sovereign lord the king, and wickedly devising and intending to disturb the peace and public tranquillity of this kingdom, on the 2d day of June, in the twentieth year of the reign of our said sovereign lord the now king, at the parish of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Westminster in the said county of Middlesex, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously did compass, imagine, and intend to raise and levy war, insurrection, and rebellion against our said lord the king within this kingdom of Great Britain; and to fulfil and bring to effect the said traitorous compassings, imaginations, and intentions of him the said George Gor-

\* The COURT consisted of—William Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice; Edward Willes, Esq; Sir W. H. Ashurst, Knt. Francis Buller Esq; Justices.

The JURY—Thomas Collins, Esq; Berner-street; Henry Hastings, Esq; Queen Anne-street; Edward Hulfe, Esq; Harley-street; Edward Pomfret, Esq; New North-street; Gedeliah Gatfield, Esq; Hackney; Joseph Pickles, Esq; Homerton, Edward Gordon, Esq; Bromley; Marmaduke Peacock, Esq; Hackney; Francis Degon, Esq; Hammer-smith; Simon Le Sage, Esq; ditto; Robert Armitage, Esq; Kensington; John Rix, Esq; White-chapel.

COUNCIL for the Crown—Mr. Attorney-General, Mr. Solicitor-General, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Lee, Mr. Howarth, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Norton.

COUNCIL for the Prisoner—Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Erskine.

don,



don, he the said George Gordon afterwards (that is to say) on the 2d day of June, in the twentieth year aforesaid, with force of arms, &c. at the said parish of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Westminster, in the said county of Middlesex, with a great multitude of persons whose names are at present unknown to the jurors aforesaid, to a great number, to wit, to the number of five hundred persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner (that is to say), with colours flying, and with swords, clubs, bludgeons, staves, and other weapons, as well offensive as defensive, being then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said present sovereign lord the king, most wickedly, maliciously, and traitorously did ordain, prepare, and levy public war against our said lord the king, his supreme and undoubted lord, contrary to the duty of his allegiance, against the peace of our said lord the king, his crown, and dignity, and also against the form of the statute in such case made and provided. And the jurors aforesaid, upon their oath aforesaid, further present, that the said George Gordon, being a subject of our Sovereign Lord George the Third, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, and entirely withdrawing the love, and true and due obedience which every subject of our said sovereign lord the king should, and of right ought to bear towards our said present sovereign lord the king,

and wickedly devising and intending to disturb the peace and public tranquillity of this kingdom, afterwards, to wit, on the said second day of June, in the twentieth year of the reign of our said sovereign lord the now king, and on divers other days and times between that day and the tenth day of the said month of June, at the said parish of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Westminster, in the said county of Middlesex, unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously, did compass, imagine, and intend to raise and levy war, insurrection, and rebellion against our said lord the king, within this kingdom of Great Britain; and to fulfil and bring to effect the said last mentioned traitorous compassings, imaginations, and intentions of him the said George Gordon, he the said George Gordon, on the said second day of June, in the twentieth year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times between that day and the tenth day of the same month of June, with force and arms, &c. at the said parish of St. Margaret, within the liberty of Westminster, in the said county of Middlesex, with a great multitude of persons whose names are at present unknown to the jurors aforesaid, to a great number, to wit, to the number of five hundred persons and upwards, armed and arrayed in a warlike manner (that is to say), with colours flying, and with swords, clubs, bludgeons, staves and other weapons, as well offensive as defensive, being then and there unlawfully, maliciously, and traitorously assembled and gathered together against our said present sovereign lord the king, most wickedly, maliciously, and traitorously



ly did ordain, prepare, and levy public war against our said Lord the king, his supreme and undoubted lord, contrary to the duty of his allegiance, against the peace of our said lord the king, his crown, and dignity, and also against the form of the statute in such case made and provided."

*Mr. Norton opened the Indictment.*

Mr. attorney-general then stated, that the particular species of treason, with which the prisoner was charged, was 'levying war against the king within his realm:' that 'this offence, within the statute 25 Edw. III., is of two sorts, the one directly and immediately against the person of the king;' that 'the other, constructive levying of war, is against the majesty of the king, as a great and numerous insurrection of the people to effect by force an alteration of the established law of the country, or the reformation of grievances, real or imaginary, in which the insurgents have no particular or special interest; and, that it was of the latter kind of levying war with which the prisoner stood charged.'

He then entered into a discussion of the Act against the Roman Catholics of the 11th and 12th of King William, shewing that the clauses it contained were equally cruel and severe, and could only be justified by the necessity of the case, for the salvation of the state, and our religion; that the history of the times afforded no proof of such necessity, nor any apology for the hardships of such provisions; that the bill, on the contrary, according to Bishop Burnet's account, originated in party faction,

and was brought into the House of Commons, that the court party, by rejecting it, might incur the odium of favouring the Catholics; that those who brought it in did not mean it should pass, but were disappointed in their views, the court party making no opposition to it; that wishing then to drop it, they could not; upon which they added many severe and unreasonable clauses to the bill, and sent it up to the lords in hopes that they would reject it, who, however, suffered it to pass. 'It was too much,' added the attorney-general, 'for any party or faction to stake upon their game the liberties and fortunes of others.'

He next justified the Act passed in 1778, to relieve the Roman Catholics from the oppressive clauses of the said Act of the 11th and 12th of King William. 'This Bill,' said he, 'was brought in by a member of the House of Commons, distinguished for his love of the civil rights of mankind, and for his firm and zealous attachment to the Protestant religion, and who besides possesses every public and private virtue that can adorn the citizen and the man—I mean Sir George Savile. It passed through the commons almost unanimously, the opposition made to it by some not being to the principle of the Bill, but that it did not go far enough in the redress: for, at the time of passing this Act of King William, the Roman Catholics were excluded from any share in government, from any office of trust civil or military, and the persons of that religion performing any part of their functions, as priests, or keeping of schools, or educating youth, were



were liable to many pecuniary penalties, and, in some instances to temporary imprisonment.'

After mentioning that the repeal of the Act in question was conditional only, and restrained to those who should take an oath of the strongest assurance of loyalty to the government, and an abjuration in the most explicit terms of every pretender to the crown and government, with a positive renunciation of any authority of the see of Rome, in civil or temporal cases, within this kingdom; he took notice of the great disturbances at Edinburgh in February 1779, upon the supposition of a similar bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics in Scotland. This he noticed, as what would be found to be a very material circumstance when he came to state the conduct of the prisoner.

Passing then to the Protestant Association, he mentioned the pains that were taken to create a belief that the repeal of the statute of King William would be attended with imminent danger to the state, and to the Protestant religion. 'Upon this ground,' said he, 'a petition was determined upon, and, if they apprehended danger, they did right to petition; it is the inherent right of the subject to petition parliament; and, whenever they imagine a case proper for the consideration of parliament, they do right to bring it before them; and I believe this petition was at one time intended to have been presented in a legal, constitutional, and orderly manner.'

Adverting to the circumstance of assembling, by public advertisement, in St. George's Fields, a vast multitude of people, which

he called a large army, he said, that, 'though it is the innate right of the subject to present a petition to parliament, yet the petitioners are not to dictate to parliament, or take from parliament their deliberation upon the subject; that would tend directly to the dissolution of the constitution, and the subversion of government.'

Describing then the march of the Protestant Associators to the House of Commons, which he said was as regular as an army trained to it, and dwelling upon the dreadful outrages and conflagrations that ensued, he observed, that 'all persons who contributed to the perpetration of them were as criminal as the very persons who committed the act, and more so, especially if they are to be ascribed to their incitement and encouragement.' He then added, 'Gentlemen, you have now before you, as will appear upon the evidence, the author of all these violent and disgraceful proceedings, to whom the whole is to be imputed. An offender of such a description has not often appeared in a court of justice.' In further stating the conduct of the prisoner, he dwelt much upon the most minute circumstances that could tend to criminate him, particularly on his allusion to the firmness of the Scotch, and then concluded by calling for the

*Evidence for the Crown.*

William Hay, a printer in Fleet street, swore, that he had seen the prisoner five or six times at different places where the Protestant Association met; particularly at St. Margaret's-hill, at Greenwood's rooms, at the Old Crown



Crown and Rolls in Chancery-lane, at the London Tavern, and at Coachmakers-hall; that, at the meeting at Coachmakers-hall on the 29th of May, previous to their going up to the House of Commons, he heard the prisoner announce to a numerous assembly, 'that the Associated Protestants amounted to upwards of 40,000; that, on Friday the 2d of June, it was resolved they should meet in St. George's Fields, in four separate divisions or columns, arrayed or dressed in their best clothes, with blue cockades in their hats, as he himself should wear one, to distinguish them from Papists or friends to Roman Catholics;' that some evenings before, at the Crown and Rolls, the prisoner read over the preambles or certain parts of the penal laws of Charles II, William and Mary, and George II; that, after reading them, he observed, 'That by his majesty's giving his assent to the Quebec law, and the late act tolerating the Roman Catholics in England, his counsellors had brought him to that pass or situation in which James II. was after his abdication;' that he then read his majesty's coronation-oath, and said, 'It was his opinion, that his majesty had broken that oath,' and that 'the people of this country did not mince the matter, they spoke their minds freely, and avowed it to be true;' that, on Friday the 2d of June, he saw a vast multitude collected in St. George's Fields, with cockades and banners, and the words *Protestant Association, no Popery!* on them; and that he saw Lord George haranguing the mob; that afterwards he saw them march through Fleet-street in their way

to the House of Commons; that the same day he was in the lobby of the house, which was much crowded; that he heard Lord George exhort the mob 'to continue steadfast in so good and glorious a cause. He would persevere in it himself; and he hoped, although there was very little expectation from the House of Commons, that they would meet with redress from their mild or gracious sovereign.'

On his cross-examination he said, that the first time of his attending the meeting of the Protestant Association was on the 10th of December. Being desired to recollect whether he certainly saw the prisoner at Greenwood's rooms, he desired to refer to his notes, and then said he was mistaken. Being asked how he came to take notes of what passed at these meetings, he answered, that he had an idea then of what would be their consequences; that he first foresaw these consequences on the 20th of February. Being reminded that he had taken notes so early as the 21st of January (the day on which he had sworn that he saw Lord George in Greenwood's rooms) he answered, that, without those notes, he could not come to that conclusion in his own mind about the consequences, and that he had taken notes on the 10th of December; that this was his constant course in all occurrences of life. Being questioned what other meetings he had attended besides those of the Protestant Association, where he had committed what passed to writing, he appeared much embarrassed. He said however, that the first notes he made in his life were in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Having



ing said that the person he had seen with a flag in Fleet-street he saw afterward at the Fleet-prison and in Westminster, he was desired to describe him. He answered, that he appeared to him like a brewer's servant in his best clothes; upon which being desired to explain by what mark he could distinguish a brewer's servant in his best clothes from other men, he was extremely confused, and, at length, declared himself unable to answer the question.

William Metcalf swore that he was at Coachmakers-hall on the day when the meeting in St. George's Fields was fixed upon; that he went out of curiosity, on hearing Lord G. Gordon was to be there; that he heard him desire them to meet him in St. George's Fields; he reminded them 'that the Scotch had succeeded by unanimity, and he desired that they would likewise be unanimous; he hoped no one, who had signed the petition, would be ashamed or afraid to shew himself in the cause; he would not present the petition, unless he was met in St. George's Fields by twenty thousand people, and he recommended them to come with blue cockades in their hats, as a mark of distinction: he himself would be there to meet them, and would be answerable for any of them that would be molested for meeting there; he wished so well to the cause, that he would go to the gallows *in* it or *for* it; (words to that effect, but that the word *gallows* was certainly mentioned) and that he would not present the petition of a lukewarm people.

John Anstruther, Esq; confirmed the evidence of the preceding witness. He was not certain, how-

ever, whether the word 'gallows' might not be 'death;' he rather believed the former was the word: he said, that after the prisoner had declared, that, if there was one less than 20,000 people, he would not meet them in St. George's Fields; he added, 'because without that number he did not think their petition would be of consequence enough;' and that he also recommended temperance and firmness in their conduct. This witness then said, that on the Friday after he was in the lobby, in the House of Commons; he saw Lord George leaning over a gallery that looks down into the lobby; he heard him address the people from that place; he came out, as he understood, for the purpose of telling them what passed in the house; he told them 'they had been called a mob within the house; that the peace-officers had been called in to disperse them; I think he said, 'them peaceable petitioners' that 'they had not given their reasons to the house why they had not dispersed them; he believed the peace-officers had signed the petition; some people had mentioned in the house something relating to calling in the military; he hoped no body would think of taking a step of that sort, as it would infallibly tend to create divisions among his majesty's subjects.' He again mentioned 'how the Scotch by their steadiness had carried their point; he had no doubt his majesty would send to his ministers to desire them to repeal the Act, when he heard that his subjects were flocking from miles round, and wishing its repeal. This witness further said, several people called to Lord G. Gordon, 'Do you desire us to go away?'



away?" he answered, 'You are the best judges of what you ought to do, but I will tell you how the matter stands: the house are going to divide upon the question, whether your petition shall be taken into consideration now, or upon Tuesday. There are, for taking it into consideration now, myself, and six or seven others. If it be not taken into consideration now, your petition may be lost. To-morrow the house does not meet; Monday is the king's birth-day. On Tuesday the parliament may be 'dissolved,'—or 'prorogued.' [The witness was not certain which expression; and with regard to the whole of his evidence he spoke with great caution, declaring that he could not be very accurate as to the words.]

The Rev. Thomas Bowen, officiated as chaplain to the House of Commons on the 2d of June; after prayers were over, he went and sat under the gallery, near the door. The tumult in the lobby was very great, and, while the house were deliberating how to quell it, he saw lord George frequently go to the door, and heard him repeat to the people in the lobby what different members had said in the debates. 'The speaker of the house has just said that you are all come here under the pretence of religion.' He thought his lordship then added, 'You are a good people; yours is a good cause.' After this, he said, 'Mr. Burke, member for Bristol, has said—but the door was then shut, and he could not hear what. Afterwards, he called out, 'Mr. Rous has just moved that the civil power be sent for, but don't you mind; keep yourselves cool; be steady.' At another time he

said, 'Lord North calls you a mob.' Once while Lord George was at the door, he saw a gentleman go up to him, who seemed to be persuading him to return to his seat. As soon as Lord George turned round, and saw who it was, he called out to the people, 'This is Sir Michael le Fleming; he has just been speaking for you.' He seemed to be remarkably pleased with Sir Michael, patted, or stroaked, his shoulder, and expressed a kind of joy, which the witness knew not how to describe. It seemed to him extravagant, and, if he might be allowed the expression, childish. The witness further said, that when the division was called for he withdrew. Being afterwards standing near the little gallery over the lobby, he saw some gentlemen endeavouring to persuade the people to retire; one of the gentlemen asked him to speak to them, he accordingly told them they stopped their own business, and begged them to retire. He then heard a person call out distinctly, 'if his lordship would come, and say it was necessary for them to go, they would go.' Some time after he went up into the eating-room. While he was at table, Lord George came there, and soon after there was scarce any person in the room but his lordship and himself. Lord George had thrown himself into a chair, and seemed overcome with heat and fatigue. The witness told him what he had just heard a person say from the lobby; and he added, that it depended wholly upon his lordship to disperse them. To this he made no answer, but soon after left the room. Some time, after he went down stairs, and saw his lordship in the little gallery,



gallery. He heard him begin to advise the people 'to be quiet, and peaceable, and steady; his majesty is a gracious monarch, and, when he hears that the people ten miles round are collecting, there is no doubt but that he will send his ministers private orders to repeal the bill.' He then mentioned the attempt that was made to introduce a bill into Scotland; 'the Scotch,' said he, 'had no redress till they pulled down the mass houses: Lord Weymouth then sent them official assurances, that the Act should not be extended to them, and why should they be better off than you?' [Here the witness said he was in doubt whether the expression was 'the Scotch had no redress till they pulled down the mass-houses,' or 'When the Scotch pulled down the mass-houses, they had redress.'] His lordship then advised them 'to be quiet, and to beware of evil-minded persons, who would mix among them, and entice them to mischief, the blame of which would be imputed to them.' It was then (the witness thought) that a person in the lobby asked his Lordship 'if it was not necessary for them to retire?'—'I will tell you, said his lordship, how it is: I moved the question, that your petition be taken into consideration this night. Now it was clearly against you, but I insisted upon dividing the house: no division can take place while you are there, but to go or not I leave to yourselves.' He then asked the witness, if he would speak to the people, who answered 'by no means, for that his lordship was the only person who could speak to them with any good effect.' Lord George then took hold of the witness's gown,

and called out to the people 'this is the clergyman of the House of Commons. I desire you will ask him what his opinion of the Popish bill is,' and immediately he urged the witness to give it, who answered with great warmth, that the only opinion he should give was, that all the consequences which might arise from the bill would be entirely owing to him. Several gentlemen about them repeated these words. His lordship made no reply, but went into the house. On his cross-examination, he said, that he was under no agitation of mind, or particular apprehensions, till Lord George desired his opinion, which put him into a considerable flurry of spirits; that, the next day, he committed what had passed to writing, and sent it to the speaker.

John Cater, Esq; deposed, that being then a member of the house, as he was going through the passage at the top of the stair-case, the house being under a question they could not decide, as the officers were not able to clear the lobby, he heard and saw a person in the lobby who called aloud two or three times, 'Lord George Gordon!' and then added, 'My lord, we are ordered to clear the lobby: if your lordship wishes we should clear it, we will do it directly, and without any trouble.' The noble prisoner answered, 'I will tell you how the case stands. I have moved to have your petition taken now into consideration. Alderman Bull and two or three more are for it: the rest are against it: therefore, if you wish your petition should be now taken into consideration, you may stay, or do as you please.' All in the lobby were silent and attentive; but, as soon



soon as the prisoner had said this, they pulled off their hats, and cried, 'Now, now, now.' A kind of pause ensued. Lord George then leaned again over the rail, and said, 'Would you not wish to be in the same state they are in Sir, eh?' They answered, 'Yes, yes.' And he said 'Well well.'

John Pearson, door-keeper to the House of Commons, deposed, with the preceding witnesses, to the great crowd in the lobby, most, if not all, of whom, had blue cockades; and that the general cry was, 'A repeal, a repeal. No Popery, no Popery!' He said, that Lord George came to the door two or three times, and said 'he should come out, and let them know what was going on in the house; they had a good cause, and they had nothing to fear.' He came once, and said, 'Sir Michael le Fleming had spoken in their behalf like an angel.' They crowded much upon the witness, who said, 'For God's sake, gentlemen, keep from the door.' Lord George waved his hand, and said, 'pray, gentlemen, make what room you can; your cause is good, and you have nothing to fear.'

Thomas Baker, the lower door-keeper, deposed to the great crowd in the passage to the lobby, and to the cry of 'Repeal! No Popery, no popery!' On the Tuesday after, he said, the crowd was entirely kept out, and, as he thought, by the constables.

Sampson Wright, Esq; justice of the peace, deposed to his receiving directions from the lords to clear the avenues of the house on Friday the 2d of June, and to the measures he took in pursuance of their commands.

Sampson Rainsforth, high constable; Charles Jealous and Patrick Macmanus, officers of the police; David Mills, a constable; Thomas Gates, the city-marshal; William Hyde, Esq; justice of the peace; John Lucy, one of the Protestant Association; and Barnard Turner, commander of the London Military Association; respectively gave evidence of the outrages in various parts of the metropolis, from Friday the 2d of June till the Thursday following.

Lord Porchester deposed that he saw the prisoner in the House of Commons on Tuesday the 6th, with a blue cockade in his hat.

Richard Pond swore that he applied to the prisoner for a protection for his house; that he, the witness, produced the following papers, ready written, which his lordship signed in a coach, on his assuring him that it would be of service to him.

The paper read—it was literally as followeth:

'All true Friends to Protestants will be particular, and do no injury to the property of any true Protestant, as I am well assured the proprietor of this house is a staunch and worthy friend to the cause.'

G. GORDON.'

The witness's under-tenant being a Roman Catholic, he shewed this protection to the mob; he could not say that it was any security to his house, but it was not pulled down. Mr. Sheriff Pugh was with his lordship when he signed the paper: he was not certain whether his lordship read it; or not. Being asked, how this

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paper



paper came out of his hands, he said it was upon the application of Mr. White and Mr. Alderman Wilkes.

John Dingwall was called to prove the hand writing of the prisoner, but he declared that, tho' he was well acquainted with his writing, and had known him from his birth, he had never seen him write. On his cross-examination, being questioned with regard to what passed between him and Lord George the night he was with his lordship before the meeting in May, the attorney general opposed this question, observing, that what Lord George said might be evidence against himself, but could not be evidence for him. Mr. Kenyon said, 'that the meeting, which was held in St. George's Fields on the 2d of June, was or was not legally assembled; the motives for which they assembled, if Lord George was the assembler of it, would go a great way to shew whether they were legally assembled or not. If assembled for purposes hostile to the laws, it was illegal; but if Lord George conceived it constitutional to go up with it, with a considerable number of persons, and if he had assigned the reason why he was so to go up, that it was to remove the imputation, that he was carrying up a petition with forged names, he submitted to the court, that, whatever the motives were, it constituted either criminality, or absolved him from the guilt with which he was charged; he conceived, therefore, that, if he could demonstrate what the motives were which induced him to take the people there, it would go a great way, not only in extenuation of

his offence, but would totally extirpate the crime.' The court, however, were of opinion, that the private declaration of the prisoner could be no evidence of his motives, and the witness proceeded no further.

General Skene, Hugh Scott, Esq; Robert Grierson, and Wm. M'Kenzie, being successively called to prove the riots in Scotland in 1779, in order to establish a fact, said by several witnesses to be alluded to in the prisoner's declaration to the mob, the attorney-general here closed the evidence for the crown.

### *The Prisoner's Defence.*

Mr. Kenyon began with observing, how much it was to the disadvantage of the prisoner, that he should make his defence at that period, when, as the attorney-general had observed, the attention of the court and the jury must, in some measure, be exhausted; lamenting also, that, being very little versed in the criminal courts, he felt himself under great agitation of mind.

When persons were accused of actions of great enormity, it was natural, he said, to enquire into the motives of their conduct; and, when the noble family of the prisoner and his exalted situation as a member of the legislature were considered, it was not reasonable to think that his conduct could be influenced by such motives as had been imputed to him.

The crime imputed to the prisoner, he said, was under an Act [25 Edw. III.] enacted for the wisest purposes, that such enormous crimes should not depend upon



upon loose construction, but that men might see, in the plain words of the statute, what they were and what they were not to do. He lamented that there was such a phrase in the law as 'constructive' treason; and he believed that, when this law was enacted, the legislature had no idea, that such a phrase would find its way into the court at Westminster.

He next censured the attorney-general, for addressing himself to the passions of the jury by improper and exaggerated description; talking of a multitude collected together in a way descriptive of military arrangement.

Reviewing now the evidence in support of the prosecution, he came to that of William Hay, which he treated as very suspicious. He had contradicted himself in stating that he had seen Lord Gordon at Greenwood's rooms; and though his motives for being at all the meetings, and at the principal scenes of riot, were unaccountable, his evidence had ascertained one important fact, that in all these places there were persons who had nothing to do with Lord George Gordon, and who increased, if they did not make the crowd.

He seemed to insinuate, that this witness had been tutored in his evidence; for he made use of the military terms 'arrayed' and 'columns;' although, in his cross-examination, he had admitted, when asked whether Lord George had desired them to march in columns or divisions, that he had used only the latter expression. That part of his evidence, viz. that at the Crown and Rolls Tavern, he had heard Lord George

say, 'that, by the king's passing the Quebec bill, he had brought himself to that pass in which James II. was after his abdication,' he shewed to be not only unsupported by any other witness, but to be highly improbable, and that therefore it was sufficient to do away the whole of his evidence. As the fact was stated to have passed in the presence of a multitude of witnesses, there was no doubt, but that, from the great industry of those concerned for this prosecution; they would never have neglected to procure more witnesses to the fact, if, in reality, it had any existence.

Dwelling upon several inconsistencies in the evidence of this witness, and particularly upon his hesitating and stammering in some parts of it, he stated the duty of a jury in such a case. 'If juries, said Mr. Kenyon, are to believe witnesses, merely because they will swear to facts, juries are become of little use indeed. Those, who are acquainted with the profession, see and lament that there is no fact whatever that witnesses may not be brought to prove. It is for juries, therefore, to judge between the probable and the improbable, and to see whether the witness be supported by other witnesses.'

The second witness, Mr. Metcalf, had proved nothing material against the prisoner. The only important part of his evidence was, that Lord George had said, 'that he would go to the gallows for the cause.' But this witness had not heard on what occasion this expression was used. It seems, there had been a contrariety of opinion at this meeting, whether



an Act of Charles II, which prohibited persons above the number of twenty, carrying petitions to the legislature, was still in force or not. A gentleman of the law then present had asserted that this Act was still subsisting, and in course that all persons who went up with the petition would be involved in the penalties of that law. The prisoner's language arose from a difference of opinion on this subject. Here Mr. Kenyon said, that in his opinion this Act was no longer subsisting; that one of the articles of the Bill of Rights was expressly levelled against it; as we learn from the Bill of Rights, that it is the birth-right of Englishmen to petition the legislature; and, if they do it in a peaceable manner, whether signed by twenty or two hundred, it makes no difference. But, whether that Act were subsisting or not, Lord George's words could amount to nothing more than a strong mode of expression how much he thought his opinion right.

The third witness, Mr. Anstruther, received some compliments from Mr. Kenyon for the candour with which he gave evidence. There was no doubt that such an attentive evidence, a man of sense, and of a considerable station in life, had stated all that really did pass that was material. Hence he deduced the improbability of that part of Mr. Bowen's evidence, that Lord George had said that 'the Scotch had no redress till they pulled down the mass-houses.' In this Mr. Bowen was unsupported by Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Cater, or any one witness, to what passed while Lord George was speaking from the

gallery to the people in the lobby. Here again, says Mr. Kenyon, you are left to decide upon a very important part of the case upon the credit of a single witness. This was not because a second witness might not be called, if the matter were true, but it was because no industry whatever could induce other witnesses to come and swear to the same language. He did not, however, impeach the integrity of Mr. Bowen. 'I do not wonder,' added Mr. Kenyon, 'that parties are not extremely accurate in their recollection of what passed on that day. It was a day of tumult and of much agitation of mind; and that this gentleman at that time was frightened; that his mind was agitated; that he conceived things which perhaps never passed; and that conception being once got into his mind, he has not been able to erase the ideas from his mind since. I can only say, that this is possible; and, if you put him into a situation in which his mind was agitated, you put him in a situation where you cannot decide on the impressions he received, when he is giving evidence against a man standing in the situation of the prisoner, who was so much at stake.'

It had appeared in evidence, that there were other persons in the lobby besides those that belonged to the Protestant Association; and hence it might be inferred that there were many of them. Mr. Rainsforth, one of the witnesses, called to prove the riots in different parts of London, had stated, that the person who was in the lobby, urgent for a repeal, was a Col. Miles, a man of



of a different description from those that accompanied Lord George. Could *he* be suspected of belonging to the Protestant Association? Yet *he* was the person who harangued, as Mr. Rainsforth styled it, the mob in the lobby, who called out 'repeal, repeal!' and seemed the very soul of the meeting so got together. But what did this prove? Not that the persons under Lord George Gordon's controul, but that men of a very different description, under the controul of persons of a very different description, held that conversation in the lobby which had been imputed to Lord George Gordon as criminal. But was the prisoner, by inference and conjecture only, to be made answerable for that guilt, which was specifically, by witnesses, attributed to others?

Great pains had been taken to shew that the members of both houses had been interrupted and insulted in going to attend the national business. But the evidence was chiefly hearsay, and, in the principal facts, unsupported but by single witnesses. One material point had indeed been sworn to by Mr. Hyde, viz. that, when Lord Sandwich was attacked, there were parties there with blue cockades, and persons there not with the badges of those in St. George's Fields, but men of totally another description, who had different banners, red and black flags, and, therefore, it was probable, were a very different set of people.

In support of this probability, Mr. Kenyon next stated, that, after the many prosecutions that had been commenced, anxious and active as the crown officers had been, not one individual con-

nected with Lord George or the association had been found obnoxious to the laws; not one of them had been indicted. He admitted, that the most flagrant enormities had been perpetrated. But, if a multitude, not a mob of people, were got together, for good, not for illegal purposes, at least (which was enough for him) not for *traiterous* purposes, if the jury could suppose that other people of bad principles, and with bad designs, availing themselves of the meeting of the association, got together from all corners of the town, and formed the banditti that had committed all the outrages, how was this to be imputed to Lord George Gordon? The attorney-general had said, that, if a man turn out a wild beast, he was guilty of murder, if a man were killed by it. 'This,' said Mr. Kenyon, 'is not the law of the land, nor of humanity. If a man turn a wild beast into a room where death must necessarily ensue, no doubt he is as guilty as if a man shot into a crowd. But where a beast is turned out, and the probable consequences will not be that death will ensue, then is the crime to be imputed to him? Was Lord George Gordon's association the wild beast? If he had a tame beast in his hand, and another taking occasion from the tame beast being brought there, let out a wild beast, was he that leads the tame beast in his hand to be answerable, because another person opens a place, and lets out a tiger or a hyena?'

'Lord George Gordon,' continued Mr. Kenyon, 'was the President of a Protestant Association. An Act had passed, which  
rights



right or wrong, had given offence. Perhaps, in his opinion, it had given causeless ground of offence. But, because he differed from other men, was he therefore to treat them as traitors to their country? Our laws were not like those of the Medes and Persians, but were subject to revision; and it was the duty of Englishmen, if they thought there were laws which improperly tolerated men, whose principles were hostile to the constitution, to petition parliament to revise, or even to repeal such laws. He did not say that this was the case with the law that gave rise to the association; but, if *they* thought so, their right to petition was unquestionable.'

Mr. Kenyon now stated the motives of Lord George Gordon, for assembling such a multitude in St. George's Fields. He had been told in the House of Commons, that his petition could have no weight, for that the names were forgeries; and it was to wipe away this foul aspersion, that he wished the petitioners to attend him to the house. But they formed no army; they came with no weapons, no hostile intentions. They met at ten in the morning, because that was an hour of sobriety. Yet the words *array*, *columns*, and other military terms, had been thundered into the ears of the jury. Such words could not be used by witnesses for no purpose. The purpose must be a bad one, because it distorted the facts beyond their ordinary force; and, in such a case, the whole of the evidence was to be suspected.

Mr. Kenyon now adverted to

the protection that had been granted by Lord George Gordon. The jury, he said, would be struck with horror when they were informed how that happened. Lord George, terrified at the riots, finding the blame imputed to him, and wishing to get rid of such an unjust imputation, desired, as would afterwards be proved, to have access to his sovereign. He wished to throw himself at his majesty's feet, to profess his own innocence, and sorrow for the consequences that were supposed to result from acts of his. The access to the king was denied, but he was told, that he ought, as a test of his loyalty, to go into the city, and see if he could do any thing to put an end to the riots. With this view then he went into the city; but not at the head of the mob, but with one of the conservators of the peace, Mr. Sheriff Pugh. 'And here,' Mr. Kenyon added, 'a person came, and told him, if a note, which he brought to him, was signed by him, it would have a good effect. Suppose he had refused to sign it, I am sure it would have borne hard upon him; his refusal would have been imputed to wishes for outrage on the house of a Roman Catholic; and, had that argument been urged against him, I should have found some difficulty in turning the edge of it.' But he signed this paper with the most humane views, and yet this paper was produced to prove that he adopted all the enormities that had been committed by miscreants, with whom he had not the least connection.

Mr. Kenyon concluded with stating the duty of juries, and considering



siding in the good sense, discernment, and impartiality of that which he addressed.

Mr. Erskine then rose, and said, that he should reserve his address to the jury till after the witnesses for the prisoner had been called. To this the court assented; and the attorney-general said, that he was sure no objection would be made to it on the part of the counsel for the prosecution.

*Evidence for the Prisoner.*

The Rev. Erasmus Middleton, Lecturer of St. Bennet's, was one of the committee of the Protestant Association. He gave an account of its constitution, previous to the 12th of Nov. 1779, when Lord George Gordon became their president. Throughout the whole business of the association his lordship had demeaned himself in the most loyal manner. The witness had watched his conduct with a degree of jealousy, the committee being resolved not to allow any conversation reflecting upon any people whatever, and particularly administration. His lordship always appeared the most dispassionate of any of them, and to have no other view than simply the Protestant interest, and by all legal means to petition the House of Commons to repeal or to explain that Act. In all private conversations his lordship had expressed himself in terms of warm attachment to the king, the constitution, and the Protestant interest. They were happy in having him for their president, both on account of his rank, his good mo-

ral character, and his abilities. The witness being questioned whether in any of his public speeches at the association the prisoner had made use of any disloyal expressions, or that he meant to repeal the Bill by force of arms, or by intimidation, he answered strongly in the negative. Not one expression was made use of at their meetings that was hostile to government. The witness then gave an account of much contrariety of opinion at meetings previous to that of the 29th of May, respecting the time and mode of presenting the petition. At this last meeting Lord George said, 'he had been informed, that the association were against going up with their petition. Upon this from all parts it was immediately cried, 'No, my lord!' He then made the motion, which was carried unanimously. He then proposed that they should adjourn to St. George's Fields, as no place could contain the number that should assemble; that they should be arranged in different divisions, that he might go from one to the other, and learn the sense of the whole, with respect to the mode of taking up the petition; that it had been hinted, that it was a very easy matter for a person to write 500 names to a petition, and that therefore it was necessary they should appear to their subscriptions, to convince the world they were not fictitious. He begged they would dress themselves decently, and to distinguish them from other people, so that no riots might ensue, that they would have a cockade in their hats; that on such an occasion at least 20,000 might attend, and that they



should meet at ten in the morning. Some one objecting, that by meeting so early they might get to drinking, his lordship answered, that the Protestant Association were not drunken people. Another observing, that the military might be called out, he said, 'he did not apprehend that; they would be all peaceable, no doubt; that they should not so much as take sticks in their hands; if there were any riotous person, he begged that the rest would give him up; that if he should even strike any of them, not to return it, but to take such person out, that he might be given up to a constable, and taken away.' His lordship further said, that if he himself were at all riotous, he begged he might be given up, for he thought it was a proper spirit for Protestants; and, to the best of this witness's recollection, he said, 'if they smite you on one cheek, turn the other also.' On his cross examination, the witness said, that he, and some others of the committee, disapproved of the petition being carried up by the general body. Being asked whether it did not occur to him, that a petition presented so late in the session could not, in the ordinary course of proceeding, produce a Bill that session; he answered, that it might have been easily done, if it had been as hastily gone through as Sir George Savile's.

Lord Stormont deposed to Lord George Gordon's desiring to have access to his majesty, on the morning of Wednesday the 7th of June, as stated in Mr. Kenyon's speech; his message was, that 'he desired to see the king, because he could be of essential service in suppress-

ing the riots.' Lord Stormont delivered this message to the king, and returned with this answer: 'It is impossible for the king to see Lord George Gordon, until he has given proofs of his allegiance and loyalty, by employing those means which he says he has in his power to quell the disturbances, and restore peace to this capital. Lord George said, that, 'if he might presume to reply, his reply was, that his best endeavours should be used.'

Thomas Evans deposed, that he was a member of the P. A.; that being in a coach in Bridge-street, Westminster, on the second of June, between ten and eleven in the forenoon, he received some information from Mr. Smith, keeper of the Guildhall in Westminster; that the latter said was of great consequence to be communicated to Lord George Gordon, viz. that he had been credibly informed, that a number of weavers from Spital Fields—[Here the court said this was no evidence]. The witness then deposed, that on this information he proceeded to St. George's Fields, in order to endeavour to find Lord George Gordon; that he saw the Scotch division formed, in the center of which was Lord George; that he and one of his friends got out of the coach, and with difficulty got to the ring; he then told his lordship, that he had been informed by Mr. Smith, that there would be a riot in Westminster, if more than thirty or forty attempted to go to the house with the petition; and he asked him if he meant that the whole body was to attend him? He answered, 'by no means, by no means;' that 'he intended



intended to go to the house alone, and, some time after he had been there, the petition was to follow him to the lobby of the house, and there to wait till he came out to receive it.' The witness then expressed his pleasure in hearing this, as it would prevent the enemy from hurting the cause; and he asked his lordship to give him leave to tell the people so, who replied, 'with all his heart.' He then told the people, that they were to remain in the fields, my Lord George Gordon intending to go alone. He afterwards drove his coach up to the obelisk, being informed that they were forming divisions at the other end of the field. When he came there, he found the people were in a marching line, six in a row, with their faces towards the borough; he then got out of his coach, and asked them what they were going to do? they answered, 'to march through the city;' he then mentioned what Lord George Gordon had desired them to tell them, and that he was sure there would be a riot, if more than thirty or forty people went to the house. They answered, that 'he need not be afraid of that, for they were determined to make none.'

John Spinnage confirmed the evidence of the preceding witness, with respect to the prisoner's saying, 'that he meant to go up to the house alone.' The people he saw in the fields, he said, had no weapons or sticks, and were far from being of the rabble.

Mrs. Elizabeth Whittingham said she was in a coach in St. George's Fields on the second of June. Lord George Gordon came to the coach, and asked leave to

come into it, which she gave; he was near fainting away; he got into the coach. About thirty or forty gentlemen surrounded the coach, so that they could not drive off. These gentlemen desired they might attend Lord George, who begged they would not, 'he would have no assistance at all, he was very well.' They said, 'pray let us attend you to the house;' he answered, 'no, by no means, I shall be greatly obliged to you, gentlemen, if you will all go back;' for he did not chuse to be attended by them.

Alexander Johnston said, that he was the last in the procession of the London division. He was in Palace-yard between twelve and one. There were no riots. He then went with some friends to dine in the Strand. About six or seven word was brought to them, that there was a disturbance in Palace-yard. The company said to him, that they had better go and try to quell the mob. He opposed this, saying, that they (the mob) were no friends to the cause, and that it would be better to stay where they were. However, at their persuasions he went into Parliament-street. He saw about twenty boys, and five or six men; they were a set of boys and pick-pockets, not in the least like the Protestant association; they were stopping a coach: he seized one of the men, but was persuaded to let him go.

Alexander Frazer, one of the P. A. saw several bodies of people, sometimes a dozen, or so, collected on Westminster-bridge, about twelve o'clock on the second of June. They had all blue cockades. He did not think they belonged



belonged to the petitioners; for many of them were in liquor. He went close to them, and asked them if they belonged to the Protestant Association? One of them with a great stick, who seemed to be in liquor, held up his stick, and said, 'No, d——n it, this is all our association.' What became of them he knew not. At one o'clock he saw the disturbances at the end of Downing-street. They had all blue cockades.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerk said, that he was riding in St. George's Fields, on the 2d of June, about one o'clock. Vast numbers were in the fields, but the great body of them had marched away to the city. Those he saw in the fields appeared to be the better sort of tradesmen, all well dressed decent people. He asked a great number of them what was the occasion of their assembling. They all said that their desire was to have a stop put to public preaching and public teaching. They were all quiet and civil; but had no particular reason to be so to him, for he had never put a blue cockade in his hat. Sir Philip then spoke to what he observed afterwards in the lobby of the House of Commons. The people he first saw in the lobby were not the same, he thought, who were there very late in the evening; for the latter were a lower kind of people, more a mob of blackguards. He only heard part of the conversation which Lord George Gordon held to the people in the lobby. What he could recollect was, that Lord George said, 'the member for Bristol is now speaking, he is no friend to your petition; but take notice, I give you no advice, un-

less it is that you should be temperate and firm. On this cross-examination he gave a circumstantial account of his being dragged on Tuesday evening the 6th, in a chariot, with Lord George Gordon, to the house of Alderman Bull, in Leadenhall-street. When the mob took the horses out of the carriage, Lord George said, 'for God's sake, go peaceably home, and go about your business;' and whenever he could speak, he said, whilst you assemble in this tumultuous way, your petition will never be complied with, the house will never consent to it.' It was impossible to take more pains to persuade people to disperse than lord George did.

Mr. John Turner deposed, that being in St. George's Fields on the 2d of June, he heard Lord George Gordon tell the people, that 'if any thing had weight with their petition; it would be their quiet and peaceable behaviour, and, that nothing else would do; he was informed since he came into the fields, that a number of persons had come abroad that day, on purpose to raise a tumult;' and he bid them 'not be led away by any such persons.'

Mr. John Humphreys deposed to a gentleman's coming from Lord George Gordon, and desiring the people in St. George's Fields not to go up to the house on any consideration, but to disperse, for that there was an Act that specified that only so many people should go up with a petition.

Mr. Sampson Hotchkinson said, he was in St. George's Fields on the 2d of June. Some advice being brought to the ring by some mechanical persons, Ld. George Gordon



Gordon advised 'a certain number to go up with the petition; he would wish to avoid all offence, and it might be attended with contention and disorder; therefore he wished for a small number to go.' Many in the ring said, 'they were men capable of conducting themselves with peace and order, and they chose to go in person.'

Mr. John Robinson saw the association in St. George's Fields, and went in procession; they were very peaceable: in the afternoon, he saw the riots in Palace-yard; they had blue cockades; but he did not think they belonged to the association.

Sir James Lowther said, that Lord George Gordon requested to accompany him home in his carriage, from the House of Commons, on the evening of Friday the 2d. When they were got into the carriage, some of the remaining mob came about, and asked, 'Is the Bill to be repealed?' Lord George said, 'I do not know, I hope it will, but go home, be quiet, make no riot nor noise.'

Mrs. Youd, servant to Lord George Gordon, was called to prove that his Lordship was at home at a quarter before 11 o'clock on the evening of the 2d of June, and that he was at home Saturday, Sunday, and Monday following. Being asked whether he did not go out any part of these days, Mr. Erskine said he was ready, if the court thought it material, to shew where his lordship was every hour and every minute of those days.

Mr. Alderman Pugh said, that he was in a coach with Lord George Gordon, about three o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th of June.

A young man came with half a sheet of paper that was written upon; he seemed to be in great agony; he desired the prisoner to set his name to it; he said, 'his house was in danger of being destroyed, and he wished his lordship would sign the paper.' The witness was not clear whether Lord George asked his opinion or not, nor whether he looked at it, but his lordship did sign it; and the man seemed to go away happy.

The evidence for the crown being closed, Mr. Erskine addressed the jury in a very long speech, which he opened with a very clear and distinct history of treason. He stated the wisdom of our ancestors in guarding against the consequences of loose and arbitrary construction, by the most accurate and explicit definitions, and deducing hence a series of incontestable principles, he strongly exhorted the jury to apply them to the whole evidence before them. Then commenting on the various parts of the evidence in the most masterly manner, he concluded with these animated words: 'I may now relieve you from the pain of hearing me any longer, and be myself relieved from the pain of speaking on a subject which agitates and distresses me. Since Lord George Gordon stands clear of every hostile act or purpose against the legislature of his country, or the properties of his fellow subjects—since the whole tenor of his conduct repels the belief of the traitorous purpose charged by the indictment—my task is finished. I shall make no address to your passions; I will not remind you of the long and rigorous imprisonment he has suffered;



ed; I will not speak to you of his great youth, of his illustrious birth, and of his uniform, animated, and generous zeal in parliament for the constitution of his country. Such topics might be useful in the balance of a doubtful case; yet even then I should have trusted to the honest hearts of Englishmen to have felt them without excitation. At present, the plain and rigid rules of justice are sufficient to entitle me to your verdict; and may God Almighty, who is the secret author of both, fill your minds with the deepest impressions of them, and with virtue to follow those impressions! You will then restore my innocent client to liberty, and me to that peace of mind, which, since the protection of that innocence in any part depended upon me, I have never known.

The solicitor general replied.

After which, Lord Mansfield gave the following charge.

Gentlemen of the Jury,

The prisoner at the bar is indicted for that species of high-treason which is called levying war against the King, and therefore it is necessary you should first be informed what is in law a levying war against the King, so as to constitute the crime of high-treason, within the Statute of Edward III. and perhaps according to the legal signification of the term before that Statute. There are two kinds of levying war:—one against the person of the king, to imprison, to dethrone, or to kill him; or to make him change measures, or remove counsellors:—the other, which is said to be levied against the majesty of the king, or, in other words, against

him in his regal capacity; as when a multitude assemble to attain by force any object of a general public nature; that is levying war against the majesty of the king; and most reasonably so held, because it tends to dissolve all the bands of society, to destroy property, and to overturn government; and by force of arms, to restrain the king from reigning according to law.

Insurrections, by force and violence, to raise the price of wages—to open all prisons, to destroy meeting-houses, nay, to destroy all brothels, to resist the execution of militia laws, to throw down all inclosures, to alter the established law, or change religion, to redress grievances real or pretended, have all been held levying war. Many other instances might be put. Lord Chief Justice Holt, in Sir John Freind's case, says, 'if persons do assemble themselves and act with force in opposition to some law which they think inconvenient, and hope thereby to get it repealed, this is a levying war and treason.' In the present case, it don't rest upon an implication that they hoped by opposition to a law to get it repealed, but the prosecution proceeds upon the direct ground, that the object was, by force and violence, to compel the legislature to repeal a law; and therefore without any doubt, I tell you the joint opinion of us all, that if this multitude assembled with intent, by acts of force and violence, to compel legislature to repeal a law, it is high-treason.

Though the form of an indictment for this species of treason mentions drums, trumpets, arms, swords,



swords, pikes, and guns, yet none of these circumstances are essential. The question always is, whether the intent is, by force and violence, to attain an object of a general and public nature, by any instruments, or by dint of their numbers. Whoever incites, advises, encourages, or is any way aiding to such a multitude so assembled with such intent, though he does not personally appear among them, or with his own hands commit any violence whatsoever, yet he is equally a principal with those who act, and guilty of high-treason.

Having premised these propositions as the ground-work of your deliberation upon the points which will be left to you, it will not be amiss to lay a matter which you have heard a great deal upon at the bar totally out of the case. Whether the Bill, called Sir George Savile's, was wise or expedient—whether the repeal of it would have been right or wrong—has nothing to do with this trial. Whether grievances be real or pretended—whether a law be good or bad—it is equally high-treason, by the strong hand of a multitude, to force the repeal or redress.

Thus much let me say, it is most injurious to say this Bill, called Sir George Savile's, is a toleration of Popery. I cannot deny, that, where the safety of the state is not concerned, my own opinion is, that men should not be punished for mere matter of conscience, and barely worshipping God in their own way: but where what is alledged as matter of conscience is dangerous or pre-

judicial to the state, which is the case of Popery, the safety of the state is the supreme law, and an erroneous religion, so far as upon principles of sound policy that safety requires ought to be restrained and prohibited; no good man has ever defended the many penal laws against Papists upon any other ground: but this Bill is not a toleration, it only takes away the penalties of one Act out of many.

They are still subjects to all the penalties created in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and yet you know Queen Elizabeth succeeded to the crown soon after a cruel tyrant of the Popish religion. The Reformation was established in her reign. She was excommunicated by the pope, and her dominions given away. Her next heir was a bigotted Papist\*. She was exposed to many plots of assassination; therefore sound policy, and even the preservation of her life, during her reign, called for many penal laws against Papists.

This Act repeals no penalty enacted in the reign of King James the First; yet in that reign the provocations given by Papists were great. It began with the Gunpowder Plot; and no wonder severe laws were made against them.

This Act repeals no law made in the reign of King Charles the Second; and yet you know the dread of a Popish successor, and the jealousy of the court at that time, occasioned many penal laws to be made against Papists.

In the reign of William the Third, the security of the new go-

† Mary, Queen of Scots.



vernment made penal laws against Papists necessary; yet this bill repeals none made during the first ten years of his reign: it only repeals some additional penalties introduced by an Act that passed at the end of his reign, which is notoriously known to have been countenanced or promoted by him. Therefore be the merits of the Bill, called Sir George Savile's, as it may, it is totally a misrepresentation to infer from thence that Papists are tolerated. It is a cry to raise the blind spirit of fanaticism, or enthusiasm, in the minds of a deluded multitude, which, in the history of the world, has been the cause of much ruin and national destruction. But I have already told you the merits of this law are totally immaterial upon this trial; and nothing can be so dishonourable to government, as to be forced to make, or to repeal, by an armed multitude, any law; from that moment there is an end of all legislative authority.

There is another matter I must mention to you, before I come to state the questions upon which you are to form a judgment, and sum up the evidence, from which that judgment is to be a conclusion.

A doubt has faintly been thrown out at the bar, whether it is lawful to attend a petition to the House of Commons with more than ten persons? Upon dear-bought experience of the consequence of tumultuous assemblies, under pretence of carrying and supporting petitions, an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of King Charles the Second, forbidding, under a penalty, more than ten persons to attend a petition to the king, or

either house of parliament: but it is said, that the law is repealed by the Bill of Rights. I speak the joint opinion of us all, that the Act of Charles the Second is in full force; there is not the colour for a doubt: the Bill of Rights does not mean to meddle with it at all: it asserts the right of the subject to petition the king, and that there ought to be no commitments for such petitioning; which alluded to the case of the bishops in King James's reign, who petitioned the king and were committed for it.—But neither the Bill of Rights, nor any other statute, repeals this Act of Charles the Second: and Mr. Justice Blackstone, in his Commentaries, treats of this Act as in full force; and, as I have told you, we are all of that opinion; and consequently the attending a petition to the House of Commons by more than ten persons is criminal and illegal.—Having premised these several propositions and principles, the subject-matter for your consideration naturally resolves itself into two points.

First, Whether this multitude did assemble and commit acts of violence with intent to terrify and compel the legislature to repeal the Act called Sir George Savile's.—If upon this point your opinion should be in the negative, that makes an end of the whole, and the prisoner ought to be acquitted; but if your opinion should be, that the intent of this multitude, and the violence they committed, was to force a repeal, there arises a second point—

Whether the prisoner at the bar incited, encouraged, promoted, or assisted in raising this insurrection,

and



and the terror they carried with them, with the intent of forcing a repeal of this law.

Upon these two points, which you will call your attention to, depends the fate of this trial; for if either the multitude had no such intent, or supposing they had, if the prisoner was no cause, did not excite, and took no part in conducting, counselling, or fomenting the insurrection, the prisoner ought to be acquitted; and there is no pretence that he personally concurred in any act of violence.

[His lordship now summed up the evidence *verbatim* to the jury; in the course of which he told them, that he observed that most of them had taken very full notes—that he purposely avoided making any observations upon the evidence, chusing to leave it to themselves; then concluded as follows:

This, gentlemen, is the whole of the evidence on either side: you will weigh this evidence, and all the observations made at the bar, or which occur to yourselves, upon it—I avoid making any. The points for you to determine are—Whether this multitude were assembled and acted with an intent, to force a repeal of this called Sir George Savile's Act; and if you think such was their intent, whether the share the prisoner had in getting together such a number of people to go down to the House of Commons—in meeting them in St. George's Fields—in talking to them in the lobby—in wearing the cockade on Friday and Saturday—or in any other part of his con-

duct—had the same intent by the terror of an outrageous multitude, and the violences they committed and threatened, to force a repeal of this Act. If there was no such intention, either in the mob or in the prisoner, he ought to be acquitted: but if you think there was such an intent in the multitude, encouraged, incited, or promoted by the prisoner, then you ought to find him guilty.

If the scale should hang doubtful, and you are not fully satisfied that he is guilty, you ought to lean to the favourable side, and acquit him.

The court sat at eight o'clock on the Monday morning; and at three quarters after four on the Tuesday morning the jury withdrew. They returned into court at a quarter after five o'clock with a verdict finding the prisoner

NOT GUILTY.

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*Particulars of the Trial of M. De la Motte, on a charge of High Treason.*

ON Saturday morning the 14th of July, at 9 o'clock, M. De la Motte was brought from Mew-Prison, Clerkenwell, to the Old-Bailey, and having challenged several of the jurymen, twelve were chosen, after which his trial came on. The counsel who attended on behalf of the crown were, the attorney and solicitor general, Mr. Howarth, and Mr. Norton. For the prisoner, Mr. Dunning and Mr. Peckham. The indictment



indictment consisted of numerous counts, the first of which charged M. De la Motte with compassing the death of the king, and the others laid divers overt acts of a treasonable connection with the French court to destroy the naval power of this country.

The first witness examined was Stephen Radcliffe, who had a vessel constantly going to Boulogn, and was frequently the carrier of packets from the prisoner to the French commissary. His pay was 20*l.* for every trip to the continent.

The next witness, Mr. Rougier, proved the engagement of himself and Radcliffe in the service of the prisoner; that he received eight guineas a month for his trouble in forwarding packets, and also all his charges from Dover to London, when he waited on the prisoner in town: that a Mr. Waltern was concerned in the business with the prisoner, and letters frequently came from France directed to himself, which he never opened, but delivered to the prisoner or Mr. Waltern, knowing they were for those gentlemen.

Mr. Stewart deposed to having received from Radcliffe several packets intended for an English merchant at Boulogn, who appeared to be an agent for the French ministry; but which, instead of forwarding, he stopped and communicated to Lord Hillsborough, who took copies of all, and then returned them to Mr. Stewart, who, by his lordship's order sent them to Boulogn, and by this contrivance the schemes of the prisoner were frustrated, by government having a previous

knowledge of the contents of the various packets.

Sir Stanyer Porten, of Lord Hillsborough's office, deposed that he received a packet from Mr. Stewart, in July; that he copied one of the letters himself, and had others copied for him, and then put the originals again into the cover and delivered them to the post; another of the second of August, and some others after that time, received in like manner, were copied, and put into the Post-Office, to be conveyed to Mr. Stewart, with orders to be forwarded to their destination.

On cross-examination Sir Stanyer said, he delivered the papers to a Mr. Maddison, and two other gentlemen, clerks in the Post-Office, but he could not recollect to which person of the three.

Here an argument arose, whether or not these copies of letters ought to be admitted as evidence; the counsel for the prosecution contending, that the copies being authenticated, were as admissible as the originals; and the counsel for the prisoner concluding they were not, and Mr. Peckham even going so far as to contend, that if the originals themselves were produced they would not be admissible, as not being proved to have been delivered from M. De la Motte to Radcliffe, and not appearing the author of them from any handwriting or signature; to which last observation it was answered, that Radcliffe received the packets from Rougier, which Rougier received from De la Motte, and thus the chasm was filled up; but here a doubt arose, whether the letters which were copied by Sir Stanyer Porten



Porten were the identical letters so traceable to De la Motte through Radcliffe, and through Rougier, in order to complete the chain necessary to make the copies admissible.

The constable, who apprehended the prisoner, proved, that he threw several papers out of his waistcoat pocket, which being read, appeared to be an account, comprehending all the particulars of Governor Johnstone's squadron, and intelligence of our marine in the different ports, their destination and condition, both with regard to victualling and strength.

Mr. Slater, the king's messenger, deposed, that he took Mr. Lutterloh into custody at his house at Wickham, in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth; that Mr. Lutterloh made a free confession of his guilt, and by his direction he found a bundle of papers in the garden, several of which were the hand writing of the prisoner, directed to the Commandant of Brest, and others to the Commandant of Cadiz, together with instructions to Mr. Lutterloh, from the prisoner, prescribing a mode of conduct during their connection in the treasonable conspiracy against this kingdom.

Mr. Lutterloh was next called and his testimony was of so serious a nature, that the court seemed in a state of astonishment during the whole of his long examination. He said, that he embarked in a plot with the prisoner in the year 1778 to furnish the French court with secret intelligence of the navy; for which at first he received only eight guineas a month; the importance of his information appeared, however, so clear to the

the prisoner, that he shortly after allowed him fifty guineas a month besides many valuable gifts; that upon any emergency he came post to town to M. De la Motte, but common concurrences relative to their treaty he sent by the post. He identified the papers found in his garden, and the seals, he said, were M. De la Motte's; and well known in France. He had been to Paris by direction of the prisoner, and was closetted with Monsieur Sartine, the French minister. He had formed a plan for capturing Governor Johnstone's squadron, for which he demanded 8000 guineas, and a third share of the ships to be divided amongst the prisoner, himself, and his friend in a certain office, but the French court would not agree to yielding more than an eighth share of the squadron. After agreeing to enable the French to take the commodore, he went to Sir Hugh Palliser, and offered a plan to take the French, and to defeat his original project with which he had furnished the French court. Mr. Dunning was wearied out in cross-examining this witness, and declared, he was so shocked that he must retire; and, after staying up stairs some time, he went home extremely ill. Mr. Peckham then for a long time questioned the witness.

On being severely questioned by Mr. Dunning, Lutterloh gave a short abstract of his life, of which the following are the most remarkable circumstances:—About fifteen years since he came to England upon a visit to an uncle, who was ambassador from the Duke of Brunswick; and going to a Mr. Taylor's to learn English, he be-



came enamoured of that gentleman's daughter, and married her whereby he incurred the displeasure of his relations. Being reduced to distress, he engaged as a livery servant to Capt. Philips, upon quitting whose service he lived in the same capacity with Mr. Wildman of Lincoln's Inn. Being dismissed from Mr. Wildman he took a chandler's shop in Great Wild-street, and having accepted the drafts of a relation to a considerable amount, he was much harassed by the pressing importunities of his creditors, to avoid whose importunities he retired to Germany, some time after which he returned to England, and availed himself of an insolvent Act.

Being at Portsmouth during the late naval review, he gained employment as book-keeper at the George Inn. In this situation he projected a scheme for purchasing arms in the petty German states for the use of America, and visited that quarter of the globe, in order to promote this plan, which however was not attended with success, and after this commenced his connection with the prisoner.

He acknowledged, that he supplied the prisoner with accounts of the state of the West-India fleet, the number of sick and wounded at Haflar, in a letter directed to Mr. John Tweed, of Philpot-lane, London, and that other information was conveyed, under cover of franks, to Mr. Wall, of Little Carrington-street, May-fair, who deals in pamphlets, news-papers, &c.

He further confessed, that in violation of a solemn engagement with the prisoner, wherein it was

stipulated, that they should on no consideration betray each other, after being raised from a state of the most extreme indigence to independency with respect to pecuniary circumstances, by his generosity, he had, with a view to make some restitution to the country he had been so industrious to injure, but more with a design to enrich himself, communicated the whole particulars of the iniquitous schemes in which he had been engaged.

He was asked by Mr. Dunning, whether, immediately after leaving the grand jury, when the indictment was preferred, he did not say to Rousseau, that there was not evidence for finding a Bill without the facts to which he was to swear, but that his depositions would cause De la Motte to be convicted, in which case he should derive great profit. This he denied; but owned he had offered to lay a wager that De la Motte would be hanged. A great number of letters which he, the witness, had sworn to be the handwriting of De la Motte, relative to the state of our fleet, rates, guns, weight of metal, outfit, commanders, destination, complement of men, &c. &c. were read, and appeared to contain the most precise, and we presume, accurate accounts, which fully confirmed the observation made by the attorney-general, on his opening the prosecution, and which he said ought to be much regretted, "that the great sums the prisoner had to dispose of enabled him to carry corruption to very *great and dangerous* lengths."

Mr. Rousseau deposed, that on the day when the indictment was preferred before the grand jury,

Lutter-



Lutterloh expressed sorrow for the melancholy situation of De la Motte, saying at the same time he would be hanged, for the ministry would be glad of the opportunity that was afforded them of gratifying their vengeance; and adding, that he *wished he might be hanged, for he could do his business better without him.*

Mr. Lepel deposed, that he knew Lutterloh when he kept a chandler's-shop in Wild-street, at which time he proposed to this deponent a plan for purchasing 25,000 stand of arms for the use of the Americans, whereby, being assisted by Dr. Franklin and some German officers, a large fortune might be raised.

Mr. Wildman swore, that in 1770, or 1771, Lutterloh lived with him as a servant, during which time an accident happened (alluding to his bureau being broken open and rifled of about 80 or 90l.) but he did not pretend to assert, that Lutterloh had been the robber; but his suspicions, and the motives which gave birth to them, were such as to fully justify him in his own conscience to refuse Lutterloh a character when he dismissed him from his service.

After the examination of other witnesses to collateral circumstances, Mr. Peckham arose and combated the whole of the charge; and contended, that both in point of law and fact, the indictment must fall to the ground, for that the overt acts were not proved, and as to the papers describing the state of our fleet, and the sick and wounded seamen, they were no more than what might be every day read in a news-paper. He entered into the history of M. De

la Motte, said he was a French nobleman, and he would not call him prisoner, but an unfortunate gentleman, brought to the bar for his life through the contrivance of a witness, with whom M. De la Motte had been acquainted, and who, to screen himself from punishment, had charged the offence of a treasonable correspondence upon M. De la Motte. He took many other liberties with Mr. Lutterloh in the course of his observations, and having used many arguments to shew that M. De la Motte had acted only as a trader from England to France, and that the crime charged was more imputable to M. Lutterloh, he called two witnesses to impeach his character, but they failed in such kind of proof.

The solicitor-general was a considerable time in reply, and defended the evidence of Mr. Lutterloh; and Mr. Justice Buller, at nine o'clock began to charge the jury; in the course of which, he said, that collecting intelligence for the purpose of furnishing our enemies, was high treason.

The jury, after a short deliberation, pronounced the prisoner Guilty, &c. as has been already related, in our Chronicle for July, p. 184.

M. De la Motte was about five feet ten inches in height, 50 years of age, and of a comely countenance; his deportment was exceedingly genteel, and his eye was expressive of strong penetration. He wore a white cloth coat and a linen waistcoat, worked in tam-bour. After sentence Mr. Akerman's servants prepared to reconduct him to prison, but being ignorant of their design, he sat in



the chair in which he had sat during almost the whole of the trial, but upon the matter being explained to him, he rose, paid a polite obedience to the court and retired.

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*Copy of Lord George Gordon's Correspondence with Lord North and Lord Southampton, September 3, 1781.*

*To the Right Hon. Lord North,  
First Lord of the Treasury, &c.  
&c. &c.*

“ My Lord,

“ **T**HE committee of correspondence for the Protestant interest at Edinburgh, have done me the honour to intrust to my care a very valuable book to be delivered to the king. It is entitled *Scotland's Opposition to the Popish Bill*, and contains a collection of all the *declarations and resolutions* published by the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, and the different provincial synods, presbyteries, associate presbyteries, kirk sessions, counties, cities, royal boroughs, boroughs, towns, parishes, incorporations, and societies throughout Scotland against the proposed repeal of the Statutes enacted; and for ever ratified, by the Revolution and Union parliament, for preventing the growth of Popery: with an introduction, giving a short history of the rise, progress, and effects of that national alarm; and an Appendix, containing a short view of the Statutes at present in force in Scotland against Popery, the nature of the Bill proposed to be brought into parliament for repealing those Statutes, and some

remarks, shewing the propriety and necessity of opposing such repeal; with a few hints on the constitutional and prudent mode of opposition. Printed by David Paterson, at Edinburgh.

“ I think it right to send this information to your lordship, that you may acquaint the king, I have a book of such consequence to deliver into his majesty's own hands; and, that I humbly wait his majesty's pleasure to know, whether I shall have the honour of presenting it to his majesty at his public levee, or at his private house, or when his majesty is sitting upon the throne? My wish is (at the same time that I do my duty towards the people of Scotland) to comply with all the forms and ceremonies of the Court of London, in approaching the king on a public subject of the deepest political consideration.

I have the honour to be,  
my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient  
and humble servant,  
G. GORDON.

*Welbeck-street,  
Sep. 3, 1781.*

N. B. Your lordship, on this occasion, will have an opportunity of advising with his majesty on a gracious answer, according to the principles laid down at the Reformation and Revolution, and the strict and solemn engagement to abide by those principles, which was the covenanted bargain that raised the Prince of Orange from Holland, and his present majesty's predecessors from Hanover, to the throne of these kingdoms. A gracious answer in time, to be read at the public meeting of the Protestant



testant Association on Wednesday evening, might have the good effect of tending in some degree to quiet the minds and apprehensions of the association in general; and, I am confident that such an answer would be looked upon, and esteemed as a due attention to the *declarations and resolutions of their country*, by the Scotch division of Protestants in London; who, permit me to tell your lordship, are very respectable indeed, and numerous too, about twenty thousand men, including the train of artillery at Woolwich, and the best part of all the regiments of horse and foot-guards. If your lordship was to advise his majesty to complement them on their discernment and loyalty in opposing the Popery Bill, I think it would be judicious, and in season."

The following answer was sent by the Right Hon. Lord North to the Right Hon. Lord George Gordon:

"LORD North's compliments to Lord George Gordon: if his lordship has any book to present to the king, he must present it at the levee."

*Wrexton, Sept. 8, 1781.*

The following letter was sent on the same day to the Right Hon. Lord Southampton, Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

"My Lord,

"THE committee of correspondence for the Protestant interest at Edinburgh, have done me the honour to entrust to my care a very valuable book, to be deli-

vered to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

[Here follows the title of the book, as in the letter to Lord North.]

"I think it right to send this information to your lordship, that you may acquaint the Prince of Wales that I have a book of such consequence to deliver into his royal highness's hands; and that I humbly wait his royal highness's pleasure, to know when and where I shall have the honour of presenting it to him. My wish is, at the same time that I do my duty towards the people of Scotland, to comply with all the forms and ceremonies of his royal highness's establishment in approaching the heir apparent of the House of Hanover, on a public subject of the deepest political consideration.

I have the honour to be,  
my lord,

Your lordship's most obedient  
and humble servant,  
G. GORDON.

*Welbeck-street,  
Sept. 3, 1781.*

"P. S. I have had the honour to receive great civilities from your lordship both in London and at Paris, and I have not forgot them. I have always looked up to your lordship as a man of good understanding and integrity, as well as of the most agreeable and refined manners. I believe the public also, in general, think your lordship very well qualified for the high and important office of first lord in the establishment of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and I have no doubt, but your lordship will use the utmost  
[2] 2 of



of your abilities in guarding the heir apparent of the House of Hanover, against those principles and practices which *we* in Scotland could not put up with, even under our own ancient, hereditary, and royal family of the House of Stuart, from whose loins your lordship is descended.

“ Permit me to assure your lordship I do not mention your royal descent as any blemish; on the contrary I think it very noble. But I wish, indeed, to remind your lordship, in a serious manner, that *we noblemen*, whose ancient families have been so closely related, allied, and attached to the royal House of Stuart in former times of dangerous politics, have the discerning eyes of the true Protestant people throughout Europe and America, most steadily fixed upon *us* at this present moment; therefore *our* advice and conduct (as faithful friends to the House of Hanover, being Protestants) ought to be exemplarily decided in support of Reformation and Revolution principles.”

*Lord Southampton's Answer to Lord George Gordon;*

“ My Lord,

“ HIS royal highness is out of town at present; when I have an opportunity, I will lay your letter before him.

“ I beg leave to apprise your lordship, that the Prince of Wales (not having a court) gives no audience.

I have the honour to be,  
my lord,

Your most obedient  
humble servant,  
“ SOUTHAMPTON.”

Sept. 6, 1781.

On Friday the 14th instant, Lord George Gordon came to the outward room at St. James's with a book. The lord in waiting informed him, that nobody could be permitted to deliver a book to the king, without his majesty's permission being first asked and obtained. Lord George appeared at the levee without the book; and after the levee was over, the lord in waiting took the king's pleasure, and signified to Lord George, that his majesty having considered Lord George Gordon's letter to Lord North, announcing his intention to deliver a book, did not think proper to admit Lord Geo. Gordon into his presence, to present *any book* announced by *such a* letter.

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*Remarkable Actions at Sea.*

*Admiralty-Office, March 13, 1781.*

*Extract of a Letter from Lieut. Ingles, commanding his Majesty's Sloop Zephyr, to Mr. Stephens, dated Spithead, March 11, 1781.*

PLEASE to acquaint their lordships of his majesty's sloop Zephyr, under my command, being arrived at Spithead from the coast of Africa, after a passage of 57 days.

I likewise have the honour of acquainting their lordships, that on 31st of October last, being just returned to Goree from a cruize, I received intelligence from Governor Wall of a French frigate of 24 guns being in Gambia River, which had taken two transports and two sloops there, wooding and watering for the garrison of Goree. I immediately sailed, with the



the Polly Letter of Marque, mounting sixteen short four-pounders, with thirty men, under my command, agreeable to the advice of Governor Wall.

On the 2d of November, at eleven A. M. being at the entrance of the river, saw four sail at anchor off Barra Point; found them to be one of the transports, two sloops, and a French frigate; the transport mounted sixteen guns, and was, as I heard manned with Frenchmen and Negroes, belonging to Albedra, on the banks of Gambia, and interested with the French. At twelve, the transport and two sloops were set on fire, the other transport being burnt the preceding day. At one P. M. the enemy's ships being under weigh, and the Zephyr within pistol-shot of her, a warm action ensued, and lasted till four P. M. when, thro' chafing, the Zephyr and enemy grounded, at very near low water, as close to each other as before, which occasioned the action to be renewed with redoubled violence, hence more resembling two batteries on shore, than a sea fight. During the greatest part of the action, the letter of marque was anchored three quarters of a mile a-stern; but, notwithstanding, a continual fire was kept up by the Zephyr and enemy till six, when the enemy struck, with the loss of twelve killed, and twenty-eight wounded; the Zephyr two killed, and four wounded, her bowsprit, main-top-mast, and main yards shot away, her hull, masts, yards, sails and rigging very much shattered, insomuch, that with the greatest difficulty on the twelfth we arrived at Goree. During the whole of the action, the Zephyr

was in the utmost danger from fire rafts, both under her bows and stern; but luckily the destructive intentions of the enemy proved abortive.

After boarding the enemy, found her to be the Senegal (Lieutenant Commandant Allery) the French king's ship, mounting eighteen six-pounders, and 126 men, but fought the Zephyr with twenty-two, owing to transporting guns. She was formerly the Racehorse, commanded by Lord Mulgrave, and lately the Senegal, in his majesty's service. As she was of great detriment to his majesty's trading subjects on the coast of Africa, the taking of her gives me the utmost pleasure and satisfaction.

On our arrival on the 12th at Goree from Gambia, Governor Wall gave me information of two vessels being off Senegal Bar, taking in gum. Ready to act consonant with his information, tho' in so shattered a condition, and the Senegal not condemned, from which the property of the captors was at stake, we cheerfully consented to proceed in pursuit of the apparent success; but the wind being at N. E. directly contrary, and the Zephyr in an infirm situation, after beating five days out at sea, the ships were obliged to return to Goree, in order to refit, on purpose that we might a second time be able to attempt the expedition.

On our return the condemnation of the ship Senegal was entered upon, and the Judge Advocate demanding an inventory, proper officers and men were sent from the Zephyr for that purpose, and that of refitting her for the afore-said



said expedition; but alas! through some unknown cause, on the 22d of November she was unhappily blown up, with the loss of Lieut. George Crofts, and 22 others, officers and seamen, specified by the inclosed list.

I flatter myself their lordships will shew all necessary indulgence to the officers and seamen's friends, who nobly and gallantly supported me in the late action, and unluckily suffered by the above accident.

A list of the Officers and Seamen belonging to his Majesty's Sloop Zephyr, who were blown up in the French King's Frigate, La Senegal, Lieutenant Allery, Commandant, on the 22d of November, 1780.

Geo. Crofts, lieutenant; Francis Fyffe, mate; Lauder Rutherford, able; Tho. Harris, boatswain; Wm. Tramplett, gunner; Thomas Nesbit, clerk; John Croker, captain's mate; John Parminter, sail-maker; P. M'Kewen, quarter-gunner; Henry Clark, able; Mark Short, ditto; George Williams, ditto; John Oakes, ditto; Cabel Cornwall, ditto; Andrew Buchanan, ditto; Wm. Forsyth, captain's servant; John Lawlers, able; Thomas Smith, ditto; Wm. Baker ditto; Tho. Crofts, ditto; Jo. Hall ditto; Thomas O'Hara, ditto.

*Transactions on board the Nonfuch, in an Engagement between the 14th and 15th of May 1781, received in Vice-Admiral Darby's Letter of the 19th of May.*

ON the 14th, being the lookout ship from the van squadron, at eight A. M. saw three sail in the N. E. made the signal,

chased; soon after we saw a sail in the E. S. E. which we took to be a French line of battle ship; chased, gained upon her. At about half past ten at night came along side of her; she gave us her broadside, we returned it; she dropt astern, we wore and raked her; we continued the action for near an hour, during some part of which we were on board one another; she carried away our sprit-sail yard, and our anchor hooking her quarter carried away the flukes of it. All this time she had so much the worst of the action, that she took the opportunity of our heads being different ways to make all the sail she could to get away; we wore and chased her again; our mizen-masts being entirely disabled prevented our getting up with her before five A. M. It being day-light, we could distinguish one another plainly; she appeared to be a French 80 gun ship, in good order for battle.

Some people on board us, who pretend to know, say she is the Languedoc. At five we began the action again, and continued till half past six, when finding our ship much disabled, the fore-yard coming down, all the masts, yards, sails and rigging much hurt, guns dismounted; the wreck of these, and dead and wounded men filling the deck, I thought it proper to haul our wind, in order to clear it. The enemy kept on her course for Brest.

Our loss in men is 26 killed, and 64 wounded†.

(Signed) JA. WALLACE,

† Among the former are no officers; but among the latter are, viz. Mr. Spry 1st, Mr. Falconer 3d, Mr. Market 4th lieutenants, Mr. Williams, acting lieutenant; Mr. Stone, master; Mr. Hotham, boatswain.

*Extract*



*Extract of a Letter from Capt. Wm. Peere Williams, of his Majesty's Ship Flora, to Mr. Stephen's, Secretary to the Admiralty, dated Spithead, June 27, 1781.*

ON May 29th, discovering two Dutch frigates, we (the Flora and Crescent) prepared for immediate action; but the wind increasing to a storm, obliged us to wait a more favourable opportunity. At seven in the evening the gale abated, and the next morning the sea was considerably fallen. Having kept the enemy in sight all night, at day break we edged towards them, and at five commenced the action, ship against ship, within a cable's length of each other, which was continued without intermission for two hours and a quarter, when our adversary struck her colours. She proved to be the Castor frigate, of Rotterdam, commanded by Capt. Pieter Melvill, mounting 26 twelve and ten six-pounders; her complement consisting of 230 men.

The action between the Crescent and Brill, a frigate of the same rate as the Castor, mounting 26 twelve, 2 six, and 8 four pounders, continued some minutes longer; when an unlucky shot carrying away the main and mizen masts of the Crescent, and the wreck falling within board, whereby her guns were rendered useless and the ship ungovernable, Capt Pakenham was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of striking the king's colours. Seeing her situation, we, with great difficulty, got our ship's head towards her, and by that means prevented the enemy taking possession of her, who made

off in the best manner they could. Had our disabled state been such as to have permitted us to have pursued, the bad condition of the Crescent and Castor, (both of which ships made between four and five feet water an hour) would have rendered such a step unjustifiable.

The steady and resolute behaviour of my officers and crew on this occasion merits my warmest praise and admiration; and I hope will recommend them to their lordship's favour.

It would be doing injustice to the merit of Captain Pakenham, his officers, and ship's company, if I concluded my letter without acknowledging they did as much as men could do to support the dignity of the British flag, till that unfortunate accident, which deprived them of every means of resistance, and the success that would otherwise have attended. The Brill must have received considerable damage from the Crescent; her main mast was seen to go by the board early in the afternoon.

I beg you will acquaint their lordships, that I took upon me to recommit his majesty's ship the Crescent, and appointed my first lieutenant, Mr. John Bligh, to the command of her; reinstating the rest of the officers; and that Lieutenant, Ellery, second lieutenant of the said ship, having since died of the wounds he received in action, I have appointed Mr. Peter Creed, Master of the Flora, whom I strongly recommended to their lordships for promotion, after the action with the Nymph, to succeed him; which steps I hope their lordships will approve. In my



my own ship I have appointed Mr. John Evans to act as third lieutenant, a young man who has served his time in the navy, and who is very deserving of promotion.

The following is an account of the killed and wounded on board his majesty's frigates Flora and Crescent, and the Dutch frigate Castor.

Flora	{ 9 killed, 32 wounded.
Crescent	{ 26 killed, 67 wounded.
Castor	{ 22 killed, 41 wounded.

I am sorry to add to this letter a circumstance which gives me infinite concern.

As soon as the damages of the three ships were repaired in the best manner we were able, which employed us five days, we proceeded on our passage without interruption, till the 19th inst. when, early in the morning, in lat. 47. N. long. 6. 30. W. being in chase of a privateer brig, which had dogged us all night, and part of the preceding day, I discovered, upon the clearing away of a squall, two ships to windward, edging towards me; upon which I veered ship, and returned to the Crescent and Castor, flattering myself the appearance of our force united would check the ardour of their pursuit: but in this I was mistaken; they still continued the chase, encouraged, I have no doubt, by the disabled appearance of my consorts, and gained upon us very fast. Conscious of our actual want of strength, I did not think it adviseable to hazard an action, and my officers were unanimously of the same opinion.

Each ship therefore shaped a different course, and about one o'clock P. M. I had the mortification to see the Castor retaken by one of the frigates, which fired a gun, and hoisted French colours, though till that moment they had chased under English. The other frigate, not being able to come up with the Flora, bore away about three o'clock, after the Crescent, and, as the night was clear, I am apprehensive she fared the same fate as the Castor.

When their lordships reflect how reduced the complement of his majesty's ships were by the loss of the killed and wounded, and from the number of men sent on board the prize, viz. 38 from the Flora, and nearly the same number from the Crescent, (which men were constantly employed at the pumps to keep the ship free) I flatter myself they will acquit me of having acted improperly on this occasion.

N. B. The Flora, had 36 guns, and 270 men; the Crescent 28 guns, and 200 men.

*Admiralty Office, Sept. 18, 1781.  
Extract of a Letter from Captain Curtis to Mr. Stephens, dated Brilliant, Gibraltar, August 7, 1781.*

**I** B E G you will be pleased to acquaint my lords commissioners, that his majesty's sloop Helena arrived here this morning.

Her approach was discovered by the enemy and us at the same time, about five o'clock. She was in the Gut, to the southward of Cabarita Point, and nearly a third of the way over from it towards Europa. It was perfectly calm, and the



Helena was rowing for the rock. I immediately took the Repulse and Vanguard gun-boats, with all the boats of the ships, and went for her as expeditiously as possible. Fourteen gun-boats of the enemy, carrying each one 26 pounder in the bow, moved also from Algeziras, accompanied by several launches. These boats got on faster than I could proceed with the Repulse and Vanguard, and before eight o'clock those of them the most advanced commenced their fire upon the Helena, being then within half gun-shot. She returned it with great deliberation and effect, but still continuing to use her oars. The greater part of the gun-boats were soon close to her, and the clouds of grape and other shot, that seemed almost to bury her, were really astonishing. However, she did not, without some aid, bear long this very unequal combat. The Repulse and Vanguard began a well-directed fire upon the enemy, being so placed as was deemed the most efficacious to cover the Helena, and to annoy them. The commencement of the sea-breeze having got to the Helena, she soon reached us, the enemy still persevering in their attempt upon her; some of them firing at her broadside, and others keeping astern, raking her. However, the steadiness and bravery exhibited on board the Helena, and the well-applied grape from the Repulse and Vanguard, very soon made several of them retire; and they all fled by ten o'clock, allowing us to tow the Helena into the

Mole without farther molestation. A xebec, mounting between twenty and thirty guns, which was lying near to Cabarita Point, got under way when the breeze came, and advanced to join the gun-boats; but, upon seeing them retire, she retired also.

The masts, sails, rigging, and furniture of the Helena are cut all to pieces, and the hull a good deal damaged; but it is wonderful, as it is fortunate, the boatswain was the only man who was killed on board her.

The bravery, the coolness, and the judicious conduct of Captain Roberts\*, do him infinite honour; his officers and men deserve the highest commendation.

*An Account of the Action betwixt the Savage Sloop of War of 16 Guns, Capt. Stirling, and the Congress, an American Frigate of 20 Guns; Capt. Geddis; from a Letter of Capt. Stirling's to Rear Admiral Graves.*

*Lancaster, Sept. 23, 1781.*

SIR,

IT is with the most poignant grief I acquaint your excellency of the capture of his majesty's sloop Savage, late under my command, the particulars of which I have the honour to transmit. Early in the morning of the 6th inst. 10 leagues east of Charles Town, we espied a ship bearing down on us, who when about four miles distant, hauled her wind to the eastward, shewing, by her appearance, she was an American cruizer; her force could

\* Captain Roberts was first Lieutenant of the Quebec with Capt. Farmer, when she was burned in the action with the Surveillant.



not be so easily distinguished: I therefore gave way to the pleasing idea that she was a privateer, carrying 20 nine-pounders, whom I had intelligence was cruizing off here, and instantly resolved either to bring her to action, or oblige her to quit the coast; for which purpose we gave chase, but were prevented continuing it long, by her edging down, seemingly determined to engage us. Conscious of her superiority in sailing and force, this manœuvre coincided with my wishes. I caused the savage to lay by, till we perceived on her nearer approach, she was far superior to what we imagined, and that it was necessary to attempt making our escape, without some fortunate shot, in the course of a running fight (which we saw inevitable,) admitted our taking advantages, and bringing on a more equal conflict. At half past ten she began firing her bow chasers, and at eleven, being close on our quarter, the action commenced with musquetry, which, after a good deal of execution, was followed by a heavy cannonade on both sides. In an hour's time I had the mortification to see our braces and bowlings shot away, and not a rope left to trim the sail with, notwithstanding every precaution had been taken; however, our fire was so constant and well directed, that the enemy did not see our situation, but kept along side of us, till accident obliged him to drop astern. The *Savage* was now almost a wreck; her sails, rigging, and yards, so much cut, that it was with the utmost difficulty we could alter our position time enough to avoid being raked, the enemy lying directly athwart our stern for some minutes. This was the only intermission of great guns, but musquetry and pistols still did execution, and continued till they opened again, which was not till both ships were almost on board each other, when the battle became more furious than before. Our quarter-deck and fore-castle were soon now nearly cleared, scarce a man belonging to either not being killed or wounded, with three guns on our main-deck rendered useless. In this situation, we fought near an hour, with only five six-pounders, the fire from each ship's guns scorching the men who opposed them, shot and other implements of war thrown by hand doing execution; when our mizen-mast being shot away by the board; our main-mast tottering, with only three shrouds standing; the ship on fire dangerously; only 40 men on duty to oppose the foe, who was attempting to board us in three places; no succour in sight, or possibility of making further resistance; I was necessitated, at a quarter before three, P. M. to surrender to the Congress, a private ship of war, belonging to Philadelphia, who carried 215 men, and mounted 20 twelve-pounders on her main deck, and four sixes above, fourteen of which were fought on one side. She lost during the action eleven men, and had near thirty wounded, several of them mortally; her masts, her sails, and rigging, were so much damaged, that she was obliged to return to port, which partly answered my wishes prior to the action, as great part of the Carolina trade was daily expected.



on the coast, and this privateer we saw failed remarkably fast. Three days were employed putting her in a condition to make sail, and five for the Savage, who was exceedingly shattered. Indeed it is astonishing more damage was not done, as the weather was fine, the water remarkably smooth, and the ships never thirty yards asunder.

The courage, intrepidity, and good behaviour of the officers and ship's company I had the honour to command, deserve the highest commendations, and my warmest thanks.

Lieutenant Shiels distinguished himself by his gallantry, activity, and attention; as did Mr. Gyam the gunner. Mr. Wightman, the master, fell early in the action, by which I lost the assistance of a good officer. The inferior officers behaved well in their respective stations; and the men fought with a cool, determined valour, that will ever redound to their credit. I cannot conclude without observing, that Captain Geddis and the officers of the Congress, after fighting us bravely, treated us when prisoners with great humanity. Inclosed is a return of the killed and wounded. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

CHARLES STERLING.

*His Excellency Rear-Adm. Graves.*

*A list of the officers and men killed and wounded on board his majesty's sloop Savage, Sept. 6. 1781.*

Killed, master and 7 seamen: wounded, captain, lieutenant, 3 midshipmen, 21 seamen: total 34.

CHARLES STERLING.

*Extract of a Letter from Vice-Admiral Arbuthnot, to Mr. Stephens, dated Bedford, off Sandy Hook, July 4, 1781.*

I HAD the honour to mention, in my letter of this date, my intention of reporting some particular circumstances respecting the capture of the Atalanta; they are communicated in the inclosed paper.

The Atalanta, with a gallantry that does her captain the highest honour, maintained the action some time after the Trepassey struck, until she was a wreck, in which state she was carried to Halifax.

The behaviour of Lieutenant Samuel Arden, of the Atalanta, was brilliant beyond expression: he lost his right arm in the fight, and, the instant it was dressed, resumed his station on deck, where he remained until she struck, notwithstanding his weakness and loss of blood.

I doubt not, these matters will be thought entitled to their lordships consideration.

*Report of Mr. Philip Windsor, late Master of his Majesty's Sloop the Trepassey, in Halifax Harbour, June 11, 1781, viz.*

ON Sunday the 27th of May, 1781, being on a cruize with the Atalanta sloop, by order from the commanding officer at St. John's, Newfoundland, in lat. 41. long. 61. W. saw a sail at three P. M. S. E. distant 4 leagues; we bore up, and came within one league; finding her a large ship, supposed her a two decker, and night coming



ing on we hauled our wind, and failed in sight of her all night. About twelve at noon the next day, it being almost calm, and the strange ship about half a mile to leeward, she hoisted Rebel colours, and gave the Atalanta and us a broadside, we being then very nigh to each other; we then bore up close alongside of her, the Atalanta on the starboard, and the Trepassey on the larboard quarter, and began to engage. About an hour after the action began, Captain Smith, of the Trepassey, was killed; upon which I sent to Lieutenant King to acquaint him thereof, in order to his resuming the command, and engaged the enemy in the same position for two hours and a half longer, and at last struck the colours, in obedience to the orders he sent me by Mr. Samuel Pitts, a midshipman of the ship: we lost five seamen killed and ten wounded in the action, which ended at half past three P. M. The Atalanta continued to engage some time, and then struck also.

The rebel frigate proved to be the Alliance.

Captain Edwards of the Atalanta, and his lieutenant, and also lieutenant King of the Trepassey, are carried away as prisoners, and myself was left in charge of the two ships companies put on board of the Trepassey by Mr. Berry, Captain of the Alliance, who for that purpose disabled and turned the Trepassey into a cartel brig; and have brought her in here,

with directions to send the cartel to Boston, as Rebel property.

Being thus left in charge of these people, I think it my duty to acquaint you thereof, as commanding officers requesting to be disposed of in such manner as you shall direct; and being ready to answer to any court-martial for my share and proportion in the defence and loss of his majesty's said sloop.

(Signed)

PHILIP WINDSOR, Master  
of the Trepassey.

N. B. The Atalanta sloop had 16 guns and 125 men: the Trepassey sloop 14 guns and 80 men.

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*Extract of a Letter from Lord Geo. Germain, to the Commissioners appointed to restore Peace to America, dated Whitehall, March 7, 1781†.*

“ I HAVE received your dispatches of the 2d of January, together with the letter from Sir Henry Clinton of the 21st of the same month, and have had the honour to lay them before his majesty. The proclamation of 29th December, which came inclosed with your dispatches, will, I hope, produce those good effects which you expect from it, and which, by its being so well-timed, gives every reason to hope for. It will be a great satisfaction to me to present the king with an address from any one of the revolted provinces, begging your intercession

† This letter, and the one following, were taken by the French in the packet for North America, and were afterwards published in the Amsterdam Gazette.



for pardon, and its being restored to the privilege of British subjects. The narrow limits within which you have circumscribed your exceptions and the generality of assurances given by you of re-establishing the former constitutions, were, I doubt not, very judicious, necessary, and convenient: but as there are many things in the constitution of some of those colonies, and indeed in all of them, in which the people wished to see some alterations; and there being others, which it is the common interest of both countries to change, you must be very careful lest either your actions or proclamations should preclude a thorough investigation of those objects, or prevent the possibility of introducing, in their constitution, such alterations as the people may chuse to grant or solicit.

*Extract of a Letter from William Knox, Esq; Secretary to Lord Geo. Germain, to James Simpson, Esq; dated Whitehall, March 7, 1781.*

“**H**OPE you will be as good as your word, and write to me as soon as you can reach New-York. When I consider, from the deplorable condition of the rebellious forces, and our great superiority, that the inhabitants of the revolted provinces will probably solicit for a negotiation, and perhaps such a request may come from Congress itself, I wish you to be present; for knowing your perfect acquaintance with the dispositions of the inhabitants to republican principles, and their utter aver-

sion to monarchy, it may be in your power to prevent the commissioners making any concession that may tend to keep up those principles amongst the inhabitants, and to see that no alteration be made in their constitutions, as it is intended to establish amongst them distinctions of rank, and new model their government, by that of Great Britain. This method would certainly be more advantageous to the people, as it would bind them more firmly to this country, and be the means of preventing calamities similar to those they now experience.”

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*Copy of a Letter written by Mr. Meyrick to General Arnold.*

**T**HE following copy of a letter, written by Mr. Meyrick, one of the army agents in London, to General Arnold, was found in the packet, which was intercepted in its passage to New-York:—

*Parliament-street, 30th Jan. 1781.*

“SIR,

“I have received the honour of your different letters, inclosing bills of exchange upon Harley and Drummond, (bankers to the court) to the amount of 5000l. sterling, of the receipt of which I regularly gave you notice. On the day they were paid, I placed the sum in the funds in compliance with your intimation; and as the time was extremely favourable, I flatter myself with the pleasure of meeting your approbation, and that you will be pleased with the manner in which I have disposed of it.

As



As it is probable that some orders may arrive from you, directing the disposal of your money in some different way from that in which I have employed it, I thought it best not to shut up entirely, as a long time might elapse before I received from you the necessary powers for transferring the capital, in case I had purchased the stock in your name; mean while the dividends could not have been received for your use.—The method I have adopted is commonly practised in similar cases, and I can immediately alter it in whatever manner you think proper, as soon as you will do me the honour to give me notice of your sentiments by a letter. The account is as follows:

Bought by Mess. Samuel and William Scholey, Stock Brokers, for Major-General Arnold, 7000*l.* sterling in the new annuities, at 72 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. in the manner following:

	£.	s.	d.
Under the name of Major-Gen. Benedict Arnold, 100 <i>l.</i> sterling stock, at 72 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. in the new consolidated annuities, at 4 per cent. and 6,900 <i>l.</i> sterling in the same fund, under the name of James Meyrick, Esq;	4,987	10	0
Commission to the Brokers	8	15	0
Letter of attorney for receiving the dividends	0	1	6
	<hr/>		
	£.4.996	6	6

There then remains of the 5,003*l.* three pounds thirteen shillings and six-pence.

Thus by this method, if I receive any instructions from you for employing your money in a different manner, I can sell out the 6,900*l.* and dispose of your money agreeable to your directions before this letter reaches you; and if it is your wish that it should remain in the funds, it can be placed under your name, by my transferring the 6,900*l.* and joining it to your 100*l.* The reason of my purchasing the latter sum in your name was, that you might have an account open. The letter of attorney, here enclosed, enables me also to receive the dividends for the whole 7,000*l.* after I have transferred, if it is your wish that I should do it. I hope that I have now explained every thing sufficiently, and I can assure you, I have acted with greater care in this transaction than if it had been for myself.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient  
and most humble servant,  
JAMES MEYRICK."

THE following letter from his Excellency Gen. Washington was intercepted with many others, and published in the New-York Gazette for April 4th, 1781.

*General Washington, on Public Service.*

*To the Honourable Benjamin Harrison, Esq; Speaker of the House of Delegates, Richmond, Virginia.*

*Head*



*Head Quarters, New Windsor,*  
*March 27, 1781.*

DEAR SIR,

On my return from Newport, I found your favour of the 16th of February, with its inclosures, at Head Quarters. I exceedingly regret that I could not have the pleasure of seeing you, not only from personal motives, but because I could have entered upon the subject of your mission, in a much more free and full manner than is proper to be committed to paper.

I very early saw the difficulties and dangers to which the southern states would be exposed for resources of cloathing, arms, and ammunition, and recommended magazines to be established, as ample as their circumstances would admit. It is true, they are not so full of men as the northern states; but they ought for that reason to have been more assiduous in raising a permanent force, to have been always ready, because they cannot draw a head of men together, as suddenly as their exigencies may require. That policy has unhappily not been pursued either here or there, and we are now suffering from the remnant of a British army what they could not, in the beginning, accomplish with their forces at the highest. As your requisitions go to men, arms, ammunition and cloathing, I shall give you a short detail of our situation and prospects, as to the first, and of our supplies and expectations as to the three last.

*Men.* By the expiration of the times of service of the old troops, by the discharge of the levies engaged for the campaign only—and

by the unfortunate dissolution of the Pennsylvanian line, I was left, previous to the march of the detachment under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, with a garrison barely sufficient for the security of West Point—and two regiments in Jersey to support the communication between the Delaware and North River. The York troops, I had been obliged to send up for the security of the frontiers of that state. Weak however as we were, I determined to attempt the dislodgment of Arnold in conjunction with the French fleet and army, and made the detachment to which I have alluded.

In my late tour to the eastward, I found the accounts I had received of the progress of recruiting in those states, had been much exaggerated—and I fear we shall, in the end, be obliged again to take a great proportion of their quotas in levies for the campaign, instead of soldiers for three years, or for the war. The regiments of New-York having been reduced to two, they have but few men to raise. Jersey depends upon voluntary enlistments upon a contracted bounty, and I cannot therefore promise myself much success from the mode. The Pennsylvania line you know is ordered to compose part of the southern army. General Wayne is so sanguine as to suppose he will soon be able to move on with 1000 or 1200 men, but I fancy he rather over rates the matter.

You will readily perceive, from the foregoing state, that there is little probability of adding to the force already ordered to the southward. For should the battalions from New Hampshire to New-



Jersey inclusive be compleated (a thing not to be expected) we shall, after the necessary detachments for the frontiers and other purposes are made, have an army barely sufficient to keep the enemy in check in New-York. Except this is done, they will have nothing to hinder them from throwing further reinforcements to the southward; and to be obliged to follow by land every detachment of their army, which they always make by sea, will only end in a fruitless dissipation of what may now be called the northern army. You may be assured that the most powerful diversion that can be made in favour of the southern states, will be a respectable force in the neighbourhood of New-York. I have hitherto been speaking of our own resources. Should a reinforcement arrive to the French fleet and army, the face of matters may be entirely changed.

*Arms.* I do not find that we can, at any rate, have more than 2000 stand of arms to spare, perhaps not so many; for should the battalions which are to compose this army be compleat, or nearly so, they will take all that are in repair or repairable. The 2000 stand came in the alliance from France, and I kept them apart for an exigency.

*Ammunition.* Our stock of ammunition, though competent to the defensive, is, by a late estimate of the commanding officer of artillery, vastly short of an offensive operation of any consequence. Should circumstances put it in our power to attempt such an one, we must depend upon the private magazines of the states, and upon our allies.—On the contrary, should

the defensive plan be determined upon, what ammunition can be spared will be undoubtedly sent to the southward.

*Cloathing.* Of cloathing we are in a manner exhausted. We have not enough for the few recruits which may be expected, and except that which has been so long looked for and talked of from France should arrive, the troops must next winter go naked, unless their states can supply them.

From the foregoing representation, you will perceive that the proportion of the continental army, already allotted to southern service, is as much as, from present appearances, can be spared for that purpose, and that a supply of arms, ammunition, or cloathing of any consequence must depend, in a great measure, upon future purchases or importation.

Nothing which is within the compass of my power shall be wanting to give support to the southern states; but you may readily conceive how irksome a thing it must be to me to be called upon for assistance, when I have not the means of affording it.

I am, with the greatest regard,  
Dear Sir,

Your most obedient  
and humble servant,  
G. WASHINGTON.

*Hon. Benj. Harrisen, Esq.*

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THE following letter from Mr. Adams, ambassador from the American Congress at Amsterdam, to Thomas Cushing, Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, was found on board the prize



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prize Brigantine Cabot, and carried into St. Christopher's.

*Amsterdam, Dec. 15, 1780.*

DEAR CUSHING,

I writ to you on the 2d instant by way of France, under cover, to Congress; but our friend Heartwell, who delivered me your dispatches, going out by way of St. Eustatia, may get this letter to you sooner than the other. You will have heard of the unfortunate capture of poor Laurens, with his papers, and the British ambassador's memorial to the States General in consequence thereof. What it may produce is yet doubtful, though the general opinion here is, that it will be nothing alarming. Sir Joseph Yorke has presented a second memorial, but you may depend upon it the states will not be bullied into any thing. It is thought that England will not at this conjuncture widen the breach with the Republic; but, even if they should, it will do us no harm for them to have more enemies to contend with. A rash step taken by them at this time, when all the powers of Europe are jealous of them, and favourably inclined to American independence, may prove their entire ruin. Our independence is considered here as established. The empress of Russia has already, in effect, taken a decided part in our favour, and other European nations are well inclined to support our cause.

In this city we have many powerful friends, who, as well as all Europe, disdain the pride of the British ministry, which is not less conspicuous in the memorials presented to their High Mightinesses,

than it was in the answer returned to the petition of Congress. Pride, indeed, seems to be indemial to that nation; but I think it wont be long before we see its downfall.

I protest I see no ground for your gloomy apprehensions. You talk of the difficulty of recruiting the army, the depreciation of Congress notes, the complaints of public creditors, and the flood of counterfeit money among you, &c. These doubts and fears are really provoking, and the source of them only in your own irresolute breast. Can you expect to gain your point, or accomplish any thing great, without the common incidents of war? Compare yourselves with other countries, and see their exertions for things of much less moment. England, for example, at the beginning of this war, was a hundred and thirty millions in debt, and yet the British ministry, merely to gratify their pride, involved their country in an expence of twenty-millions per ann. more.

This causes a depreciation of their money, and complaints among their creditors, who have quite as much reason as yours, most of them having already sunk forty per cent. of their capital. Shall we then, who have our all at stake talk of burthens, and the perplexities of a paper medium.

Different nations have different modes of raising money for the public expenditure, which is usually done according to the genius of the people, and the form of their government. Most of those in Europe have occasionally been driven to the use of paper money,



or making public securities serve the purposes of a medium in trade; and the English have gone more extensively into this expedient than other nations: but I believe none have ever made use of it with less inconvenience, or given their creditors less cause of complaint than the states of America have done heretofore. But when almost every public department among you is filled, as I am informed, with men of rapacious principles, who sacrifice the common weal to their private emolument, who encourage gambling, voluptuousness, and every vice, what good can be expected from the wisest institutions? I wish these good gentlemen, whom you mention, would exert themselves in their several professions to stop those growing enormities which are the source of all the calamities of the country, and which sooner or later, if not stopt, must end in its destruction.

Our money matters are in a good way, which I writ to you fully upon in my last. You must have patience till they can be accomplished, and in the mean time do the best you can. Many here, who know the country, laugh at your complaints, and say that a few duties and excises, judiciously laid throughout the continent, would pay the whole army expences without being felt. I advise to restraining the consumption of foreign superfluities, and introducing sumptuary laws; though it may be policy, for the encouragement of soldiers, to indulge them in a livery as splendid as may be convenient.

I am sorry to see you so anxious for an accommodation, and

wish you had shewn how it could be done. Are you aware of the revolutions that will unavoidably take place? New arrangements made, and the states new modelled, the better to serve the purposes of despotism; the captors of British property obliged to disgorge; a debt of four millions sterling to be paid the British merchants to settle old scores; your fishery restrained and put under new regulations; forfeited estates returned to their former owners; a door opened for innumerable lawsuits for illegal payments; the property of the whole continent set afloat; and, after all, are you sure our *great ally* would consent to it? In truth, I can see nothing short of independence that can settle it without the remedy being more fatal than the disease.

It is true, I believe, what you suggest, that Lord North shewed a disposition to give up the contest, *but was diverted from it, not unlikely, by the representation of the Americans in London, who, in conjunction with their coadjutors in America, have been thorns to us indeed on both sides the water; but I think their career might have been stopt on your side, if the executive officers had not been too timid in a point which I so strenuously recommended at first, namely, to fine, imprison, and hang all inimical to the cause, without favour or affection. I foresaw the evil that would arise from that quarter, and wished to have timely stopt it. I would have hanged my own brother if he had took a part with our enemy in this contest.*

I believe there never was an instance of such delusion as those people are under to sacrifice their country,



country, their interest, and their best connections to side with a people who neither reward or thank them; and I have good authority to say, that a great proportion of them have nothing to live upon but their loyalty. One would think that this alone, if it was known and believed, would be enough to prevent others from falling into the same snare. *Heartwell, who has been some time incognito in London, will give you much useful information; he will tell you the talk we have had about a stipend for —, which*

would be money well laid out: Those who exert themselves so much in our cause ought to be rewarded, as we are most essentially served by it; but profound secrecy must be observed.

I shall write to the governor, wherein I shall be more explicit upon some matters which I have writ to Congress upon, and which he probably will communicate, which makes it unnecessary to add any more to you at present.

I am your affectionate friend, &c.

(Copy) JOHN ADAMS.



## 262] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1781.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 25th of January, 1782.*

## E X P O R T E D.

1781. ENGLAND.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid. £. s. d.
Wheat - - - - -	2,294	1,726	26,617 3 10½ Bo.
Wheat Meal and Flour	86,045	3,536	
Rye - - - - -	2,550	150	
Barley - - - - -	21,711	Nil	
Malt - - - - -	107,928	Nil	
Oats - - - - -	7,992	18,215	46 9 2 Dr.
Oatmeal - - - - -	8,563	116	
Beans - - - - -	15,248	430	
Pease - - - - -	2,826	290	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - - - -	82	- - - - -	5,653 10 9¼ Bo.
Wheat Flour - - - - -	9,336		
Barley and Bear - - - - -	15,588		
Barley Meal - - - - -	199		
Barley hulled - - - - -	82		
Malt - - - - -	5,040		
Oats - - - - -	1,171		
Oatmeal - - - - -	5,660		
Pease and Beans - - - - -	550		
Biscuit - - - - -	6,383:1:—		

## I M P O R T E D.

1781. ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received. £. s. d.
Wheat - - - - -	143,772	4,275 4 9
Wheat Flour - - - - -	15,924	
Rye - - - - -	10,743	
Barley - - - - -	56	
Oats - - - - -	55,502	
Oatmeal - - - - -	367	
Beans - - - - -	3,244	
Pease - - - - -	14,508	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat Flour - - - - -	99	447 6 3¼
Oats - - - - -	53,576 cwt. qr. lb.	
Biscuit - - - - -	43 — 37	



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [263

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1781:

Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 7	3 4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	2 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follow, viz.

Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Beans:
Per bushel, 6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

Navy Office, Jan. 23, 1781.

*An Account of all the Men raised for his Majesty's Navy, Marines included, from the 29th of September, 1774, to the 29th of September, 1780, distinguishing each Year.*

	Years.	No. raised:
From 29th September	1774	345
	1775	4734
	1776	21564
	1777	37458
	1778	41847
	1779	41832
To September	1780	28210
		175990

Navy Office, Jan. 23, 1781.

*An Account of all the Number of the Men who have died in actual Service in his Majesty's Navy since the first Day of January, 1776, distinguishing (as far as may be) those who have been killed by the enemy; and also of the Number of such Men as have deserted the said Service in the same Period, as far as the several Accounts can be made up, distinguishing each Year.*

Years.	Died.	Killed by the enemy.	Total killed & died.	Number deserted.
1776	1679	105	1784	5321
1777	3247	40	3287	7685
1778	4801	254	5055	9919
1779	4726	551	5277	11541
1780	4092	293	4385	7603
Total	18545	1243	19788	42069

[R] 4

State



War Office, 23d January, 1781.

State of his majesty's British regular land forces, officers included, in North America and the West Indies, as they were at the end of the year 1779.

		Officers present.							
		Commission'd	Staff	Non-Commission'd	Rank and file	Total, Officers included.	Privates wanting to complete.		
N. Amer.	Under Sir Henry Clinton, by monthly returns of Dec. 1. 1779	—	591	83	1402	17077	19153	3648	
	Under Gen. Haldimand, by monthly returns of Dec. 1, 1779	—	114	32	230	3009	3385	831	
	Under the Convention, by monthly return of August 1, 1779	—	134	26	258	1228	1646	2532	
W. Indies.	By monthly return of Dec. 1, 1779	—	276	66	712	6076	7130	4238	

War Office, January 23d, 1781.

Account of the men lost and disabled in his majesty's British land forces, including two battalions of marines serving on shore, by death, captivity, desertion, wounds or sickness, in North America and the West Indies, from Nov. 1st, 1774, to the date of the last return.

		Dead	Total prisoners*	Deferted	Discharged§
1774	North America, under Generals Gage and Haldimand,	30	000	47	16
	West Indies	39	000	4	20
1775	N. America, under Gens. Haldimand, Gage, and Howe,	781	000	115	249
	West Indies	121	000	48	148
1776	N. America, { under Sir William Howe,	869	744	192	619
	West-Indies { under Sir Guy Carleton	200	48	68	36
		86	000	80	38
1777	N. America, { under Sir William Howe	1202	1274	282	490
	West-Indies { under Sir Guy Carleton	81	162	20	29
		† 220	† 484	487	5
		303	000	105	40
1778	N. America, { under Sir William Howe	1311	641	628	1281
	West-Indies { under Sir Guy Carleton	117	146	32	87
		61	† 381	546	83
		236	000	104	71
1779	N. America, { under Sir Henry Clinton	1154	1020	263	444
	West-Indies { under General Haldimand	42	165	27	87
		8	259	176	000
		1054	000	122	34
1780	N. America, { under Sir Henry Clinton,	No return.			
	West-Indies { under General Haldimand	58	166	38	30
		3	256	172	000
		2036	000	145	178

Embarka-

\* The War Office have not the means of ascertaining the number of men lost by captivity, having no account of what the whole number of prisoners taken in any one year may



War Office, January 23d, 1781.

Embarkation returns of all the British corps and recruits, which have been sent from Great Britain or Ireland, to any part of North-America or the West-Indies, in 1778, 1779, 1780.

Years.	Regiments.	Commiff. Officers.					Staff Officers.					Non commiff. Of- ficers, dr. & fives.			Private Men	Total strength, Officers included.	Total, Officers included, embarked each year.	
		Colonels	Lieut Colonels	Majors	Captains	1st Lieutenants	2d Lts or Enfs.	Chaplains	Adjutants	Quar. masters	Surgeons	Mates	Serjeants	Corporals				Drums & fives
1778	70th	0	1	1	6	10	6	0	1	1	1	1	29	27	22	485	591	
	74th	0	1	0	4	18	8	1	0	0	1	1	50	49	22	884	1040	
	82d 6 co.	1	0	1	4	14	2	0	1	1	1	1	29	30	14	568	667	
	Recruits	0	0	0	0	00	0	0	0	0	0	0	00	00	00	1476	1476	
1779	76th	0	1	1	8	20	8	0	1	1	1	2	49	50	22	898	1062	
	79th	0	0	1	6	21	7	0	1	1	1	2	48	50	22	957	1117	
	80th	0	0	2	6	19	7	0	1	1	1	2	50	50	22	863	1024	
	82d 4 co.	0	0	1	1	7	5	0	0	0	0	1	20	22	8	350	414	
	88th	1	1	1	7	9	6	0	1	1	1	1	30	40	21	710	831	
	89th	1	0	1	4	8	6	0	1	1	1	1	29	33	22	650	758	
	Recruits	0	0	0	0	00	0	0	1	0	0	0	00	00	00	1665	1665	
1780	1st, 1st bat	0	1	1	8	11	7	0	1	1	1	1	30	40	22	666	790	
	13th	0	1	1	6	11	8	0	1	1	1	1	30	40	22	668	791	
	69th	0	1	1	7	11	6	0	1	1	1	1	29	39	21	644	763	
	85th	0	1	2	7	10	5	0	1	1	1	1	25	35	18	586	693	
	86th	1	1	1	6	9	8	0	1	1	1	1	30	37	22	592	711	
	87th	0	1	2	6	11	6	0	1	1	1	1	26	36	22	612	726	
	90th	1	0	2	7	8	7	0	1	1	1	1	27	35	22	599	712	
	91st	1	1	1	5	6	7	0	1	1	0	1	26	39	22	568	679	
	92d	0	1	2	7	8	8	0	1	1	1	1	29	40	22	642	763	
	93d	1	1	1	8	7	5	0	1	1	1	1	26	34	21	480	588	
	94th	1	0	1	6	9	7	0	1	1	1	1	26	26	22	563	665	
	99th 9 co.	0	0	1	6	6	8	0	1	1	1	1	27	36	20	603	711	
Recruits	0	0	0	0	00	0	0	0	0	0	0	00	00	00	1645	1645		
Total		8	13	25	125	231	139	1	19	19	19	19	665	787	432	18374	20882	20882

may be, or of the prisoners that may have been exchanged in the course of it. They only know what the number of prisoners are at the time that the return is made.

§ The monthly returns not assigning the reason for which soldiers are discharged, the War Office cannot, agreeable to the directions of the order of the House of Commons, distinguish those men who are lost or disabled by wounds or sickness; the whole number discharged are therefore stated, in which those dismissed for misbehaviour, claimed as apprentices, claimed by other corps, draughted from one regiment to another, or discharged for a variety of causes, besides that of inability to serve longer, are included.

† † † † The prisoners of the army under these heads, are such as were taken by the enemy previous to the Convention of Saratoga. The men comprehended in the Convention have never been allowed to be prisoners of war; their casualties by death and desertion, and the numbers discharged, are regularly given. The effectives detained in America, contrary to the Convention, are as follow :

	British privates.
By return of November 17, 1777	2883
Ditto 1, 1778	1838
August 1, 1779	1228
Ditto 1, 1780	796

Accounts



*War-Office, January 23d, 1781.*

Account of all the men raised in Great Britain and Ireland, for his majesty's land forces on the British establishment, militia and fencible men in North Britain not included, from 29th Sept. 1774, to 29th Sept. 1780.

To 29th September	1775	—	3575
	1776	—	11063
	1777	—	6882
	1778	—	23978
	1779	—	16154
To 29th September	1780	—	15233
<hr/>			
Total	—	—	76885
Adjourned to Monday 29th.			

PRICES



# PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1781.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the course of any Month, is put down opposite to that Month.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [267

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Confol.	3 pr Ct. B. 1726	3 1/2 pr Ct. B. 1758	4 pr Ct. 1777.	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	S. Sea old An.	S. Sea new An	3 pr Ct. 1751.	India Stock	India Ann.	India Bonds	Navy Bills	Omni Piem.
Jan.	{ 108 1/2	57 3/8	60 1/4	55	57	71 3/8	15 1/16	11 5/8	56 3/8	55	54 3/4	148 1/2	55 1/2	14s pr.	13 1/2	—
Feb.	{ 105 1/2	56 5/8	57 1/4	—	56 1/2	69 1/4	15 1/2	11 7/8	54 3/4	54	53 3/4	145 1/2	54 1/2	3	11 1/2	—
Mar.	{ 108 1/2	57 3/8	59 1/4	55	57 1/2	72 1/2	16 1/8	11 1/8	55 3/4	55	54 3/4	148 1/2	54 3/4	1	14	—
Apr.	{ 105 1/2	56 3/4	57 1/4	—	56	70 1/2	15 5/8	12 1/8	54 3/4	54	54 1/2	146 1/2	54 1/2	5	13 1/2	8
May	{ 112 1/2	57 3/8	63 1/4	—	59	76 1/2	17 1/8	11 1/2	56 1/2	55	55 1/2	147 1/2	54 5/8	par	12 1/2	—
	{ 106 1/2	57 3/8	58 1/4	—	57 1/2	71 1/2	15 1/8	11 1/8	57 1/2	58	57 1/2	148 1/2	54 3/4	11	13	9
	{ 112 1/2	58 1/2	58 3/4	—	58 1/2	75 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/8	57 1/2	58	56 3/4	144 1/2	54 1/2	3	11 1/2	1 1/4
	{ 108 1/2	57 3/8	58 1/4	56 7/8	58 1/2	72 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	57 1/2	58	—	147 1/2	57 1/8	15	12 1/2	9 1/2
June	{ 113 1/2	58 1/2	58 3/4	—	58 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/8	57 1/2	58	—	144 1/2	54 1/2	9	11 1/2	8 1/2
	{ 110 1/2	57 3/8	57 1/4	57 1/2	59	73 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/8	58 1/2	59	58 3/4	145 1/2	55 1/2	16	10 1/2	8
	{ 113 1/2	58 1/2	58 3/4	—	—	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 3/4	57 1/2	58	56 1/2	143 1/2	55 1/2	9	10	8
July	{ 114 1/2	58 1/2	57 1/4	—	57 1/2	73 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/8	57 1/2	56	56 1/2	145 1/2	55 1/2	16	12 1/2	8 1/2
	{ 113 1/2	57 3/8	57 1/4	—	57 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 3/8	57 1/2	56	56 1/2	143 1/2	55 1/2	8	10 1/2	8 1/2
Aug.	{ 114 1/2	58 1/2	57 1/4	56 3/4	57 1/2	73 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	57 1/2	57	55 1/2	133 1/2	55 1/2	10	11 1/2	8 1/2
	{ 113 1/2	57 3/8	57 1/4	—	57 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	57 1/2	57	55 1/2	140 1/2	55 1/2	4	11	7 1/2
Sept.	{ 119 1/2	57 3/8	57 1/4	—	56 1/2	73 1/2	16 3/4	12 1/8	57 1/2	56	55 1/2	134 1/2	55 1/2	6	12	7 1/2
	{ 113 1/2	57 3/8	57 1/4	—	58	73 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	57 1/2	56	55 1/2	141 1/2	55 1/2	1 dif.	11 1/2	7 1/2
Oct.	{ 115 1/2	57 3/8	56 1/4	56 3/4	56 1/2	73 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	57 1/2	56	56 1/2	138 1/2	53	5 P.	12	—
	{ 108 1/2	55 1/2	55 1/4	54 1/2	56 1/2	70 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	55 1/2	56	55 1/2	140 1/2	52 1/2	2	11 1/2	—
Nov.	{ 113 1/2	55 1/2	55 1/4	56 1/2	57 1/2	73 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	54 1/2	56	55 1/2	138 1/2	53 1/2	5	12	—
	{ 107 1/2	54 1/2	55 1/4	55 1/2	55 1/2	73 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	54 1/2	56	55 1/2	141 1/2	52 1/2	4 dif.	10 1/2	—
Dec.	{ 111 1/2	57 3/8	57 1/4	56 1/2	57 1/2	72 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	54 1/2	56	55 1/2	142 1/2	55 1/2	8 P.	12	—
	{ 110 1/2	56 1/2	57 1/4	56 1/2	57 1/2	71 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/8	55 1/2	56	55 1/2	138 1/2	53 1/2	3	11 1/2	—

SUPPLIES



## SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1781.

## NAVY.

DECEMBER 5, 1780.

90,000 men including 20,317 marines

Ordinary of the navy

Buildings, rebuilding, and repairs of ships

JUNE 19, 1781.

For the debt of the navy

## ORDNANCE.

NOVEMBER 30, 1780.

Ordnance for sea service

Ditto— land service

FEBRUARY 19, 1781.

For compensation to proprietors of lands near Chatham

Ditto— of lands near Sheerness and Gravesend

Ditto— of lands at and near Tilbury Fort

MAY 22, 1781.

Charge of ordnance services performed, and to be performed, in the year 1781, exclusive of ordnance land service

Ordnance extraordinary expense in 1780

## FORCES.

NOVEMBER 28, 1780.

39,666 men including 4,213 invalids, guards, and garri-

sons

Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar

	Voted.		Paid.		Remains to be paid	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
90,000 men including 20,317 marines	4,446,000	0 0				
Ordinary of the navy	386,261	5 8				
Buildings, rebuilding, and repairs of ships	670,016	0 0				
For the debt of the navy	3,200,000	0 0				
	8,702,277	5 8	8,603,884	18 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	98,392	7 6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ordnance for sea service	234,000	0 0				
Ditto— land service	582,924	11 9				
For compensation to proprietors of lands near Chatham	20,671	12 6				
Ditto— of lands near Sheerness and Gravesend	13,452	17 0				
Ditto— of lands at and near Tilbury Fort	148	18 0	1,550,484	7 1		
Charge of ordnance services performed, and to be performed, in the year 1781, exclusive of ordnance land service	252,104	3 4				
Ordnance extraordinary expense in 1780	447,182	4 6				
39,666 men including 4,213 invalids, guards, and garri-						
sons	1,049,774	8 11				
Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar	1,488,927	0 0				



	Voted.		Paid.		Remains to be paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Pay of general and staff officers	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pay and subsidy for 13,472 Hessians	42,927	16 0	-	-	-	-
To make good deficiency in sums voted for Hessians, between 29 March 1779, and 24 Dec. 1780	367,203	9 10	-	-	-	-
Pay and subsidy for 4,300 men of the troops of Brunswick	6,463	8 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	-	-	-
Ditto - for two regiments of Hanau	93,947	15 8	-	-	-	-
Charge of five Hanoverian battalions	39,597	1 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	-	-	-	-
For the troops of the Prince of Waldeck	56,074	19 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	-	-	-	-
For defraying charge of provisions for foreign troops in N. America	17,498	3 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	-	-	-	-
For defraying charge of artillery for ditto	49,373	17 1	-	-	-	-
For charge of 1447 men of Anspach, including artillery, with subsidy	27,683	14 0	-	-	-	-
For defraying charge of embodied militia, with four regiments of fencibles, for 1781	39,644	14 3	-	-	-	-
Clothing for embodied militia, in 1781	672,457	15 3	-	-	-	-
For charge of a corps of infantry of Anhalt Zerbst, including artillery	99,679	13 4	-	-	-	-
FEBRUARY 8, 1781.	16,630	11 9 $\frac{1}{4}$	7,723,912	4 11	-	-
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	79,059	0 0	-	-	-	-
Horse Guards reduced	596	4 2	-	-	-	-
Out Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital	91,604	7 1	-	-	-	-
MAY 1, 1781.	117,608	6 8	-	-	-	-
Charge of eighty independent companies of foot	6,010	3 9	-	-	-	-
Ditto of additional companies and additional militia	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deficiency	-	-	-	-	-	-



	Voted.		Paid.		Remains to be paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Deficiency on pay of additional companies, and additions to the militia, in 1780	8,452	4 8				
Ditto - on the vote for pay of two battalions of Lord John Murray's regiment, in 1780	1,107	16 4				
Extraordinary expenses of the forces	3,443,217	19 8½				
MAY 9.	£.	s. d.				
Savings in sums voted for payment of several corps -	14,379	8 10				
Ditto of augmentations of several regiments of foot -	25,501	0 0				
Ditto of augmentations of the forces	51,747	17 6				
	91,628	6 4				
	3,351,589	13 4½				
LOANS DISCHARGED.						
NOVEMBER 30, 1780.						
To pay off exchequer bills on next aids with interest	1,941,849	3 5¾	1,941,755	14 1¼	93	9 4½
Ditto - on next aids	1,559,678	1 7	1,559,678	1 7		
Ditto - on vote of credit	1,033,261	2 9	1,033,261	2 9		
DEFICIENCIES.						
FEBRUARY 20, 1781.						
To make good deficiency of land-tax	252,978	11 0	252,978	11 0		
Ditto - of malt duty	43,717	2 11½	43,717	2 11½		
Ditto - of coinage duty	8,052	4 1	8,052	4 1		
Ditto - of annuity fund, 1758	30,999	11 2	30,999	11 2		
Ditto - of annuity fund, 1778	191,664	7 2	191,664	7 2		



	Voted.		Paid.		Remains to be paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
To make good deficiency of annuity fund, 1779	-	-	193,663	0	193,663	0
Ditto - - of annuity fund, 1781	-	-	222,745	4	222,745	4
Ditto - - of ways and means, 1780	-	-	8,551	8	8,550	8
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.						
JANUARY 25, 1781.						
For the relief and support of the sufferers in the island of Barbadoes	-	-	80,000	0	80,000	0
Ditto - - of the sufferers in the island of Jamaica	-	-	40,000	0	40,000	0
FEBRUARY 8.						
Civil establishment of Nova Scotia	-	-	5,099	10	5,099	10
Ditto - - of East Florida	-	-	3,950	0	3,950	0
Ditto - - of West Florida	-	-	3,900	0	3,900	0
Ditto - - of Georgia	-	-	2,986	0	2,986	0
Ditto - - of the island of St. John in America	-	-	3,150	0	3,150	0
General surveys in America	-	-	207	0	207	0
Levant Company	-	-	8,000	0	8,000	0
FEBRUARY 20.						
Money paid on addresses	-	-	22,222	0	22,222	0
To replace to civil list the like sum paid to American sufferers	-	-	57,910	12	57,910	12
Ditto - - paid to Duncan Campbell, for expence of convicts	-	-	15,487	17	15,487	17
MAY 9.						
For roads and bridges in Scotland	-	-	4,994	17	4,994	17
African forts and settlements	-	-	13,000	0	13,000	0
Towards						



	Voted.		Paid.		Remains to be paid.	
	£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
MAY 22.						
Towards carrying on the buildings at Sommerfet House	36,207	4 3	15,000	0 0	21,237	4 3
To Dr. Smith, for his attendance for upwards of four years upon the sick persons confined in several prisons within and near the metropolis	1,200	0 0	1,200	0 0		
MAY 30.						
Towards rebuilding Newgate	10,000	0 0	10,000	0 0		
Towards repairing the King's Bench and Fleet prisons	25,000	0 0	25,000	0 0		
JUNE 7.						
To Mr. H. Philips, for his discovery of a certain powder for the destruction of insects	3,600	0 0	3,600	0 0		
JUNE 19.						
To be paid to such persons whose losses by the riots in June, 1780, amounted to 100 <i>l.</i> or under	5,200	0 0	-	-	5,200	0 0
To the bank for discounts, and rewards for receiving and paying contributions	92,375	14 4	92,375	14 4		
To pay the prizes in the lottery	480,000	0 0	480,000	0 0		
	24,380,324	10 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	24,252,431	0 0	124,893	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
	1,000,000	0 0	1,000,000	0 0		
For military services on the vote of credit	25,380,324	10 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	25,252,431	0 0	124,893	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$



WAYS AND MEANS *for the above Supplies granted to his Majesty  
for the Service of the year 1781.*

NOVEMBER 16, 1780.

1. **R**ESOLVED, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of four shillings in the pound, and no more be raised within the space of one year, from the 25th day of March, 1781, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices and personal estates, in that part of Great Britain called England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that a proportionable cess, according to the 9th article of the treaty of union, be laid upon that part of Great Britain called Scotland ———— £. 2,000,000 0 0

2. Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, which, by an Act of parliament of the twentieth year of his present majesty's reign, have continuance to the 24th day of June, 1781, be further continued, and charged upon all malt which shall be made, and all mum which shall be made or imported, and all cyder and perry which shall be made for sale, within the kingdom of Great Britain, from the 23d day of June, 1781, to the 24th day of June 1782 ———— 750,000 0 0

FEBRUARY 6, 1781.

Resolved, That towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of two hundred and eighty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-six pounds, nineteen shillings, and eight pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the fifth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses, excesses, overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund, commonly called The Sinking Fund ———— 288,346 19 8

MARCH 8.

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of twelve millions be raised by annuities, and the further some of four hundred and eighty thousand pounds by a lottery, in manner following; that is to say,

That every contributor to the said twelve millions shall, for one hundred pounds contributed



and paid, be entitled to the principal sum of one hundred pounds in annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum; and to an additional principal sum of fifty pounds in like annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, and also to a farther principal sum of twenty-five pounds in annuities, after the rate of four pounds per centum; the said several annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, and four pounds per centum, respectively, to commence from the fifth day of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

That the sum of twelve millions, to be contributed as aforesaid, together with the additional capital of fifty pounds to every one hundred pounds advanced and paid, amounting to six millions, making together in the whole eighteen millions in annuities, after the rate of three pounds per centum, be, from the time of their commencement, added to, and made one joint stock with, the three pounds per cent. annuities consolidated by the Acts of the twenty-fifth, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirty-second, and thirty-third of George the Second, and by several subsequent Acts, and charged upon the sinking fund, and shall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by parliament, as the said three pounds per cent. consolidated annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redeemable by parliament.

That the annuity, in respect of the said additional sum or capital of twenty-five pounds, to which every contributor of one hundred pounds contributed as aforesaid shall be entitled, making together in the whole three millions, to carry an interest and annuity, after the rate of four per cent. shall be paid at the Bank of England for one quarter of a year, from the 5th day of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, to the 5th day of April following, and from that time shall be added and made one joint stock with certain annuities, after the rate four pounds per cent. which were consolidated by an act of the last session of parliament, and shall also be charged upon the sinking fund, and shall be payable and transferrable at the Bank of England at the same time, and in the same manner, and subject to the like redemption by parliament, as the said consolidated four pounds per



cent. annuities are payable and transferrable there, and redcmable by parliament.

That every contributor towards raising the said sum of twelve millions shall, for every one thousand pounds contributed, be entitled to four tickets in a lottery to consist of forty-eight thousand tickets, amounting to four hundred and eighty thousand pounds, upon payment of the further sum of ten pounds for each ticket, the said four hundred and eighty thousand pounds to be distributed into prizes for the benefit of the proprietors of the fortunate tickets in the said lottery, which shall be paid in money, at the bank of England, to such proprietors upon demand, as soon after the first day of March one thousand seven hundred and eighty two as certificates can be prepared, without any deduction whatsoever.

That every contributor shall, on or before the fifteenth day of this instant March, make a deposit of fifteen pounds per cent. on such sum as he or she shall chuse to subscribe, towards raising the said sum of twelve millions, with the chief cashier or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, and also a deposit of fifteen pounds per cent. with the said cashier or cashiers, in part of the monies to be contributed towards raising the said sum of four hundred and eighty thousand pounds by lottery, as a security for making the future payments respectively, on or before the days or times herein after limited; that is to say,

On £. 12,000,000 to be raised by annuities.

- £. 10 per cent. on or before the 27th day of April next.
- £. 10 per cent. on or before the 18th day of May next.
- £. 10 per cent. on or before the 14th day of June next.
- £. 10 per cent. on or before the 24th day of July next.
- £. 15 per cent. on or before the 21st day of August next.
- £. 10 per cent. on or before the 18th day of Sept. next.
- £. 10 per cent. on or before the 23d day of Oct. next.
- £. 10 per cent. on or before the 23d day of Nov. next.

On the lottery for £. 480,000

- £. 20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of May next.
- £. 25 per cent. on or before the 10th day of July next.
- £. 20 per cent. on or before the 11th day of Sept. next.
- £. 20 per cent. on or before the 9th day of Oct. next.

That all the monies, so to be received by the said chief cashier, or cashiers of the governor and company of the Bank of England, shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from



time to time to such services as shall then have been voted by this house in this session of parliament.

That every contributor, who shall pay in the whole of his or her contribution-money towards the sum of twelve millions to be contributed as afore-said at any time before the twenty-second day of October next, or on account of his or her share in the said lottery on or before the tenth day of Sept. next, shall be allowed an interest, by way of discount, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per annum, on the sum so compleating his or her contribution respectively, to be computed from the day of compleating the same, to the twenty-third day of November next, in regard to the sum to be paid for the said annuities, and to the eighth day of October next in respect of the sum to be paid on account of the said lottery; and that all such persons as shall make their full payments on the said lottery shall have their tickets delivered to them as soon as they can conveniently be made out

12,480,000 0 8

## APRIL 12.

1. Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of seven hundred fifty-seven thousand and eighty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, for the disposition of parliament, of the monies which had then arisen of the surplusses, excesses, overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund, commonly called the Sinking Fund

757,087 17 10

2. That towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of twenty three thousand seven hundred and eight pounds, eleven shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, of the two sevenths excise granted by an Act of parliament of the fifth and sixth year of the reign of their late majesties King William and Queen Mary, after satisfying the several charges and incumbrances thereupon for the half year then ended

23,708 11 10½

3. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of forty thousand pounds, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the fifth day of April, 1781, of the duties on wines, granted by an Act of the eighteenth year of the reign of his late majesty, for

paying



paying annuities on single lives, pursuant to the said Act, after reserving sufficient to satisfy the several annuities to the 5th day of January, 1781 40,000 0 0

4. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of fifty six thousand pounds, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1881, of the duties on glass, for paying annuities on lives, granted by an Act of the nineteenth year of the reign of his late majesty, after reserving sufficient to satisfy the several annuities to the 5th day of January, 1781 ——— 56,000 0 0

MAY 1st.

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds be raised by loans on exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment ——— 1,500,000 0 0

MAY 24.

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the farther sum of one million nine hundred thousand pounds be raised, by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament; and such exchequer bills, if not discharged, with interest thereupon, on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, to be exchanged and received in payment in such manner as exchequer bills have usually been exchanged and received in payment — 1,900,000 0 0

JUNE 14.

Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, the proposal of the governor and company of the Bank of England, for advancing the sum of two millions on exchequer bills, upon such terms and conditions as are therein mentioned, be accepted ——— 2,000,000 0 0

JUNE 18.

1. Resolved, That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied the sum of sixteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds, six shillings, and eight-pence halfpenny, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer on the 5th day of April, 1781, subject to the disposition of



of parliament, exclusive of the surplus then remaining of the sinking fund

16,879 6 8½

2. That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer after the 5th day of April, 1781, and on or before the 5th day of April, 1782, of the produce of the duties charged by two Acts, made in the fifth and fourteenth years of his present majesty's reign, upon the importation and exportation of gum senega and gum arabic, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty

228 6 6

## JUNE 19.

1. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be issued and applied the sum of one million seven hundred forty-two thousand nine hundred and twelve pounds, two shillings, and two pence, out of such monies as have arisen, or shall or may arise, of the surplusses, excesses, or overplus monies, and other revenues, composing the fund commonly called the sinking fund

1,742,912 2 2

2. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied a sum, not exceeding four hundred thousand pounds, out of the balances remaining in the hands of the Right Honourable George Nugent Earl Temple, the personal representative of the Right Honourable George Grenville, deceased, and of the Right Honourable William, Lord Viscount Barrington in the kingdom of Ireland, and of the Right Honourable Richard Lord Viscount Howe in the kingdom of Ireland, and of Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, the personal representative of the right Honourable Sir Gilbert Elliot, baronet, deceased, late treasurers of his majesty's navy, and of John Powell, Esq; the only acting executor of the late Right. Hon. Henry Lord Holland, deceased, and of the Right Hon. Caroline Baroness Greenwich, the personal representative of the Right Hon. Charles Townshend, deceased, and of the Right Hon. Frederick Lord North, and of George John Cooke and Charles Molloy, Esqrs. the personal representatives of the late George Cooke, Esq. deceased, and of the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, and of George John Cooke and Charles Molloy, Esquires, the personal representatives of the late George Cooke, Esq. de-

ceased,



ceased, late paymaster general of his majesty's forces §

367,640 3 6½

3. That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be applied the sum of eighteen thousand seven hundred and twenty-three pounds, thirteen shillings, and eleven pence, remaining in the hands of Sir William Howe, late commander in chief in North America; and the sum of one thousand three hundred and fifty seven pounds, fourteen shillings, remaining in the hands of the executors of Zachary Philip Fonnereau, Esq; deceased, and Sir Merrick Burrell, baronet, contractors for furnishing the garrison of Gibraltar with provisions, from the 12th day of May, 1777, to the 17th day of January, 1779†; and the sum of eight thousand eight hundred and forty-eight pounds, one shilling, and four pence farthing, remaining in the hands of Thomas Rumfey, Esq; acting executor of John Richardson, Esq; agent to the out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, from the 25th day of December, 1773, to the 24th day of June, 1774; and the sum of seven hundred and seventy-two pounds, eight shillings, and six pence half-penny, remaining in the hands of Sir William Erskine, as quarter-master-general of the forces, from the 25th day of December, 1776, to the 30th day of July, 1779

25,853 16 5½

§ Of the above sum of 400,000*l.* or. od. only 367,640*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*½ were paid into the exchequer.

Particulars of the sum of 367,640*l.* 3*s.* 6½ paid into the exchequer, on account of balances, viz.

Interest-money repaid by the executors of George Grenville, Esq;

					11,582	15	9½
Ditto	—	—	by Lord Barrington	—	9,316	9	10¾
Ditto	—	—	by Lord Howe	—	9,969	0	4½
Ditto	—	—	by the executors of Sir Gilbert Elliot		6,000	0	0
Ditto	—	—	by the hands of John Powel, Esq;				
			executor of Lord Holland		232,515	4	8
Ditto	—	—	by the administrators of Charles Townshend Esq;		27,000	0	0
Ditto	—	—	by Lord North, and the executors of George Cooke, Esq;		60,073	5	10
Ditto	—	—	by the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, and the executors of George Cooke, Esq;		11,181	7	0
					<hr/>		
					367,640	3	6½

† Of this, only 5,000*l.* was paid into the exchequer.

4. That



4. That such of the monies as shall be paid into the receipt of the exchequer by the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, in full discharge and satisfaction of the claims and demands of the public to the net profits which have accrued to the company at home, before the 1st day of March, 1781, be applied towards making good the supply granted to his majesty — 400,000 0 0

5. Sale of lands, &c. in the Ceded Islands — 5,200 0 0

RECAPITULATION of the aforementioned Ways and Means.

				£.			
Malt Duty	_____	_____	_____	750,000	0	0	
Land-Tax	_____	_____	_____	2,000,000	0	0	
Contributions to annuities	_____	_____	_____	12,000,000	0	0	
Ditto — to lottery	_____	_____	_____	480,000	0	0	
				£.	s.	d.	
Sink. fund	{	Surplus on 5th Jan. 1781.	288,346	19	8	}	2,788,346 19 8
		Ditto on 5th Apr. 1781.	757,087	17	10		
		Future produce	1,742,912	2	2		
Exchequer bills	_____	_____	_____	1,500,000	0	0	
Ditto	_____	_____	_____	1,900,000	0	0	
Ditto	_____	_____	_____	2,000,000	0	0	
Money to be paid by the East India Company				400,000	0	0	
Surplus of the 2 7ths 9d excise	_____	_____	_____	23,798	11	10½	
Ditto of the fund for life-annuities 18 Geo. II.				40,000	0	0	
Ditto of the fund for life-annuities 19 Geo. II.				56,000	0	0	
Disposeable money in the exchequer	_____	_____	_____	16,879	6	8½	
Balances of late treasurers of the navy and pay-							
masters of the forces, voted 400,000 <i>l.</i> but no							
more paid into the exchequer than	_____	_____	_____	367,640	3	6½	
Balance of the account of Sir William Howe	_____	_____	_____	18,723	13	11	
Ditto of the account of Messieurs Fonnereau and							
Burrell	_____	_____	_____	1,357	14	0	
Ditto of the account of Sir William Erskine	_____	_____	_____	772	8	6½	
Part of 8,848 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> ¼, being the balance of the							
account of the late Mr. Richardson	_____	_____	_____	15,000	0	0	
Sale of lands, &c. in the Ceded Islands	_____	_____	_____	5,200	0	0	
Money arisen by sale of French prizes	_____	_____	_____				
Duty on gum senega	_____	_____	_____	228	6	5	
				24,353,857	0	9	
Vote of credit	_____	_____	_____	1,000,000	0	0	
				25,353,857	4	9	



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [281

The total amount of the supplies granted	—	25,373,524	10	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
The total amount of ways and means towards satisfying the same	—————	—	25,353,857	4 9
Deficiencies of ways and means	—————	—	19,667	5 11 $\frac{3}{4}$

The national debt, up to July, 1781, is	£. 177.206,000	0	0
The annual interest to be raised is	6.812,000	0	0

## TAXES for 1781.

Five per cent. on excise, except malt, soap, candles, and hides	—————	£.	150,000	0	0
Discount of the customs	—————	—	167,000	0	0
Tobacco, one penny three farthings per pound	—————	—	61,000	0	0
Sugar one halfpenny per pound	—————	—	326,000	0	0

## Since laid.

Duty on Paper	—————	—	100,060	0	0
Ditto on Almanacks	—————	—	10,000	0	0
Total	—————	—	814,060	0	0

## Review of perpetual Taxes laid on, from 1776 to 1781, inclusive.

### Computed produce per annum.

TAXES.			TAXES.		
In 1776	—	£. 73,000	In 1779	—	£. 478,000
1777	—	242,000	1780	—	701,616
1778	—	346,000	1781	—	814,060
Total	—	2,644,676			



## STATE PAPERS.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech  
to both Houses of Parliament,  
Nov. 1. 1780.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

**I**T is with more than ordinary satisfaction that I meet you in parliament, at a time when the late elections may afford me an opportunity of receiving the most certain information of the disposition and the wishes of my people, to which I am always inclined to pay the utmost attention and regard.

The present arduous situation of public affairs is well known: the whole force and faculties of the monarchies of France and Spain are drawn forth, and exerted to the utmost, to support the rebellion of my colonies in North America, and, without the least provocation or cause of complaint, to attack my dominions; and the undisguised object of this confederacy manifestly is to gratify boundless ambition, by destroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain.

By the force which the late parliament put into my hands, and by the blessing of Divine Providence on the bravery of my fleets and ar-

mies, I have been enabled to withstand the formidable attempts of my enemies, and to frustrate the great expectations they had formed; and the signal successes which have attended the progress of my arms in the province of Georgia and Carolina, gained with so much honour to the conduct and courage of my officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of my troops, which have equalled their highest character in any age, will, I trust, have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. It is my most earnest desire to see this great end accomplished; but I am confident you will agree with me in opinion, that we can only secure safe and honourable terms of peace by such powerful and respectable preparations, as shall convince our enemies that we will not submit to receive the law from any powers whatsoever; and that we are united in a firm resolution to decline no difficulty or hazard, in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of our essential interests.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you.



you. I see, and feel, with great anxiety and concern, that the various services of the war must, unavoidably, be attended with great and heavy expences; but I desire you to grant me such supplies only, as your own security and lasting welfare, and the exigency of affairs shall be found to require.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I repose an entire confidence in the zeal and affections of this parliament, conscious that, during the whole course of my reign, it has been the constant object of my care, and the wish of my heart, to promote the true interests and happiness of all my subjects, and to preserve inviolate our excellent constitution in church and state.

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*The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled.*

*Die Mercurii, 1<sup>o</sup> Novembris, 1780.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

Permit us to offer to your majesty our most dutiful congratulations on the birth of another prince, and the happy recovery of the queen, and to assure your majesty, that every addition to your majesty's domestic happiness must always afford the highest satisfaction to your faithful subjects.

In the present arduous situation of public affairs, we think it an

indispensable part of our duty to make those spirited and vigorous exertions which such a conjuncture demands; and we beg leave to assure your majesty, that we are united in a firm resolution to decline no difficulty or hazard, in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of our essential interests.

It is with just and heart-felt indignation, that we see the monarchies of France and Spain leagued in confederacy to support the rebellion in your majesty's colonies in North America, and employing the whole force of those kingdoms in the prosecution of a war waged in violation of all public faith, and for the sole purpose of gratifying boundless ambition, by destroying the commerce, and giving a fatal blow to the power of Great Britain.

We have seen with great satisfaction, that the force which with just confidence was entrusted to your majesty by parliament, has, by the blessing of Divine Providence on the bravery of your fleets and armies, enabled your majesty to withstand the formidable attempts of your enemies, and to frustrate the great expectations they had conceived; and we hope and trust that the success of your majesty's arms in Georgia and Carolina, gained with so much honour to the conduct and courage of your majesty's officers, and to the valour and intrepidity of your troops, will have the most important consequences; and that such signal events followed by those vigorous measures which your majesty recommends, and in which we are determined to concur, will disappoint



point all the views of our enemies, and restore the blessings of a safe and honourable peace.

We are satisfied that the only way to accomplish this great end which your majesty so earnestly desires, is to make such powerful and respectable preparations, as shall convince our enemies that we will not submit to receive the law from any powers whatever; but with that spirit and resolution which become us, will maintain the essential rights, honour, and dignity of Great Britain.

We have a deep and most grateful sense of the constant solicitude your majesty shews to promote the true interests and happiness of all your subjects, and to preserve inviolate our excellent constitution in church and state. And we beg leave humbly to assure your majesty, that it shall be our earnest endeavour to justify and deserve the confidence which your majesty so graciously places in our affection, duty, and zeal.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

My Lords,

**I** Thank you heartily for this very loyal and dutiful address.

The joy you express in the increase of my family, and in the happy recovery of the queen, is extremely agreeable to me.

Your wise and spirited resolutions to prosecute the war with vigour, and to maintain, at every hazard, the essential interests, dignity, and honour of Great Britain, give me the highest satisfaction, and must be productive of the most salutary effects both at home and abroad.

*The humble Address of the House of Commons to his Majesty.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your majesty the thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We beg leave to congratulate your majesty upon the safe delivery of the queen, and the birth of another prince; and to assure your majesty, that we take a sincere part in every event that contributes to your majesty's domestic happiness.

We acknowledge, with the utmost gratitude, your majesty's condescending goodness, in your desire to meet your parliament at this time, and your gracious expressions of attention and regard to the disposition and wishes of your people.

We are impressed with a due sense of the difficulties of the present arduous conjuncture, when the whole force of France and Spain is combined and exerted to support the rebellion in your majesty's colonies, and to attack all the dominions of your crown; and when it is but too manifest to all the world, that the real views of this most unjust confederacy are to give a fatal blow to the commerce and power of Great Britain, in resentment for the successful efforts which this nation has so often made, to save the liberties of Europe from the ambition of the House of Bourbon.

We have observed with great and just satisfaction, that your majesty,  
by



by the support of your parliament, and the spirit and bravery of your fleets and armies, has, under the divine protection, been enabled to withstand the formidable attempts of your enemies; and we offer our most cordial congratulations to your majesty on the signal successes which have attended the progress of your majesty's arms in the provinces of Georgia and Carolina, and in which the conduct and courage of your majesty's officers, and the valour and intrepidity of your troops, have been so eminently distinguished.

We consider your majesty's earnest desire and solicitude to see the war brought to a happy conclusion, as the strongest proof of your paternal regard for your people: but we entirely agree with your majesty, that safe and honourable terms of peace can only be secured by such powerful preparations and vigorous exertions as shall convince our enemies, that your majesty and your parliament are united in a firm and stedfast resolution to decline no difficulty or danger in the defence of their country, and for the maintenance of their essential interests.

We are thoroughly sensible that these ends cannot be effected without great and heavy expences; and we will grant your majesty such supplies as the lasting security and welfare of your kingdoms, and the exigency of affairs, shall be found to require.

Your majesty may rely, with entire confidence, on the most zealous and affectionate attachment of your faithful commons to your person, family, and government; and we acknowledge, with the liveliest sentiments of reverence

and gratitude, that the constant tenor of your majesty's conduct shews, that the sole objects of your royal care and concern are to promote the happiness of your people, and to preserve inviolate our excellent constitution in church and state.

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

Gentlemen,

**I** Thank you for this very dutiful address.

I receive your congratulations on the increase of my family, and on the happy recovery of the queen, as a mark of your loyalty and affection.

I have a firm confidence that the support of my faithful commons, and the spirit of my brave people, engaged in a just cause, and fighting for their country and their essential interests, will, in the end, enable me to surmount all difficulties, and to attain the object of all my measures and all my exertions, a safe and honourable peace.

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*Address of the Archbishop, Bishops, and Clergy of the Province of CANTERBURY, in Convocation assembled, presented to his Majesty on the 17th of November, 1780.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the archbishop, bishops, and clergy, of the province of Canterbury, in convocation assembled, humbly beg leave to approach your throne, and with the deepest sense of gratitude for the protection we continue



nue to enjoy under your majesty's reign, to offer our unfeigned congratulations on the farther security of your majesty's illustrious house, by the birth of another prince, and on the happy recovery of our gracious queen, the patroness of religion and virtue.

We are, on this occasion, particularly obliged to acknowledge and admire a late instance of your majesty's attention to the interests of Christianity, in your royal munificence to the pious designs of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, erected by a charter of your glorious predecessor King William, and now restored to its former activity, by the liberal contributions of your subjects, encouraged by your majesty's example.

Amidst all the protection and favour we derive from the goodness of your majesty's heart, we lament the necessity of confessing, that the licentiousness of the times continues to counteract your paternal care for the state of national religion. Bad men and bad books are the produce of all times; but we observe with particular regret, that the wickedness of the age hath of late been directly pointed at the fences of piety and virtue, established by God himself, and apparently secured by law.

The open violation of the Lord's Day, and the invitations of men to desert the religious duties of that day for amusements, frivolous at best, appears to call for the aid of the civil magistrate, to check the progress of an evil so dangerous both to church and state, by suppressing on the Lord's Day, places of resort for pleasure, where the interposition of the ministers of re-

ligion is impracticable. We humbly assure your majesty, that so far as any exertions of ours can reach, we shall not fail to admonish and rebuke, both by word and example.

We have the comfortable hope, Sir, that it will appear to your majesty, that Popery is less prevalent than it has been in this part of your dominions. We are too zealously attached to Protestantism not to oppose the errors of the church of Rome, as well in controversial attacks, as in the more successful way of teaching the doctrines of our apostolical church; adhering, at the same time invariably to the principles of the Reformation, which direct us to oppose error of every kind, by argument and persuasion, and to disavow all violence in the cause of religion.

May Almighty God, who, for our sins, hath permitted your majesty to be involved in a war, just, indeed, and necessary, but, in its own nature, productive of much calamity, bless your majesty's efforts with decisive success!

It becomes us, as ministers of the gospel, to praise God for every victory which has a tendency to the blessings of peace; and whenever it shall please his infinite wisdom to restore them to this nation, we shall farther beseech him to grant to your majesty the full enjoyment of those blessings for many years, in the prosperity and unanimous loyalty of your subjects.

*To which Address his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer.*

**I** Thank you for your congratulations on the increase of my family,



family, and the happy recovery of the queen.

I hear with pleasure the zeal you express for the interests of our holy religion; and I shall continue to make it my constant endeavour to support them upon the principles of the Reformation, against the incroachments of licentiousness or superstition.

Trusting to the justice of my cause, I rely on the continuance of the blessings of Providence on my endeavours to restore to my people a safe and honourable peace.

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HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Thursday, January 25, 1781.*

**T**HE following message from his majesty was delivered to the house by Lord Viscount Stormont, Secretary of State for the northern department, and was read by the chancellor.

“GEORGE R.

“His majesty judges it proper to acquaint the House of Lords, that during the recess of parliament, he has been indispensably obligated to direct letters of marque and general reprisals to be issued against the States General of the United Provinces, and their subjects.

“The causes and motives of his majesty’s conduct on this occasion, are set forth in his public declaration, which he has ordered to be laid before the house.

“His majesty has with the utmost reluctance been induced to take an hostile measure against a state, whose alliance with this kingdom stood not only on the

faith of ancient treaties, but on the soundest principles of good policy.—His majesty has used every endeavour to prevail on the States General to return to a line of conduct, conformable to those principles, to the tenor of their engagements, and to the common and natural interests of both kingdoms, and has left nothing untried to prevent, if possible, the present rupture.

“His majesty is fully persuaded that the justice and necessity of the measures he has taken, will be acknowledged by all the world.—Relying therefore on the protection of Divine Providence, and the zealous and affectionate support of his people, his majesty has the firmest confidence, that by a vigorous exertion of the spirit and resources of the nation, he shall be able to maintain the honour of his crown, and the rights and interests of his people, against all his enemies, and to bring them to listen to equitable terms of peace.”

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PROTEST OF THE LORDS.

*Die Jovis 25<sup>o</sup> Januarii, 1781.*

**M**OVED, That the motion for an address to his majesty on the foregoing message be postponed, in order that the house may take into consideration another motion ‘for an address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give orders, that there be forthwith laid before this house copies of all the treaties lately subsisting between Great Britain and the states of the Seven United Provinces, and also of the correspondence between his majesty’s ministers



ministers and his late ambassador at the Hague, and of all memorials, requisitions, manifestos, answers, and other papers which have passed between the two courts, as far as they relate in any respect to the present rupture, or to any misunderstanding or complaints which have existed between the two nations since the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and the provinces of North America.

Which being objected to, after long debate, the question was put, whether to agree to the said motion?

It was resolved in the negative.

Contents	—	19	}	19
Proxies	—	0		
Non-contents		68	}	84
Proxies	—	16		

#### DISSENTIENT,

1st. Because we cannot consent to involve this and other nations in all the horrors of war, but upon the clearest proofs both of justice and necessity; and it would be peculiarly inconsistent with our public trust, without such evidence, to give a parliamentary sanction to a war against the ancient and natural allies of this nation.

It is on the justice of our cause, and on the absolute necessity of proceeding to such extremities, that we must be answerable to God and our consciences for a measure, which necessarily plunges millions of innocent people in the utmost distress and misery. It is on this foundation alone that we can with confidence pray for success, or hope for the protection of Providence.

We conceive that a careful, and above all, an impartial examination

of the correspondence between his majesty's ministers and his late ambassador at the Hague, and of all the memorials, complaints, requisitions, manifestos, answers, and other papers which have passed between the two courts, as far as they relate in any respect to the present rupture, is indispensable to warrant parliament in pronouncing whether the hostilities which his majesty has authorised his subjects to commence against those of the Seven United Provinces are, or are not, founded in justice, and consequently before they can with propriety offer to his majesty any advice, or promise him any assistance in the present conjuncture.

The sudden attack which the ministers have advised his majesty to begin against the property of our neighbours, failing in full confidence of peace and of their alliance with this nation, made without allowing the usual time stipulated by treaties, even between enemies, for securing the property of unsuspecting individuals in case of a sudden rupture, is a proceeding which, till explained, must appear unwarranted by the law of nations, and contrary to good faith; nor can we, upon the bare recommendation of ministers, approve of such a conduct, or determine upon the nice construction of treaties and reciprocal obligations, without so much as hearing what our late allies and friends have on their side to alledge.

But the influence of his majesty's ministers in parliament has been such, as to obtain not only the rejection of a motion which has been made for this necessary information, but also to induce this great council of the nation,

on



on a matter deeply affecting their most important interests, to give a solemn opinion, without any knowledge of the facts on which they have pronounced, with so blindfold a compliance to the will of the court.

2dly, Because however sufficient the reason of justice ought to be, that of expediency may perhaps be more prevalent, and is not wanting on this occasion.

It has been the uniform and approved policy of our ablest statesmen, for near a century, to form alliances, and to unite with the powers on the continent to resist the ambitious attempts of the House of Bourbon. The protestant republic of Holland, from the freedom of its constitution and sentiment, as well as from its religion, has ever been deemed a valuable support of the liberties of Europe. Twice have they been on the very verge of falling a sacrifice to France in this cause, and we can never believe that their old affection to Great Britain can have been alienated, much less that a direct rupture with them can have become necessary on our part, without gross mismanagement in our councils. We cannot but form the most serious apprehensions at seeing the three great Protestant and free countries of Great Britain, North America, and Holland, so weakening each other by war, as to become an easy prey to the ancient enemy of them all, whenever she shall please to turn her arms against them.

We are not insensible of the distressful situation, with respect to the armed neutral powers, into which we have been led, step by step, by the unfortunate American

war; but as we are convinced that wicked and weak councils have been the sole cause of that unhappy contest, so we are persuaded that honest and able ministers might have prevented this, amongst some of its wretched consequences.

But whilst the same measures, which have caused our unexampled calamities, continue to be pursued and cherished; whilst a system of corruption prevails, which must exclude both ability and integrity from our councils; whilst every interest of the state is sacrificed to its support, and every attempt at reformation rejected, our condition can change but from bad to worse.

It is not for us to pretend to foretell events, which are in the hands of providence; but if causes are suffered to produce their natural consequences, we cannot but apprehend, from the present conduct of our affairs, every danger to this country, both foreign and domestic, to which a nation can be exposed.

Richmond,	Rockingham,
Portland,	Devonshire,
Fitzwilliam,	Pembroke,
Harcourt,	Coventry.
Ferrers,	

## SECOND PROTEST.

### DISSENTIENT,

For the above reasons, and for that, instead of being convinced of the justice, necessity, or policy, of a war with Holland, as we ought to be, before we give our sanction to that measure, it appears to us, as far as the information we possess enables us, to be equally contrary, to the interest of both countries,

[7]

and



and to the inclinations of all whose inclinations ought to influence the councils of either. Of such inclinations, in many respectable members of the Dutch government, we thought we saw, and we saw it with pleasure, a sufficient indication to encourage us to hope, that it is not yet too late to open a negotiation, by which, if conducted with the temper, and in the language of conciliation, we may avert the evils which the continuance of this unnatural war cannot fail to produce.

With this view, it was recommended in the debates, with the earnestness and seriousness suitable to the occasion, not to lose an hour in proposing a cessation of hostilities with Holland, for the purpose of meeting and cultivating a friendly disposition, of reconciling commercial differences, and for restoring that union of political interests which has been hitherto thought fundamentally necessary to the preservation of the Protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe. The inattention of his majesty's ministers to such a proposition, in the actual circumstances of this country, their disinclination to the objects of it, so plainly manifested by the unprecedented confiscations intended by their proclamation of the 20th of December last, the loss of so valuable an ally, the accession of so considerable a force to the formidable powers antecedently combined against us, and the just grounds it affords to apprehend the accession of other powers to that

combination, leave us no other part to take, as members of this house, after having stated our ideas of the extent of the danger, and suggested what we conceive to be the best and only remedy, than to enter our solemn protest to exculpate ourselves from being accessory to that accumulation of evils, which we foresee, and think might be, but will not be prevented.

Wycombe,	Portland,
Camden,	Rockingham,
Richmond,	Fitzwilliam,
Ferrers,	Pembroke†.

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## L O R D S P R O T E S T.

*Die Jovis Mart. 21<sup>o</sup>, 1781.*

**A**N Act for raising a certain sum of money by way of annuities, and a lottery; and for consolidating certain annuities which were made one joint stock, by an act made in the second year of the reign of his present majesty, with certain annuities consolidated by several acts made in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth years of the reign of King George II. and in the 5th year of the reign of his present majesty;

Moved, "That the said bill be now read a third time." Which being objected to, after debate the question was put thereupon; and it was resolved in the affirmative.

The said bill was then accordingly read a third time. The question was put, that the said bill do now pass: it was resolved in the affirmative.

† The division did not take place till half after one in the morning, nor did the house rise till past two.



DISSENTIENT,

“ Because when a bargain improvident in its terms, corrupt in its operation, and partial in its distributions, is negociated by a minister acting for the public, its having passed through the House of Commons can be no reason for its passing without observation thro’ the House of Lords. Without waving our undoubted right of giving a negative to this or any other bill, we respect the principle of public credit too much to attempt, at this juncture, to exercise that right, though if we looked only at the enormity of the abuse, the most direct opposition never could be more properly called for.

“ Twenty-one millions are added to the capital of the debt for a loan of twelve; five and a half per cent. perpetual annuity is granted; six hundred and fifty thousand pounds are to be levied in the yearly taxes upon the people. In such a situation the most rigid œconomy ought to have been used, and the premium on the loan ought to have been reduced in proportion to the exorbitance of the interest to be paid. Several circumstances appeared favourable to the minister, if his object had been to serve his country, rather than to raise a faction for his own support. Besides the prospect derived from the beginning of a negociation for peace, it is allowed that treble the sum subscribed had been offered, and a very large part of that surplus by persons more responsible than very many of those who were admitted. In that situation, so favourable to the borrower, where the being permitted to lend was sought with emulation,

the first Commissioners of the Treasury chose to make a bargain, opened at ten per cent. premium the day after the loan.

“ This price was not the effect of mere popular opinion, or of artful management, but was grounded on the real value of the great body of the other stocks at the time, and was no more than what arose from a just relation to the rest. We are the more dissatisfied with this shameful prodigality of public money, by comparing it with the period when a strict and conscientious management of the public treasure at home became a foundation for the glory of our arms abroad. During the Duke of Newcastle’s administration, the several successive loans from the year 1758 inclusive, to the time of his removal from office, never exceeded one and a half per cent. at the opening; they were generally less, and sometimes at discount. Yet the national credit was in vigour. During that time forty-three millions were borrowed. In those happy days, the ministers standing on national ground, were not in a state of servitude to any set of men, nor led through a false system of politics, to aggravate the distresses of their country, by hiring a venal cry to personate the voice of the public, and to give support to the measures which had occasioned such distresses.

“ It is not a matter of surprize to us, at a time when such things can be done with impunity, that lords of the greatest honour and ability have wholly discontinued their attendance. But it is not improper that those lords who do sometimes attend, should record



their names in testimony of their strong condemnation of the terms of this loan, and of the motives, which, they conceive, dictated terms so very disadvantageous to the crown and the nation.

Rockingham,  
Portland,  
Osborne,  
J. St. Asaph,  
De Ferrers,  
Fitzwilliam,  
Bolton,  
Ponsonby."

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*Answer of the States General to the  
Manifesto of the King of Great  
Britain.*

**I**F ever the annals of the world have furnished an instance of a free and independent state being attacked by an enemy, in the most unjustifiable manner, and without the least appearance of right or equity, by a neighbouring power allied for a long time, and bound by ties founded on the basis of common interest; it is without doubt, the Republic of the United States of the Netherlands, which finds itself in that case with his majesty the King of Great Britain, and his ministers. From the beginning of the disputes, which had arisen between that kingdom and its American colonies, their High Mightinesses, nowise obliged to interfere, had taken the firm and determined resolution to adopt and strictly to adhere to the most exact neutrality: and when the said disputes had kindled the flames of a war which hath embroiled more powers than one, and spread in several parts of the world, their

High Mightinesses have constantly observed and maintained the same line of conduct; whilst, in the mean time, they have taken care to give on many occasions, and in some instances of a very essential nature, the most convincing proofs of their sincere inclination to conform to the wishes of his majesty: so far as they could do it without going against the rules of impartiality, or bringing in question their rights of sovereignty.

It was with this view, and for this purpose, that their High Mightinesses from the beginning, and at the requisition, of his Britannic majesty, caused most express inhibitions to be published against the exportation of all warlike stores to the colonies of his Britannic majesty in America; and against all fraudulent trade with the said colonies; and in order that the said prohibitions should be more effectually carried into execution, their High Mightinesses made no difficulty to take such farther steps as greatly circumscribed their own navigation, and the trade of their subjects with the Dutch colonies in the West Indies.

It was to further the above purposes, that their High Mightinesses sent the most exact orders to all commanders, and governors of their colonies, and settlements, as well as to the commanders of their ships of war, carefully to abstain from doing, in regard to the American flag, any thing from which could be justly inferred or deduced an acknowledgment of the independency of the said colonies: and it is also, especially to the above intent, that their High Mightinesses having received a memorial presented to them by the English

ambassa-



ambassador, full of the heaviest complaints against the Governor of St. Eustatia, condescended to deliberate on the said memorial; though couched in terms little consonant with the regard which sovereign powers owe to each other: the consequence of the said deliberation was the immediate recall of the said governor, whom their High Mightinesses called to an account for his conduct, and who was not permitted to return to his residence till he had cleared himself of all the charges brought against him, before a court of justice; a copy of whose proceedings was soon after transmitted to the minister of his Britannic majesty.

By such measures as these, their High Mightinesses, who always earnestly wished to avoid giving the smallest cause of discontent to his Britannic majesty, have constantly endeavoured to promote and cultivate perfect harmony; but his Britannic majesty's conduct towards the Republic has been diametrically opposite.

The differences between the courts of London and Versailles had scarcely broke out, when they beheld the ports of England filled with Dutch vessels, which were unjustly seized and detained: these vessels navigated upon the faith of the treaties, and were not laden with any other merchandise than what the express tenor of the treaties had declared free and legal. They beheld those free cargoes forced to submit to an arbitrary and despotic authority. The cabinet of St. James's knowing no other rule than an assumed right of *temporary convenience*, thought proper to appropriate those cargoes to

the use of the crown by a forcible purchase, and to employ them in the service of the king's navy. The most earnest and serious representations on the part of their High Mightinesses against these proceedings were ineffectual, and it was in vain that they urged, in the strongest manner possible, the treaty subsisting between England and the Republic. By this treaty, the rights and liberties of the *neutral flag* are decisively and clearly stated. The subjects of Great Britain had fully enjoyed the advantages of this treaty, in the first and only case, wherein it pleased the Court of London to remain neuter, whilst the Republic was engaged in a war. Certainly then in a reciprocal case that court could not, without the greatest injustice, refuse the enjoyment of the same advantages to the Republic; and as little right as his Britannic majesty had to withhold the advantageous effects of this treaty from their High Mightinesses, he had as little foundation for attempting to make them quit the neutrality they had embraced, and to force them to plunge into a war, the cause of which related immediately to the rights and possessions of his Britannic majesty lying beyond the limits of defensive treaties.—And, notwithstanding this treaty, his majesty, from the commencement of the difference with the crown of France, has made no scruple of infringing and violating it. The trespasses and infractions made on this treaty on the part of Great Britain, and the arbitrary decisions of the courts of justice in that kingdom, directly contrary to the express sanction of the same treaty, multi-



plied daily. The merchant vessels became the innocent victims of the exactions and accumulated violences of the English men of war and privateers. They did not however rest there.—The very flag of the states was not spared, but openly and outrageously insulted by a hostile attack upon the convoy, under the care of the Rear-Admiral Comte de Byland. The strongest representations from the states to his Britannic majesty were disregarded, the ships taken from the convoy were declared good prizes, and this insult on the flag of the Republic was very soon followed by an open violation of their neutral territory, as well in Europe as America. They will content themselves, however, with reciting two examples.

At the island of St. Martin his Britannic majesty attacked, and carried away by force several vessels that lay at anchor under the cannon of the fort, where, according to the inviolable rights of mankind, the vessels ought to have found a secure asylum. The insults committed by an armed English vessel on the coast of the Republic, near *Geedereede*, furnish a second example of these violations. These insults were carried so far, that many inhabitants of the island, who dwelt on the shore, where they ought to have supposed themselves secure from any disturbance, were exposed, by the violence of the fire from the ships, to such imminent danger, that they were forced to retire to the interior part of the island. Yet, for these unheard of proceedings, the Republic, notwithstanding the strongest and best founded representations, has not obtained the smallest satisfaction.

Affairs being thus situated, so that their High Mightinesses had no other alternative left them, but to see the navigation and commerce of their subjects, on which the ruin or prosperity of their Republic alone depends, totally annihilated, or else to adopt measures hostile to their old friend and ally; at this period the Empress of Russia, urged by a generous magnanimity of disposition, thought proper to interfere, and with as much affection as humanity invited the Republic to take the justest measures, and such too as were entirely consistent with the treaty subsisting between the states and other powers, for the defending and maintaining, in conjunction with her Imperial majesty, and the other northern powers, those privileges and immunities which the rights of nations, and the most solemn treaties allowed to neutral flags.

This invitation could not but be infinitely agreeable to their High Mightinesses, since they considered it as a means of securing the undisturbed commerce of their subjects upon the most solid basis, and as holding out a method of protecting their independence against every infraction, at the same time that it proposed nothing at all derogatory to the alliance contracted between them and his Britannic majesty, or the other belligerent powers. But this was a measure of which the court of London endeavoured to deprive the Republic, by proceeding with precipitation to the most desperate extremities, by recalling their ambassador, by the publication of a manifesto, containing a list of fictitious grievances, and by granting letters  
of



of marque and pretended reprisal against the states, their subjects, and their property, by which violence indeed this court did nothing more than clearly carry into proof and practice the designs which they have for a long time fostered, of disregarding the true and essential interests which connect the two nations, and of destroying the bonds of their ancient amity by an attack so replete with injustice.

It will not be at all necessary to enter into an elaborate refutation of the reasons, and pretended griefs which were alledged in the manifesto, to convince every impartial man of their entire want of solidity. It will be sufficient to observe, in few words, with respect to the offer which was made by his Britannic majesty for opening an amicable conference, that the sole object of these conferences could only be this, to take into consideration the naval treaty spoken of above; that the construction of this treaty, conceived as it is, in terms the most clear and express, could not be a subject of any doubt or equivocation; that it gives the neutral powers a free right of conveying to the belligerent powers all kinds of naval stores; that the Republic, neither proposing any thing else to themselves, nor desiring any thing more of his Britannic majesty, than the quiet, undisturbed enjoyment of rights, stipulated in this treaty, a point so manifest, and incontrovertibly equitable, could not perceive any reason or motive for a negociation, or any other new convention, which must have been derogatory to the treaty in question, particularly as their High Mightinesses could not prevail upon themselves, nor ex-

perience the least disposition to renounce, voluntarily, rights justly acquired, nor to desist from their rights by a regard for the Court of England; a renunciation, which though advantageous to one of the belligerent powers, would be totally incompatible with the principles of neutrality, and by which their High Mightinesses would, from another quarter, have subjected the state to dangers, which they think it is their duty most solemnly to avert. A renunciation also which would have carried with it a most irreparable injury to their commerce and navigation, which is the principal support of the Republic, and the source of all their prosperity; for the different branches of their commerce are severally so intimately connected with each other, so as to form one whole, that it is impossible to separate one part of so principal a nature as was expected by the Court of London, without the entire ruin and destruction of the general body; not to mention that at this time, when their High Mightinesses made a reasonable difficulty of acceding to the proposed conference, they yet qualified and tempered this effectual exercise of their rights by a provisional resolution.

As for the succours required, their High Mightinesses cannot dissemble that they never could conceive how his Britannic majesty thought himself justified to insist, under the most distant appearance of right or equity, for the assistance stipulated by the treaties, at the time when he had already foregone the obligation which they imposed on him towards the Republic. Their High Mightinesses



were not less surpris'd to see that, whilst the disturbances in America, and their direct consequences, could not affect the Republic by virtue of any treaty, and that the assistance had not been required before the declaration of the Court of Spain had increased the number of the belligerent powers; his Britannic majesty had nevertheless taken occasion, from this event, to insist on his demand with so much ardor and earnestness, as if his majesty had a right to pretend and maintain, that, a war being once kindled between him and some other power, was alone sufficient to compel the states to grant directly, and without any previous examination, the said stipulated assistance.

The Republic, it is true, had bound itself by treaties to aid and assist the kingdom of Great Britain, whenever that power should be attacked or threatened with an unjust war: the Republic was moreover to declare war in such a case, against the aggressor; but their High Mightinesses never intended to give up that right which is the nature of a defensive alliance, and which cannot be disputed to the allied powers, to examine first, and before they grant the required assistance, or take part in the war, the principles of the dissensions which have prevailed; the nature of the differences from which they sprang; as also to investigate and maturely weigh the reasons and motives which may enforce the *Casus Fœderis*, and which are to form the basis of the equity and lawfulness of the war, on the part of that confederate state claiming the aforesaid assistance. There is not a treaty extant, by which their High Migh-

tinesses have foregone the independence of the states, or sacrificed their interests to those of Great Britain, so far as to deprive themselves of the right of so necessary and indispensable an examination; by taking such steps as might insinuate, that they should be looked upon as compelled to submit to the pleasure of Great Britain, by granting the required assistance; even when the above court, being at variance with another power, thinks proper to prefer a war to an amicable accommodation on well supported complaints.

It is not therefore through spirit of party, or the scheme of a predominant cabal, but after a mature deliberation, and by a desire of supporting the dearest interests of the Republic, that all the provincial states respectively have, with one voice, testified they were of opinion, that the assistance required should be politely refused; and their High Mightinesses would not have failed to communicate to his Britannic majesty, in consequence of those resolutions, an answer to the repeated requests for assistance, had they not been prevented from so doing, by the violent and unprecedented insult offered to the Dutch flag, under the command of Rear-Admiral Byland; by their being refused redress on so serious a matter, and by his majesty's declaration, no less strange than unjust, in regard to the suspension of the treaties which subsisted between him and the Republic. These were so many events, which, as they required deliberations of a different kind, put an end to those which were held in consequence of the aforesaid requisitions. It is in vain,



vain, and in opposition to all truth, that endeavours have been used to multiply the number of grievances, by alledging the suppression of duties on exports, as a measure calculated to facilitate the carrying of naval stores over to France: for, besides that the said suppression is an object which respects the interior regulation of commerce, to which all sovereigns have an uncontroverted right and for which they are accountable to no one, the matter has been put in deliberation, but never finally resolved upon; so that those duties are still on the former footing; and what is set forth respecting this matter in the manifesto, is totally groundless, tho' it cannot be denied, that the conduct of his Britannic majesty towards the Republic, furnished their High Mightinesses with but too many motives to justify such a measure on their part.

The displeasure of his Britannic majesty, in regard to what has been done for Paul Jones, is equally groundless. Their High Mightinesses had for many years before given general and positive orders for the admission into their ports, of all privateers and armed ships, with their prizes; orders which have been observed and executed without the least exception: in this case their high Mightinesses could not desist from such orders, in regard to an armed ship, which, provided with a commission from the American Congress, was in the Texel, together with the frigates of a sovereign power, without assuming the part of judges, and giving a decision in a matter which their High Mightinesses were not obliged to take any cog-

nizance of, and in which it seemed to them contrary to the interest of the Republic to interfere: their High Mightinesses, therefore, thought it best not to swerve from the rules established for so long a time, but resolved to lay the strongest injunctions, lest the said privateers and armed ships should take in any warlike stores, and desired them to quit the road as soon as possible, without being permitted to sojourn, but just as long as would prove absolutely necessary to repair the damages suffered at sea; declaring formally at the same time, that in case of a longer delay, their departure should be positively insisted upon. To this purpose, the commanding officer in the said road took care to make every requisite disposition, the effects of which the privateer of Paul Jones had hardly time to prevent. In regard to what has happened in other parts of the world, the informations transmitted to their High Mightinesses, from time to time, from the East Indies, are in direct opposition to those which seem to have been laid before his Britannic majesty. The frequent complaints of the East India direction, addressed to them, and which the love of peace had obliged the latter to smother, as it were, in their breasts, are so many incontrovertible proofs of the assertion. The measures taken in regard to the West-Indies, before mentioned, will serve at all times for an unquestionable proof of the sincerity of the zeal, and of the attention with which their High Mightinesses have assiduously endeavoured to observe, in these countries, the most exact and strict neutrality; nor could their High

Migh-



Mightinesses find out the least legal proof of any infraction of their orders in this respect.

“As for what concerns the project of an eventual treaty of commerce with North America, framed by a member of the government of the province of Holland, without the sanction of any public authority; and the memorials presented on this matter by the chevalier Yorke, the matter happened as follows:

“As soon as this ambassador had presented a memorial, dated Nov. 10, 1780, their High Mightinesses, without noticing the expressions, rather unbecoming between sovereigns, with which this memorial abounded, did not delay entering into the most serious deliberation on that matter; and by their resolution of the 27th of the same month, they did not hesitate to disclaim and disapprove publicly whatever had been done in this affair.

“After this they had every reason to expect that his Britannic Majesty would have acceded to this declaration, since he could not be ignorant that their High Mightinesses have no jurisdiction over the respective provinces, and that it was to the States of Holland, to whom, as being invested as the States of the other provinces with a sovereign and exclusive authority over their subjects, was to be submitted, an affair which their High Mightinesses had no reason to doubt but the other States of the said provinces would regulate according to the exigency of the case, and conformably to the laws of the State, and the principles of equity. The eagerness with which the chevalier Yorke, by his second memorial,

insisted on the punishment, could not of course, but appear very strange to their High Mightinesses, that if he did not receive the very same day an answer to his memorial in every respect satisfactory, he should find himself obliged to acquaint his court thereof by an extraordinary courier. Their High Mightinesses, informed of this declaration, soon perceived its importance, as a manifestation of the measures already determined on in the king's council; and although, according to the established custom, such verbal declarations from foreign ministers admit of no deliberation, they nevertheless thought proper to set it aside on this occasion, and to desire their recorder to wait on the chevalier, and inform him, that his memorial had been taken *ad referendum*, by the deputies of the respective provinces, according to the received custom and constitution of government; adding, at the same time, what seemed designedly omitted in the manifesto, that they would endeavour to frame an answer to his memorial as soon as possible, and the constitution of government would permit. In consequence thereof, a few days after, the deputies of the province of Holland gave notice to the assembly of their High Mightinesses, that the states of their province had *una voce*, resolved to require the advice of their court of justice in regard to the requisition of punishment, requesting the said court to give their opinion as soon as possible, foregoing all other affairs. Their High Mightinesses did not fail to acquaint the chevalier Yorke with the above resolve; but what was their surprize and astonishment, when



when they understood that the said ambassador, after having read his instructions, had sent a note to the recorder, wherein he called the abovesaid resolve illusive, and flatly refused to transmit it to his court ! This obliged their High Mightinesses to send it to Count Welderen, their minister at London, with orders to lay it immediately before the minister of his Britannic Majesty ; but the refusal of the latter created an obstacle to the execution of those orders.

All the circumstances of this affair being thus exposed, the impartial public will be enabled to appreciate the principal motive, or rather pretence, to which his Britannic Majesty has had recourse, in order to give a scope to his designs against the Republic. To this we may reduce the whole matter : his Majesty was informed of a negotiation which would have taken place between a member of the government of one of the provinces, and a representative of the American congress ; which negotiation intended to lay the plan of a treaty of commerce to be concluded between the Republic and the said colonies, *casu quo*, that is to say, that in case the independency of those colonies should be acknowledged by the crown of England ; this negotiation, although conditional, and holding by a clause which depended on the anterior act of his majesty, this negotiation, which, without the said act, or anterior declaration, could not have the least effect, was so misconstrued by his Majesty, and excited his displeasure to such a degree, that he thought proper to require from the States a public disavowal and disapprobation,

as well as a complete punishment and satisfaction : It was in consequence, and without the least delay, that their High Mightinesses acceded to the first part of his requisition ; but the punishment insisted upon was not within their power, and they could not assent to it, without striking at the root of the fundamental constitution of the state. The States of the province of Holland were the only ones to which it pertained lawfully to take cognizance of it, and to provide thereto by the ordinary means, and the authority of the laws. This sovereign state adhering to the maxims which oblige them to respect the authority of the laws, and fully convinced that the maintaining that department in all the integrity and impartiality which are inseparable from it, is the firmest basis of the supreme power ; that sovereign state, obliged by what is held most sacred, to defend and protect the rights and privileges of its subjects, could not forget itself so far as to submit to the will of his Britannic Majesty, by attempting to overturn those rights and privileges, and exceeding the limits prescribed by the fundamental laws of its government : these laws required the intervention of the judicial department, and those were the means which the above states resolved to use, by requiring on this object, the advice of the court of justice, established in their province.

By an adherence to this method it was, that, before the eyes of his Britannic Majesty, the English nation, and all Europe, were displayed the unalterable principles of that justice and equity which form the leading feature of the Dutch



Dutch constitution, and which, in so important a part of public administration, we mean that which concerns the exercise of the judiciary power, will for ever serve as a bulwark against whatever could militate with the security and independence of a free nation. It was also by these means, and by following this road, that, far from precluding justice, or evading the punishment required, a free course, on the contrary, has been laid open to a regular process, conformably to the constitutional principles of the Republic; and by the same reason, in short, depriving the court of London of any pretence to complaint of a denial of justice, care has been taken to anticipate the least shadow, or appearance of reason, which might have authorised that court to make reprisals; to which, nevertheless, it has had recourse without scruple, in a manner equally odious and unjust.

To these ends, and since, after the repeated outrages and heavy losses which the subjects of this Republic must have experienced from his Britannic Majesty, their High Mightinesses find themselves furthermore provoked, and assailed by his aforesaid Majesty, and compelled to use those means which they have in hand, in order to defend the precious rights of their liberty and independence; they entertain the firmest hope that the Lord of hosts, the God of their fathers, who, by the palpable direction of Providence, supported and carried this Republic through the greatest dangers, will bless the means which they have determined to employ, by crowning the justice of their arms, with the ever tri-

umphant assistance of his omnipotent protection; whilst their High Mightinesses will ardently sigh after the instant, when they shall see their neighbour and old ally, but now their enemy, recalled to sentiments more moderate and equitable. And it is at that period, where their High Mightinesses will improve all the opportunities which, consonant with the honour and independence of a free state, may tend to a reconciliation between them and their old friend and ally.

Thus given and settled in the assembly of their High Mightinesses, our lords the States General of the United Provinces, at the Hague, the 10th day of March, 1781.

Signed, COCQ. HAAFTAN, Vt.  
By command, H. FAGEL.

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*Copy of the MARITIME TREATY  
between the Empress of Russia and  
the King of Denmark, acceded to  
by the King of Sweden, and States  
General of the United Provinces.*

## ARTICLE I.

THEIR respective majesties are fully and sincerely determined to keep upon the most friendly terms with the present belligerent powers, and preserve the most exact neutrality: they solemnly declare their firm intention to be, that their respective subjects shall strictly observe the laws forbidding all contraband trade with the powers now being, or that may hereafter be, concerned in the present disputes.

II. To prevent all equivocation or misunderstanding of the word  
contra-



contraband, their imperial and royal majesties declare that the meaning of the said word, is solely restrained to such goods and commodities as are mentioned under that denomination in the treaties subsisting between their said majesties and either of the belligerent powers. Her imperial majesty abiding principally by the Xth and XIth articles of the treaty of commerce with Great Britain; the conditions therein mentioned, which are founded on the right of nations, being understood to extend to the kings of France and Spain; as there is at present no specific treaty of commerce between the two latter and the former. His Danish majesty, on his part, regulates his conduct in this particular by the first article of his treaty with England, and the XXVIth and XXVIIth of that subsisting between his said majesty and the king of France, extending the provisions made in the latter to the Catholic King; there being no treaty *ad hoc*, between Denmark and Spain.

III. And whereas by this means the word *contraband*, conformable to the treaties now extant, and the stipulations made between the contracting powers, and those that are now at war, is fully explained; especially by the treaty between Russia and England of the 29th of June 1766; between the latter and Denmark, of the 11th of July 1670; and between their Danish and most Christian majesties, of August 23d, 1742; the will and opinion of the high contracting powers, are, that all other trade whatsoever shall be deemed and remain free and unrestrained.

By the declaration delivered to

the belligerent powers, their contracting majesties have already challenged the privileges founded on natural right, whence spring the freedom of trade and navigation; as well as the right of neutral powers; and being fully determined not to depend in future merely on an arbitrary interpretation, devised to answer some private advantages or concerns, they mutually covenanted as followeth:

First, That it will be lawful for any ship whatever to sail freely from one port to another, or along the coast of the powers now at war.—2dly, That all merchandise and effects belonging to the subjects of the said belligerent powers, and shipped on neutral bottoms, shall be entirely free; except contraband goods.—3dly. In order to ascertain what constitutes the blockade of any place or port, it is to be understood to be in such predicament, when the assailing power has taken such a station, as to expose to imminent danger, any ship or ships that would attempt to sail in or out of the said ports.—4thly, No neutral ships shall be stopped without a material and well-grounded cause: and in such cases justice shall be done to them without loss of time; and besides indemnifying, each and every time, the party aggrieved, and thus stopped without sufficient cause, full satisfaction shall be given to the high contracting powers, for the insult offered to their flag.

IV. In order to protect officially the general trade of their respective subjects, on the fundamental principles aforesaid, her Imperial, and his royal majesty have thought proper, for effecting such purpose, each



each respectively to fit out a proportionate rate of ships of war and frigates. The squadron of each of the contracting powers shall be stationed in a proper latitude, and shall be employed in escorting convoys according to the particular circumstances of the navigators and traders of each nation.

V. Should any of the merchantmen belonging to the subjects of the contracting powers, sail in a latitude where shall be no ships of war of their own nation, and thus be deprived of the protection; in such case, the commander of the squadron belonging to the other friendly power shall, at the request of said merchantmen, grant them sincerely, and *bona fide*, all necessary assistance. The ships of war and frigates, of either of the contracting powers, shall thus protect and assist the merchantmen of the other: provided nevertheless, that under the sanction of such required assistance and protection, no contraband be carried on, nor any prohibited trade, contrary to the laws of the neutrality.

VI. The present convention cannot be supposed to have any relative effect; that is to extend to the differences that may have arisen since its being concluded: unless the controversy should spring from continual vexations which might tend to aggrieve and oppress all the European nations.

VII. If, notwithstanding the cautious and friendly care of the contracting powers, and their steady adherence to an exact neutrality, the Russian and Danish merchantmen should happen to be insulted, plundered, or captured by any of the armed ships or privateers belonging to any of the

belligerent powers: in such case the ambassador or envoy of the aggrieved party, to the offending court, shall claim such ship or ships, insisting on a proper satisfaction, and never neglect to obtain a reparation for the insult offered to the flag of his court. The minister of the other contracting power shall at the same time, in the most efficacious and vigorous manner, defend such requisition, which shall be supported by both parties with unanimity. But in case of any refusal, or even delay in redressing the grievances complained of; then their majesties will retaliate against the power that shall thus refuse to do them justice, and immediately agree together on the most proper means of making well-founded reprisals.

VIII. In case either of the contracting powers, or both at the same time, should be in any manner aggrieved or attacked, in consequence of the present convention, or for any reason relating thereto; it is agreed, that both powers will join, act in concert for their mutual defence, and unite their forces in order to procure to themselves an adequate and perfect satisfaction, both in regard to the insult put upon their respective flags, and the losses suffered by their subjects.

IX. This convention shall remain in force for and during the continuance of the present war; and the obligation enforced thereby, will serve as the ground-work of all treaties that may be set on foot hereafter: according to future occurrences, and on the breaking out of any fresh maritime war which might unluckily disturb the tranquillity of Europe. Meanwhile,



while, all that is hereby agreed upon shall be deemed as binding and permanent, in regard both to mercantile and naval affairs, and shall have the force of law in determining the rights of neutral nations.

X. The chief aim and principal object of the present convention being to secure the freedom of trade and navigation, the high contracting powers have antecedently agreed, and do engage to give to all other neutral powers free leave to accede to the present treaty, and, after a thorough knowledge of the principles on which it rests, share equally in the obligations and advantages thereof.

XI. In order that the powers, now at war, may not be ignorant of the strength and nature of the engagements entered into by the two courts aforesaid; the high contracting parties shall give notice, in the most friendly manner, to the belligerent powers, of the measures by them taken; by which, far from meaning any manner of hostility, or causing any loss or injury to other powers, their only intention is to protect the trade and navigation of their respective subjects.

XII. This convention shall be ratified by the contracting powers, and the ratifications interchanged between the parties in due form, within the space of six weeks from the day of its being signed, or even sooner, if possible. In witness whereof, and by virtue of the full powers granted us for the pur-

pose, we have put our hands and seals to the present treaty.

Given at Copenhagen, July  
the 19th, 1780.

(Signed)

CHARLES D'OSTEN, called  
SOKEN.

J. SCHACK RATLAU,

A. P. COMPTE BERNSTORFF.

O. THOTT.

H. LIXSTEDT.

Acceded to, and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the court of Sweden, at Petersburg, 21st of July, 1780, and by the States-General accepted Nov. 20, 1780, and signed at Petersburg, Jan. 5, 1781, with the addition only of article

XIII. If the respective squadrons, or ships of war, should meet or unite, to act in conjunction, the command in chief will be regulated according to what is commonly practised between the crowned heads and the Republic.

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*To the Honourable the Commons of  
Great Britain in Parliament as-  
sembled\*.*

*The humble Petition of the British  
Subjects residing in the Provinces  
of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa,  
and their several Dependencies.*

Sheweth,

“**T**HAT your petitioners labouring under the weight of many and great grievances, know not where to apply for relief with so much propriety and confidence as to the commons of

\* Presented to the House Jan. 24, 1781.



Great Britain in parliament assembled, the great guardians of the liberties and properties of British subjects.

“ That your petitioners humbly conceive there are certain rights inherent in Englishmen, and confirmed by the most sacred acts of the legislature, which no power on earth can legally deprive them of, where the laws of Great Britain are in force.

“ That your petitioners observed, with the deepest concern and affliction, that at the passing of the act of the 13th George III, intituled, ‘ An Act for establishing certain regulations for the best management of the affairs of the East India Company, as well in India as in Europe ;’ and previous to it very erroneous reports had been propagated, and injurious ideas entertained, of the principles and practices of the British subjects residing within these provinces ; from which it was inferred, that they required more rigorous restraints and coercions than have been usually imposed upon Englishmen.

“ That your petitioners, knowing such reports, when applied to the community, to be void of all foundation in truth, did flatter themselves that time, better information, and their own loyal and obedient conduct, would have convinced their enemies, and the whole English nation, of the injustice and cruelty of these suppositions, and have excited the known candour of the British Parliament to frame in their wisdom such ordinances and regulations as were better adapted to the real circumstances and situation of your petitioners.

“ That your petitioners have for some years vainly flattered themselves with this expectation, and now find, to their unspeakable sorrow, that their dutiful submission appears only to have encouraged the Justices of the Supreme Court to proceed step by step in reducing them to the most grievous distress, till your petitioners have in fact been put out of the law by a declaration from the Bench on a solemn occasion, that the act of parliament above recited was not intended for the security and protection of the whole, but for the immediate protection of a part of the inhabitants of these provinces.

“ That your petitioners humbly conceive that the trial by Jury, in all cases where it can be granted, is one of these inherent, unalienable, and indefeasible rights, of which neither time nor circumstances can deprive a British subject living under British laws ; yet the Justices of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal have by the actual or assumed powers of a charter granted under an act of parliament, refused to allow your petitioners the benefit of this sacred bulwark of their freedom, except in criminal cases ; thereby, as your petitioners apprehend, acting in direct contradiction to the late act of parliament, to the fundamental law of the land, and the Great Charter of British liberties.—This grievance so insupportable, must come home to the breast of every Englishman ; and none will feel it more sensibly than the enlightened members of a British senate.

“ With all due submission to the will of their most gracious  
Sovereign,



Sovereign, and with the most loyal and sincere affection for his person, family, and government, your petitioners humbly apprehend, that neither letters patent, nor any other grant, can be valid if made contrary to the known law of the land : yet the said justices, acting under letters patent, assume a power not only to fine and imprison your petitioners, but to decide on all actions for damages for personal wrongs, both determining the fact, and assessing the damages to any amount, at their own discretion, thereby taking to themselves an uncontrouled dominion over the persons, and property of your petitioners, to the great fear and imminent danger of all British subjects.

“ Your petitioners humbly conceive, that in all subject states, but more especially in one so remote from the seat of empire, where the disproportion between the governing power and those governed is so great as to make the present safety and future permanency of the dominion itself depend entirely upon the precarious tie of ideal superiority, that all possible tenderness and caution should be used to prevent that opinion being weakened or destroyed, or the authority and reputation of the government lessened, lest the multitude should be encouraged to put themselves on a level with their rulers, and lose that idea of their superior power by which alone they are held in subjection ; but, to the great mortification and alarm of your petitioners, they see the respect and veneration which the natives have hitherto manifested for the government daily decreas-

ing, owing, as your petitioners verily believe, to the extension of the authority of the court, acting independent of the government, to persons and cases where they conceive it never was the intention of the legislature to allow them to act : a spirit of contempt for its authority, and for Europeans in general, heretofore unknown, diffusing itself among the natives, which, if not restrained in due time, must terminate in disaffection and resistance, and ultimately occasion the destruction of the British subjects residing in these provinces, and the loss of these valuable dominions to the crown of Great Britain for ever.

“ That your petitioners entertaining the most perfect conviction of the truth of these observations, suggested by the resistance shewn to the authority of government in various parts of these provinces, and by the late daring tumult, heretofore unprecedented, which happened in open day in the capital, and at the entrance of the seat of judicature itself, offer them with submission to your most serious consideration.

“ Your petitioners have been informed, and believe, that *ex post facto* and retrospective laws are contrary to natural justice, incompatible with the laws of England, and irreconcilable to the feelings of a British parliament, and that they are held in abhorrence by the nation. — That if these principles are admitted in England, and acknowledged to be productive of the most fatal consequences, they must apply still more forcibly to a subjected country situated at the distance of half the globe, where the manners, customs, laws,



and prejudices of the people differ so widely from those of the governing nation. Your petitioners appeal to the humanity of the British Parliament to reflect on the innumerable hardships which must ensue, and the universal confusion which must be occasioned, as well to personal rights as to private and public property, by giving to the voluminous and intricate laws of England a boundless and retrospective power in the midst of Asia, and by an application of those laws, made for the freest and most enlightened people on earth, the principle of whose constitution is founded in virtue and liberty, to transactions with the natives of India, who have from time immemorial lived under a despotic government, established on fear and restraint. And your petitioners most earnestly call upon you to consider what must be the fears, what must be the terrors of individuals, to find their titles to property, their transactions and engagements with natives, previous to the establishment of the court of judicature, tried by the standard of English law, and by men educated under its forms, and unavoidably imbibing its prejudices; when no such laws could be known to, or practised by, natives or Europeans, then residing in the country, and at a time too, when few or no persons of a legal knowledge were in the country to assist or advise them.

“Your petitioners humbly conceive, that no tyranny can be more dreadful in its operations, or more fatal in its consequences, than that a court, established by law, with all the authority of one of the first courts in England,

should also possess undefined powers and jurisdiction, of which the judges of it are the sole interpreters, and under no controul, but at the immense distance of the mother country; yet such is the situation of your petitioners; they are placed within the reach of this two-edged weapon, surrounded with the toils and pitfalls of the law, in a country where perjury is almost a profession, unknowing where they may rest in safety: for the judges of this court can, at pleasure, determine on the denomination of a civil injury, the degree of its criminality, by what statutes it shall be tried, what penalties shall be inflicted, and who are, and who are not, amenable to the jurisdiction of the court. The judges have declared that they are, by the charter of justice, empowered to moderate the laws of England by the customs of this country; but their information respecting these customs can only be obtained from such witnesses as appear before them, and it is in the breasts of the judges to admit or reject what evidence they please. This power has filled your petitioners with the utmost terror and dismay. If it had remained with a body of jurors, acquainted with the language of the natives, informed as to their customs, and bound by oath to decide with truth and justice, there would have existed no foundation for either.

“Your petitioners perceived, with heart-felt satisfaction, that the said act had provided some barrier against oppression, by authorising an appeal from the decrees of the Supreme Court to his Majesty in Council, which his Majesty







distress like men, but they must also feel like men, and speak these feelings like Englishmen. If the language of complaint is warm, let it be attributed to the dread of future injuries, from a keen sensibility of what is past. Your petitioners claim a trial by jury as their birth-right; and they solicit to be relieved from the other great grievances they labour under. To a British House of Commons they appeal, with the firmest reliance on its wisdom, justice, and humanity; and in appealing to such a tribunal, they perceive their apprehensions yield to the most flattering hopes of a speedy redress.

“Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that you will be pleased to take into consideration the following requests—

“To grant a Trial by jury in all cases where it is by law established in England.

“To limit the retrospective powers of the court to the time of its establishment in Bengal.

“To define beyond the power of discretionary distinction, the persons who are and who are not amenable to the jurisdiction of the court.

“To declare what statutes shall, and what statutes shall not be in force in Bengal.

“To direct and circumscribe the power of the court in the admission and rejection of evidence, so as that all rejected evidence may accompany the appeal by way of affidavit or otherwise.

“To appoint distinct and separate judges for the law and equity sides of the court.

“To restore the ancient and constitutional power of hearing appeals in the first instance, to the

supreme authority in this government, formerly vested in the president and council, and now vested in the governor-general and council.

“To lodge a power of staying executions in criminal cases, till his majesty's pleasure be known, in the governor-general and council.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.”

*Calcutta in Bengal, Feb. 26, 1779.*

*Signed by six hundred and forty-seven persons.*

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*Petition of the Jews at St. Eustatius to Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan.*

*To their Excellencies, the Commanding Officers in chief of his Britannic Majesty's Army and Navy in the West Indies.*

May it please your Excellencies,

**T**O permit us in the name and on the behalf of ourselves and others of the people of the Hebrew nation, residents in the island of Saint Eustatius, humbly to approach your excellencies, and with heartfelt anguish, to lay our grievances before you, and say: that it was with the utmost concern and astonishment, we have already, not only received your excellencies afflicting order and sentence, to give up the keys of our stores with an inventory thereof, and of our household plate and furniture, and to hold ourselves in readiness to depart this island, ignorant of our destination, and leaving our beloved wives and helpless children behind us, and our property and effects



effects liable to seizure and confiscation ; but also find, that these orders are for the major part carried into execution, a number of our brethren having, on Tuesday the thirteenth instant, been sent on board a ship, and have not since been heard of. Such unexpected orders as these from British commanders, whose principal characteristic is “mercy and humanity,” have not only been productive of the most horrid and melancholy scenes of distress and confusion, that ever British eyes beheld under the fatal consequences of a rigid war, but numbers of families are now helpless, disconsolate, and in an absolute state of indigence and despair.

Unconscious of deserving so severe a treatment, we flatter ourselves that your excellencies will be pleased to hear this our humble petition, and not involve in one complicated scene of distress and misery, our helpless women and innocent babes ; confidently relying upon, and earnestly hoping that, through your excellencies justice and humanity, we shall not supplicate in vain.

It is the peculiar happiness of those who live under a British constitution, to be indulged with their own sentiments in matters of religion, when these principles of religion are not incompatible with, or subversive of the constitution in church or state ; and it is the peculiar happiness of the Hebrew nation to say, that their religion teaches peace and obedience to the government under which they live : and when civil dissensions have threatened to subvert the constitution, the Hebrew nation have ever preserved a peaceful demeanour,

with true loyalty to the King, and a firm and steady attachment to the laws and constitution.

For what reason, or from what motive we are to be banished this island, we are at a loss to account.—If any among us have committed a crime for which they are punishable, we humbly beg those crimes may be pointed out, and that such persons may be purged from among us.—But if nothing can be alledged against us but the religion of our forefathers, we hope that will not be considered a crime ; or that a religion, which preaches peace and recommends obedience to government, should point out its sectaries as objects of your excellencies rigour, and merit exclusion from a British island, by the express orders of British commanders. A moment’s reflection must discountenance the idea, and leave us in perfect confidence of your excellencies favourable answer.

Permit us then to assure your excellencies, that we ever have, and still are willing, to give every conscientious testimony of obedience to government ; and those of us in particular, who claim to be natural born subjects of Great Britain, most humbly intreat your excellencies to order us before you, or before such person or persons as your excellencies shall please to appoint, there to prove our loyalty and fidelity, and to repeat and take our oaths of allegiance.

May the God of all mercies incline your hearts to listen to the prayers and supplications of your petitioners, and in this confidence, we humbly submit ourselves to your excellencies determination, hoping that you will pardon us for the in-



trusion of this address; and that through your excellencies lenity and humanity, your excellencies will be pleased to grant us such favourable terms, as you in your judgment and wisdom shall think most advantageous to his majesty's interest, and the honour and glory of his successful arms.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.  
*Saint Eustatius, Feb. 16, 1781.*

*Memorial from the Empress of Russia to the States General. Hague, March 3, 1781.*

**H**IS Excellency Prince Gallitzin, Envoy Extraordinary from Russia, held a conference on the first instant, with the President of the States-General, and presented the following memorial from the Empress of Russia:

‘High and mighty Lords!

‘No sooner had her Imperial majesty been informed of the British ambassador's sudden departure from the Hague; than, without waiting for any further explanation, guided only by the friendship and good-will she bears to the two contending powers, and awakened by the alarming tendency of a measure so detrimental to their mutual welfare and tranquillity, she directed her minister in London to make the most earnest representations to that court, to prevent, if possible, the matter being carried to any extremity, and to recommend the most conciliating measures; offering at the same time to promote them as far as was in her power. Although her majesty has not yet heard of any answer from the said court,

she has some reason to think that the overtures made by her have been favourably received. In consequence whereof, her Imperial majesty does not hesitate to give a fresh proof of her good intentions for bringing about a reconciliation between the two powers, whom she equally supports, and who have lived so long in that natural and perfect harmony which best suits their respective interests, by offering them, in form, her services and mediation, for the purpose of putting an end to that discord and war which has lately broke out between them.

While Monsieur de Simolin, her Imperial majesty's minister at the Court of London, is fulfilling her commands on this head; the underwritten has the honour to acquaint himself of the same task here with their High Mightinesses, and to assure them of the zeal and readiness he wishes to have an opportunity to display, in forwarding the desirable work of restoring the said states to their wonted peace and tranquillity. That disinterestedness, impartiality, and benevolence, which have hitherto stamped every action of her Imperial majesty, are equally conspicuous in the present instance.

The wisdom and prudence of your High Mightinesses will easily distinguish those sacred characteristics, and dictate the answer which the underwritten shall transmit to his Imperial mistress, as a proof of his having executed her commands.

[Signed]

LE PRINCE DE GALLITZIN.  
*Hague, March 1, 1781.*

Hague, March 7. Their noble and great Mightinesses, the states  
of



of Holland and West Friesland, having examined the above memorial, have accepted of the mediation offered by the Empress of Russia.

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*Memorial of the States General, to the Court of Stockholm.*

*Stockholm, March 6, 1781.*

*Baron Van Lynden, Envoy extraordinary from the States General, of the United Provinces at this Court, has lately held a Conference with Count Ulrich Schieffer, Minister and Secretary of State for the foreign Department, to whom he delivered the following Memorial.*

**T**HE underwritten envoy extraordinary from their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, to his majesty the King of Sweden, in pursuance of an express order from his masters, has the honour to propose to his Swedish Majesty,

That their High Mightinesses having acceded, by their resolution of the 20th of November, 1780, to the treaty of armed neutrality, in conformity to the invitation of the northern powers; and placing the most perfect confidence in the power, magnanimity, and fidelity of their imperial and royal majesties, for the fulfilling of their engagements, and the maintaining of their dignity, by accomplishing a work so gloriously undertaken, namely, the liberty of the seas, and freedom of navigation for all neutral nations, were not deterred by the consideration of the consequences, which that accession and declaration might be productive of to the Republic, from

the part of the belligerent powers. But their High Mightinesses have declared in favour of this accession and declaration, in relying implicitly on the sentiments of their imperial and royal majesties, whom they also acquainted in due time, of the measures taken in consequence thereof.

That the event has also justified their requisition, in regard to the British court; since the minister of the latter, after his fruitless endeavours to thwart the accession to the alliance, took the resolution, on the first notice he had of it, to speak in a strain truly unprecedented, and ill suited to the mutual regard which the respective sovereigns owe to each other: without so much as granting to the Republic a sufficient time to consider on the matter, according to the political system of the Republic, which his Britannic majesty is fully acquainted with; the English minister insisted, nevertheless, upon an immediate and speedy satisfaction, and the punishment of a pretended offence, occasioned by the discovery of a negotiation with North America, without receiving, as an ample satisfaction, the provisional answer, nor the formal disavowal of their High Mightinesses of a negotiation, of which (as acknowledged even by his Britannic majesty) they had not the least share, or knowledge: of a negotiation, relating to a pretended treaty, which, in itself, sufficiently denotes, from its terms, only the sketch of an eventual treaty entered into by private persons, without being formally authorised thereto by the body of the magistrates of Amsterdam, or by the states of the province of



Holland, and much less by the States General, whose members are alone authorised to enter into engagements in the name of the Republic.

The British minister went even so far as to refuse noticing the resolution, by which the province of Holland (the only one concerned, was required to deliberate, how far the laws of the country might give authority to prosecute the persons accused, and punish them; a formality, without which no punishment can be inflicted, neither in England nor in this Republic, or any other country. Nay, the said minister went so far as to threaten, that in case of a refusal, his sovereign would adopt such means as to procure himself that satisfaction. It was, at the same time, resolved to attack the Republic by surprize, and so far hasten the measures taken to begin hostilities, that Lord Stormont, making use of vain pretences, would not so much as accept from Count Welderen the aforesaid declaration; and, answered, under his hand, "That he (Stormont) could no longer look upon him as the minister of a friendly power, after having officially acquainted him of his king's manifesto: whilst this very manifesto (and this should be noted) was delivered into the hands of Count Welderen, only an hour before the time appointed by Lord Stormont, the preceding day, for giving him audience. That, moreover, altho' no mention is made in the manifesto alluded to, of the Republic acceding to the treaty of the armed neutrality (which it was of the utmost importance to pass over in silence) it nevertheless appears

clearly to the penetrating eye of your majesty, as well as to all Europe, if the whole proceedings are attended to, and the time and manner in which the manifesto was published, that the hatred, occasioned by the Republic acceding to the confederation of armed neutrality, is the true motive of his British majesty's resentment, and the only one that could excite him to an open attack against the Republic, by seizing, at once, upon a great number of Dutch merchantmen, and some ships of war. Besides, that the aforesaid manifesto, known to your majesty, sufficiently displays the cause of England's displeasure; the more so as amongst the pretences made use of to varnish over the hostilities against the Republic, it is said, that it had taken a neutral part: without the cabinet of St. James's deigning to observe, that such answer was insulting to the neutral powers, who are perfectly acquainted with the treaties now in force between England and the Republic; and that the latter could not be charged with an intention of entering into an alliance with a power not lawfully neuter in the present contest, and without observing that this liberty of negotiating had been put beyond all doubt, by England itself; since, by suspending, in April, 1780, the effects of the treaty passed in 1674, the English have manifested their intent of looking henceforth upon the Republic as a neutral power, no ways privileged by any treaty.

That, for the reasons here above mentioned, the animosity of Great Britain appears still more conspicuous from the ill grounded reproach



proach contained in the said manifesto against this Republic, that their High Mightinesses had encouraged the exportation of naval stores for France, by suspending the usual duties on those commodities, whilst it is known to all the world, that such a suspension has never taken place, and that the Republic had a right to export those commodities, not only agreeably to the treaty in 1674, but also in conformity to the principles laid down by the neutral powers in the convention of armed neutrality. That consequently it would be needless to enter any farther into the merits of the said manifesto; as his Swedish majesty has it in his power to appreciate himself its value, and must moreover, be fully persuaded that the line of conduct pursued by their High Mightinesses since the beginning of the troubles with America, is an evident proof, that they have never favoured or countenanced the revolted colonies; witness the many partial condescensions in favour of England, which were merely gratuitous on the part of their High Mightinesses, by circumscribing the trade within their own colonies; by refusing to grant the protection of their convoys to vessels laden with ship timber; and by recalling the governor of St. Eustatia on some ill-grounded complaints of the British ministry; condescensions which have been rewarded by the attack and seizure of the convoy of Count Byland; by a violation of the territories of this republic, and by the taking by force some American vessels from under the very batteries of the island of St. Martin.

That their High Mightinesses,

having thus faithfully adhered to the system of moderation, it is evident that the resentment of his Britannic majesty arises merely from their accession to the treaty of armed neutrality; and that, consequently, their High Mightinesses are fully authorised to claim the performance of the conditions stipulated in the articles VII. VIII. and IX. of the treaty of armed neutrality, which form the basis of that union and alliance contracted between their imperial and royal majesties and the Republic. That therefore no obstacles can hinder or delay the fulfilling of the engagements contracted by virtue of the said confederation, of which the Republic ought to be considered as a member from the very moment in which their High Mightinesses acceded to the same resolution at the Hague; and dispatched their declaration, in conformity to the said accession and convention, to the belligerent powers.

That if their High Mightinesses had to complain only of a single act of offence, or an attack committed against them, which was likely to be redressed by the friendly interposition of their allies, they would have claimed their intervention rather than have recourse to arms; but as their High Mightinesses find themselves actually and suddenly attacked in an hostile manner by his Britannic majesty, in consequence of, and from mere resentment of the above mentioned alliance, they find themselves under the necessity of repelling force by force, and to return hostilities for hostilities; being fully persuaded that the allied powers will not hesitate to make this their common  
cause



cause, and to procure to their Republic due satisfaction and indemnity for the losses occasioned by an attack equally unjust and violent; and that the said powers will moreover, in conjunction with the States General, take such farther measures, as the exigencies of the present circumstances may require. This their High Mightinesses solicit with great earnestness, and rely upon it with so much more confidence, as they are firmly persuaded, that the generous and equitable sentiments, which actuate their imperial and royal majesties, will not suffer them to let the Republic fall a victim to a system of politics, not less glorious than founded in equity, and established for the security of the rights of neutral nations; and especially as the Republic, if left singly exposed to the iniquitous and violent attacks of England, would hardly be able to cope with that overbearing power, and thus run the hazard of becoming totally useless to the said confederation.

For these reasons, the underwritten envoy extraordinary, insisting on the motives urged here above, and fully persuaded that the ratifications of the treaty signed at Petersburg, will take place as soon as possible, has the honour, in the name and by express order of his masters, to claim the performance of the engagements stipulated in the Articles VII. VIII. and IX. of the said treaty, and to require, in virtue thereof, a speedy and adequate assistance from his Swedish majesty, whose noble and equitable sentiments, acknowledged by all Europe, will not permit him to abandon the

complete establishment of a system worthy the highest praise.

The friendship and affection of your majesty towards their High Mightinesses, leave them no doubt of your majesty's willingly granting the assistance which they now claim, and also promise to the underwritten envoy a speedy and satisfactory answer, which he solicits the more anxiously, as every moment's delay may be attended with heavy and irreparable losses to the Republic.

(Signed)

D. W. VAN LYNDEN.

*Stockholm, February 28, 1781.*

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*His Majesty's Speech on closing the Sessions of Parliament, July 18, 1781.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,  
**A**LTHOUGH the business of this session has required a longer attendance than may have been consistent with your private convenience, yet I am persuaded that you look back with satisfaction on the time you have employed in a faithful discharge of your duty to your country, in the present arduous and critical state of public affairs.

I cannot let you depart into your respective counties, without assuring you of my entire approbation of your conduct, and of my perfect confidence in the loyalty and good affections of this parliament.

The zeal and ardour which you have shown for the honour of my crown; your firm and steady support of a just cause, and the great efforts you have made to enable me

to



to surmount all the difficulties of this extensive and complicated war, must convince the world that the ancient spirit of the British nation is not abated or diminished.

In the midst of these difficulties, you have formed regulations for the better management and improvement of the revenue; you have given additional strength and stability to public credit; and your deliberations on the affairs of the East India Company, have terminated in such measures as will, I trust, produce great and essential advantages to my kingdoms.

I have observed, with much satisfaction, that during the course of that important business, your attention was not more anxiously directed to the benefits to be derived from the territorial acquisitions, than to the happiness and comfort of the inhabitants of those remote provinces.

Whatever may remain to be done for securing those valuable possessions, and for restraining the abuses to which they are peculiarly liable, you will, I doubt not, proceed to provide for at your next meeting, with the same wisdom and temper that have governed your late proceedings and enquiries.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

My particular thanks are due to you for the ample provision you have made for the service of the current year. I see with great pleasure, that you have had it in your power to apply so large a sum to the discharge of the debt of the navy, and that the supplies which you have granted have been raised in a manner the least burthensome

to the property and industry of my faithful people.

My Lords and gentlemen,

While I lament the continuance of the present troubles, and the extension of the war, I have the conscious satisfaction to reflect, that the constant aim of all my councils has been to bring back my deluded subjects in America, to the happiness and liberty they formerly enjoyed, and to see the tranquillity of Europe restored.

To defend the dominions, and to maintain the rights of this country, was, on my part, the sole cause, and is the only object of the war. Peace is the earnest wish of my heart; but I have too firm a reliance on the spirit and resources of the nation, and the powerful assistance of my parliament, and the protection of a just and all-ruling Providence, to accept it upon any terms or conditions than such as may consist with the honour and dignity of my crown, and the permanent interest and security of my people.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Thursday, the thirteenth day of September next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Thursday, the thirteenth day of September next.

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*Answer given by Lord Stormont to Mons. Simolin, the Russian Minister, with respect to the Mediation offered by the Empress between*



*tween Great Britain and the United Provinces.*

**T**HE alliance which was subsisted so many years between Great Britain and the States General, has always been considered by his majesty as a tie, formed by the most natural causes, and not only agreeable to the interest of both nations, but absolutely essential to their mutual welfare.

The king has done every thing in his power to preserve this tie unbroken, and even to strengthen it; and if the conduct of their High Mightinesses had at all answered to that of his majesty, they would still have remained in their utmost force. But since the commencement of the present troubles, the only return made by the Republic to this constant friendship, has been the total relinquishment of the principles of an alliance, the prime object of which was the mutual defence of the two nations; an obstinate refusal to fulfil the most sacred obligations; a daily violation of the most solemn treaties; an assistance given to the very enemy, against whom he had a right to demand succour; an asylum granted to the American pirates in the Dutch ports, in open violation of the clearest stipulations; and to complete the whole, a denial of justice and satisfaction for the affront given to the dignity of the king, by a secret league with his rebellious subjects.

All these accumulated injuries rendered it impossible for the king to take any other part than that which he has done.

When the motives which rendered this rupture inevitable were explained to the public, the king

ascribed the conduct of the Republic to the true cause;—that is to say, to the unhappy influence of a faction, which sacrificed the interest of the nation to their own private views. But the king, at the same time, manifested the most sincere desire to bring back the Republic to that system of strict union, efficacious alliance, and reciprocal protection, which has so much contributed to the welfare and glory of the two states.

When the empress offered her good offices to effect a reconciliation by a particular peace, the king testified his gratitude to her for that fresh proof of a friendship which he values so highly, and avoided exposing the mediation of her majesty to the danger of a fruitless negotiation. He explained his reasons, which persuaded him, that in the present disposition of the republic, governed by a faction, all reconciliation, during the war with France, would be merely superficial, and would afford an opportunity to the party which sways the Republic, to act as secret auxiliaries of all the king's enemies, under the mask of a pretended alliance with Great Britain.

But if there are any indications of change in this disposition, if the powerful intervention of her imperial majesty should be able to effect any alteration, and induce the Republic to return to those principles which the most discerning part of the nation have never forsaken, his majesty will be ready to treat with their High Mightinesses on the subject of a separate peace; and it is his wish, that the Empress of all the Russias may be the sole mediatrix of this peace.

She



She has been the first to offer her good offices, and so powerful an intervention as hers, cannot gain any thing either in weight or influence by the accession of the most respectable allies.

The friendship of the empress to both nations, the interest which her empire has in their reciprocal welfare, her known impartiality, and elevated views, are sufficient pledges of the manner in which she will conduct this salutary work: and in a negociation, the whole object of which is to terminate a war, caused by a violation of the treaties, and by an affront offered to his crown, his majesty relies, with the utmost confidence and satisfaction, upon the mediation of a sovereign, who holds sacred the faith of treaties, who knows so well how to estimate the dignity of sovereigns, and who has maintained her own, during her glorious reign, with so much greatness and resolution.

(Signed) STORMONT.

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*State Paper presented by Baron Nollen, the Swedish Minister, resident in London, concerning the Mediation of that Court between this Country and the States General of the United Provinces.*

THE King does not imagine it necessary at this time, for him to enter into an explanation of the principles which have governed his conduct ever since he ascended the throne of his ancestors. He has been guided by the love of peace, and he could have wished to have seen all the other European powers enjoy that blessing, as uninterruptedly as himself. These

desires, dictated by his natural sentiments of humanity, have not been fulfilled.--The flame of war, kindled in another hemisphere, has communicated to Europe; but the king still flattered himself, that this conflagration would not extend beyond its first bounds, and particularly that a nation, entirely commercial, which had made neutrality the invariable foundation of its conduct, would not have been enveloped in it; and yet, nevertheless, this has happened, almost in the very moment when that power had entered into the most inoffensive engagements with the king and his two northern allies. If the most exact impartiality that was ever observed, could not exempt the king from immediately feeling the inconveniencies of war, by the considerable losses sustained by his commercial subjects, he had much greater reason to apprehend the consequences, when those troubles were going to be extended; when an open war between Great-Britain and the Republic of Holland multiplied them; and, to conclude, when neutral commerce was about to endure new shackles by the hostilities committed between those two powers. The king could not fail to perceive these evils, and to wish sincerely that the measures taken by the Empress of Russia, for extinguishing this new war in its beginning, might be crowned with the most perfect success; but as this salutary work has not been brought to perfection, the king has resolved to join with his allies, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Denmark, in endeavouring to dispose his Britannic majesty to listen to the pacific sentiments which their

High



High Mightinesses the States General have already made known, by their consenting to open a negociation for peace.

If such are the inclinations of that monarch, which ought not to be doubted, it appears that a suspension of hostilities would be the most essential prelude to their accomplishment, as military operations accompanying a negociation of that nature, can only serve to embarrass and retard the matter, whilst the allied courts wish for nothing more than to be able to accelerate it by every method that may tend to the advantage and satisfaction of the two belligerent powers.

In the sincerity and rectitude which animate his majesty and his two allies, he cannot conceal the apprehension which he feels from the report of the continuation of the war, which may be productive of the most fatal consequences, and may revive a variety of controversies and disputes. This motive, and more particularly a desire to prevent a farther effusion of blood, are considerations which ought to operate on the mind of the King of Great Britain; and in the entire confidence which his majesty places in those circumstances, he would receive the truest satisfaction if, by his interposition and mediation, joined to that of his allies, he should succeed in terminating the differences which have taken place between Great Britain and the United Provinces.

(Signed)

The BARON DE NOLKEN.

mont, on the 18th of September, to the Baron de Nolken, the Swedish Envoy.

THE preservation of public tranquillity has been the first object of his majesty's care, during the whole course of his reign; the commencement of that reign was signalized by the restoration of peace.

The king made very great sacrifices to humanity, to procure that blessing, and he had reason to flatter himself that, by such moderation, in the midst of victory, he should secure the public quiet, upon the most solid and durable foundations; but those hopes have all proved fallacious, and those foundations have been shaken by the ambitious politics of the Court of Versailles. This court, after having secretly supported the rebellion kindled in America, openly joined his majesty's rebellious subjects; and on account of this violation of public faith, and this direct act of hostility, he commenced the present war.

The conduct of the Republic of Holland, through the whole course of the present war, has excited a general indignation.—This nation presents itself under a very different aspect from that of a nation merely commercial; it is a respectable power, for a long time bound to Great Britain by the closest alliance. The principal object of that alliance was their common safety, and expressly the mutual protection of each other against the ambitious designs of a dangerous neighbour, which their united efforts have so often defeated, to their reciprocal advantage, and to that of all Europe.

*Copy of the Answer given to the foregoing Paper, by Lord Stor-*

The



The desertion of all these principles of alliance, which the king, on his part, constantly adhered to; an obstinate refusal to fulfil the most sacred engagements; a daily infraction of the most solemn treaties; assistance given to those very enemies, against whom he had a right to demand succour; an asylum and protection granted in the Dutch ports to the American pirates, in direct violation of the most clear and precise stipulations; and, to complete the whole, a denial of justice and satisfaction for the affront offered to his majesty's crown, by a clandestine league entered into with his rebellious subjects; these accumulated causes of complaint, made it impossible for the king to take any other measures than those which he has done, though with the most sincere regret. In explaining to the public the reasons which rendered this rupture inevitable, he ascribed the conduct of the republic to the true cause, namely, to the fatal influence of a faction, who sacrificed the national interest to their own private views; but the king expressed at the same time, the most earnest desire to bring back the Republic to that system of close union, efficacious alliance, and mutual protection, which has so much contributed to the prosperity and glory of the two states.

When the Empress of Russia tendered her good offices, to effect a reconciliation by a separate peace, the King, in expressing the gratitude which that fresh proof of a friendship which ever appeared to him so valuable, justly merited, declined exposing her imperial majesty to a fruitless negotiation: but

now that there are some marks of a change in the disposition of the Republic, some indications of a design to return to those principles, which the wisest part of the Batavian nation have never deserted, a negotiation for a separate peace between the king and their High Mightinesses may be opened with some hopes of success, under the mediation of the Empress of all the Russias, who has been the first to propose her good offices in this salutary work.—If his majesty did not immediately avail himself of that offer, it was because he had every reason to believe that the Republic only sought at that time to amuse him by an insidious negotiation; but the King would think that he made an ill return to the sentiments which prompted those first offers, and would be wanting in the regard so justly due to her imperial majesty, and to the confidence which she inspires, if he associated to her mediation any other, even that of an ally the most respectable, and for whom the king entertains the most sincere friendship.

(Signed)

STORMONT.

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*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

*The Humble Address and Petition of sundry West India Planters and Merchants, on behalf of themselves, and others interested in the British West India Islands.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the planters and merchants interested in the British West-India islands, beg leave to approach your royal presence,



presence with hearts full of the warmest attachment to your majesty's person and family, and to the happy constitution of this kingdom.

The unhappy breach between Great Britain and the colonies of North America, had no sooner taken place, than the West India planters and merchants humbly represented to your majesty, and to both houses of parliament, their apprehensions of the distress and danger, that would probably ensue therefrom.

When the colonies of North America formed an alliance with the ancient enemies of this kingdom, those apprehensions of your majesty's petitioners were greatly increased; and they should have considered themselves as deficient in every duty to your majesty, as well as regard to the great interests of this kingdom, had they not represented to your majesty's ministers, the additional danger to which all the British West India islands were exposed, from so powerful a combination.

Every effort was, therefore, early made, and invariably continued by your petitioners, to urge your majesty's ministers, to provide effectual reinforcements for their protection, and particularly to induce them to keep a permanent superiority of naval force in the West Indies, as being the natural, and only certain security of those possessions. The loss of several of those islands has afforded a melancholy proof of those timely and unremitted applications.

Confident, however, that the remaining islands must be considered as objects deserving the

most serious attention, your petitioners did not yield to despair, but trusted, that the unhappy experience of past losses would excite your majesty's ministers to adopt such measures, as might effectually secure those islands, which still remained.

But it is with the utmost concern, that your petitioners are compelled to declare, that the remaining islands are still so unhappily destitute of protection, that at no moment of the war have they been exposed to more imminent danger, than in the present awful conjuncture.

Your petitioners, therefore, alarmed by the inefficacy of their former applications to your majesty's ministers, humbly implore your majesty to enforce and extend the present assurances they have given us, and to direct, that without delay, reinforcements, naval and military, adequate to the permanent defence of your majesty's West-India islands, may be sent out, so that, by the blessing of Providence, those most valuable possessions may still be preserved to the British empire.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c. &c.

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*To the King's most excellent Majesty.*

*The humble Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, of the Lord mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, of the City of London, in Common-Hall, assembled.*

*May it please your Majesty,*

**I**MRESSED with an awful sense of the dangers which surround us, feeling for ourselves and



and our posterity, anxious for the glory of a country hitherto as much renowned for the virtues of justice and humanity, as for the splendour of its arms, we approach your throne with sentiments becoming citizens at so alarming an hour; at the same time with that respect which is due to the monarch of a free people, and a prince of the illustrious house of Brunswick, to which we feel ourselves in a peculiar manner attached by all the ties of gratitude and affection.

It is with inexpressible concern that we have heard your Majesty declare in your speech to both houses of parliament, your intention of persevering in a system of measures which has proved so disastrous to this country. Such a declaration calls for the voice of a free and injured people. We feel the respect due to majesty: But in this critical and awful moment, to flatter is to betray. Your majesty's ministers have, by false assertions and fallacious suggestions, deluded your majesty and the nation into the present unnatural and unfortunate war. The consequences of this delusion have been, that the trade of this country has suffered irreparable losses, and is threatened with final extinction.

The manufactures in many valuable branches are declining, and their supply of materials rendered precarious, by the inferiority of your majesty's fleet to that of the enemy in almost every part of the globe.

The landed property throughout the kingdom has been depreciated to the most alarming degree.

The property of your Majesty's

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subjects vested in the public funds, has lost above one third of its value.

Private credit has been almost wholly annihilated by the enormous interest given in the public loans, superior to that which is allowed by law in any private contract. Such of our brethren in America as were deluded by the promises of your majesty's ministers, and the proclamations of your generals to join your majesty's standard, have been surrendered by your majesty's armies to the mercy of their victorious countrymen.

Your majesty's fleets have lost their wonted superiority,

Your armies have been captured,

Your dominions have been lost,

And your majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burthen of taxes, which, even, if our victories had been as splendid as our defeats have been disgraceful; if our accession of dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the empire has been cruel and disastrous, could not in itself be considered but as a great and grievous calamity.

We do, therefore, most humbly and earnestly implore your majesty to take all these circumstances into your royal consideration, and to compare the present situation of your dominions with that uncommon state of prosperity to which the wisdom of your royal ancestors, the spirit and bravery of the British people, and the favour of Divine Providence, which attends upon principles of justice and humanity, had once raised this happy country, the pride and envy of all the civilized world!

[X]

We



We beseech your majesty no longer to continue in a delusion from which the nation has awakened; and that your majesty will be graciously pleased to relinquish entirely, and for ever, the plan of reducing our brethren in America to obedience by force; a plan which the fatal experience of past losses has convinced us cannot be prosecuted without manifest and imminent danger to all your majesty's remaining possessions in the western world.

We wish to declare to your majesty, to Europe, to America itself, our abhorrence of the continuation of this unnatural and unfortunate war, which can tend to no other purpose than that of alienating and rendering irrecoverable the confidence of our American brethren, with whom we still hope to live upon the terms of intercourse and friendship, so necessary to the commercial prosperity of this kingdom. We do, therefore, farther humbly implore your majesty, that your majesty will be graciously pleased to dismiss from your presence and councils all the advisers, both public and secret, of the measures we lament, as a pledge to the world of your majesty's fixed determination to abandon a system incompatible with the interest of your crown, and the happiness of your people.

Signed, by order,

WILLIAM RIX.

*Petition of Henry Laurens, Esq;  
to the House of Commons.*

*To the Right Hon. Charles Wolfran  
Cornwall, Speaker, and the Hon.  
the House of Commons.*

THE representation and  
prayer of Henry Laurens,

a native of South Carolina, some time recognized by the British Commissioners in America by the style of his Excellency Henry Laurens, President of Congress, now a close prisoner in the Tower of London;

Most respectfully sheweth, That your representer for many years, at the peril of his life and fortune, evidently laboured to preserve and strengthen the ancient friendship between Great Britain and the colonies, and that in no instance he ever excited on either side the dissensions which separated them.

That the commencement of the present war was a subject of great grief to him, inasmuch as he foresaw and foretold, in letters now extant, the distresses which both countries experience at this day.

That in the rise and progress of the war, he extended every act of kindness in his power to persons called Loyalists and Quietists, as well as to British prisoners of war, very ample proofs of which he can produce.

That he was captured on the American coast, first landed upon American ground, where he saw exchanges of British and American prisoners in a course of negotiation; and that such exchanges and enlargements upon parole are mutually and daily practised in America.

That he was committed to the Tower on the 6th of October, 1780, being then dangerously ill, that in the mean time he has, in many respects, particularly by being deprived (with very little exception) of the visits and consultations of his children and other relations and friends, suffered under a degree of rigour almost, if

not



not altogether, unexampled in modern British history.

That from long confinement, and the want of proper exercise, and other obvious causes, his bodily health is greatly impaired, and that he is now in a languishing state : And,

Therefore you represent humbly prays your Honours will condescend to take his case into consideration ; and, under proper conditions and restrictions, grant him enlargement, or such other relief as to the wisdom and benignity of your Honours shall seem fitting.

HENRY LAURENS.

Tower of London,  
Dec. 1, 1781. §

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*The Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of the kingdom.†*

**P**URSUING the line of inquiry marked out in our first report to the legislature, namely, an examination of the balances in the hands of those accountants who receive money from the subject to be paid into the exchequer; that we might omit no office of receipt, and no receiver of the public revenue under that description, we obtained from the office of the auditor of the exchequer.

“A list of all the public offices where money is received for taxes

or duties, and of the names of all persons who are receivers of public money raised upon the subject by taxes or duties, and who pay the same into the Exchequer.”

We have examined into the manner in which the public revenue is collected, received, and paid into the exchequer, in all these offices, and by all these receivers.

In the customs, the receiver general William Mellish, Esquire, certified to us, that upon the 10th of September last, there was in his hands, exclusive of the current weekly receipt of the duties of the customs, the sum of four thousand four hundred and twelve pounds three shillings and ten pence ; which sum was the amount of certain collections transmitted to him, either from the plantations, or particular out-ports ; and was to continue in his hands no longer, than until the comptroller-general as to some parts of it, and the commissioners as to other parts, should direct under what heads of duties the several items, of which this sum was compounded, should be arranged, and paid into the exchequer, or otherwise disposed of. Mr. Mellish has informed us, that part of this sum has been since paid by him, according to orders of the commissioners and comptroller-general ; and that the other part thereof, amounting to three thousand two hundred eighty eight pounds fourteen shillings and eleven pence farthing, was remaining in his hands the 20th in

§ This petition was presented to the House in the form in which it came out of Mr. Laurens's own hand, it being written by him in the Tower with a leaden pencil.

† The first report was given in the Annual Register for the preceding year.



stant: this remainder we are of opinion, the commissioners and comptroller-general should in their several departments arrange, and the receiver-general should pay according to such arrangement as speedily as possible.

By the examinations of Joshua Powell, Esquire, chief clerk to the comptroller-general; and of Mr. Anthony Blinkhorn, assistant to the receiver-general, it appears that the duties of the customs are collected by officers, either in London or at the out-ports: in London, the chief teller every day receives them from the collectors, and pays them into the office of the receiver-general; at the out-ports, the collectors remit their receipt by bills to the receiver-general, and are not permitted to retain in their hands above one hundred pounds, unless for special reasons, allowed of by the commissioners, and by the lords of the treasury. The net produce of every duty received in each week, is paid by the receiver-general in the following week into the exchequer.

In the excise we find, from the Examinations of George Lewis Scott, Esquire, one of the commissioners, and of Richard Paton, Esq; second general-accountant (both annexed to our first report) that the collectors retain in their hands no part of the duties they receive; and that the receiver-general every week pays into the exchequer the net produce of this revenue, unless some foreseen demands in the following week make a reservation of any part of it necessary.

In the stamp-office, we examined Mr. James Dugdale, deputy re-

ceiver-general; and Mr. John Lloyd, first clerk to the comptroller and accountant-general; from whom we collect, that the whole produce of these duties, arising either from the receipt at the office in London, or from bills remitted from the distributors in the country, is paid every week into the exchequer.

In the salt-office, Milward Rowe, Esquire, one of the commissioners, and Mr. John Elliot, correspondent, were examined: the collectors of these duties are continually remitting their receipt to the office in bills; every week the account is made up, and the whole balance paid into the exchequer, reserving always, in the hands of the cashier, a sum not exceeding five hundred pounds, for the purpose of defraying the incidental expences of the office.

In the office for licensing hawkers and pedlars, we learn from Mr. James Turner, one of the commissioners, that the riding-surveyors keep remitting to this office, in bills, the duties they receive in the country; which the cashier pays, together with what he receives in London, weekly, into the exchequer, pursuant to the act of the 9th and 10th of King William the Third, provided his whole receipt amounts to more than two hundred pounds; reserving in his hands such a sum as may be sufficient for the payment of salaries, incidents, and current expences.

In the office for regulating hackney coaches and chairs, we collect from the examination of Mr. Joseph Marshall, clerk to the receiver-general, that the deputies or rents of the hackney coaches become



come due every lunar month, and of the hackney chairs every quarter; and these rents being usually paid within a certain time after they become due, the receiver-general makes a payment of one thousand pounds into the exchequer every twenty-eight days, except that each of his quarterly payments amounts to five hundred pounds only, as he then reserves in his hands a sum for the payment of salaries, and the incidental expences of the office.

The punctuality and expedition with which the duties collected in these offices pass from the pocket of the subject into the exchequer, leave us no room to suggest any alteration in the time or manner of paying in the same.

In the post-office, Robert Trevor, Esq; the receiver-general, in answer to our precept, returned a balance of nine thousand three hundred fifty-eight pounds two shillings in his hands, upon the 5th of September last. From his examination, and from those of William Fauquier, Esq; accountant-general in this office, and of Mr. William Ward, collector of the bye and cross-road office, it appears that this revenue is paid into the office of the receiver-general, either by certain officers or collectors in London (some paying every other day, some weekly, and some quarterly, or by remittances in bills from the post-masters in the country) who do not keep the money they receive any considerable time in their hands. The collector of the bye and cross-road office makes his payments to the receiver-general quarterly, and to the amount of about fifteen thousand pounds each quarter.

The receiver-general pays into the exchequer seven hundred pounds every week, pursuant to the act of the 9th and 10th of Queen Anne, chapter the 10th, and the balance in his hands he pays in every quarter, reserving about five thousand pounds to answer incidental warrants from the board, to pay salaries and other expences of the office.

There are four branches of the revenue which are collected not under the direction of commissioners, but by single persons only; these are the first fruits and the tenths of the clergy; and the deductions of sixpence, and of one shilling, in the pound, out of pensions, salaries, fees, and wages.

We examined Edward Mulso, Esquire, the receiver, and John Bacon, Esq; the deputy receiver, of the first fruits; who informed us, that this revenue is received from the clergy, at the office in London; that at the end of October, or the beginning of November, in every year, this receiver pays into the exchequer the nett receipt of the preceding year, ending 31st of December; and that the balance of this duty, in his hands, upon the 30th of November last, was four thousand three hundred thirty-two pounds eight shillings and eleven pence three farthings.

Robert Chester, Esquire, the receiver of the tenths, being examined, we find that these payments became due from the clergy every Christmas; that they ought to be made before the last day of April following, and if they are not made before the 31st of May, he delivers an account of the defaulters into the exchequer; that

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he receives these payments, together with the arrears of former years, during the following year, ending at Christmas, to which time he makes up his yearly account, and in the month of June or July after, he has, for the last three years, paid into the exchequer the nett receipt of the preceding year; and it appears, that, upon the 20th of December last, the sum in his hands was nine thousand eight hundred and ninety pounds and two pence halfpenny.

Both these dues from the clergy are granted in pursuance of the 2d and 3d of Queen Anne, chapter 11th, to the corporation called "The Governors of the bounty of Queen Anne, for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy." These governors usually hold their first meeting some time in November every year, a short time before which it has been customary for these receivers to make their payments into the exchequer.

Thomas Astle, Esq; receiver of the sixpenny duty, collects it from the offices and persons charged, either quarterly, half-yearly, or yearly, according to the practice of the office or person he receives it from: he has no stated times for his payments into the exchequer, except that in March or April, every year, he pays in the balance then in his hands, of his last year's collection. By his return to us, upon the 16th of December last, the sum of six thousand eight hundred eighty-one pounds seven shillings and eleven pence was then remaining in his hands, but this sum, as he has since informed us, he has paid into the Exchequer, together with the

balance of his year's account, ending the 5th instant.

Richard Carter, Esq; receiver of the one shilling duty, collects it from different offices, at different times: he usually makes payments every quarter into the exchequer, and once a year pays in the balance. The sum in his hands, upon the 20th of October last, was two thousand and fifty pounds fifteen shillings and seven pence; and he has since signified to us, that he has paid the same into the exchequer.

The intention of that clause in the act, which directs our first inquiries to the public money in the hands of accountants, is, that the public may the sooner avail themselves of the use of their own money: one of the indispensable means of obtaining this end is, to accelerate the payments of the revenue into the exchequer.

Out of the revenue of the post-office, the act of Queen Anne orders a payment of seven hundred pounds every week into the exchequer, and assigns as a reason, "the raising a present supply of monies for carrying on the war, and other her majesty's most necessary occasions." The necessary occasions of these times, require payments as large and as frequent as can be made. It appears from an account of the net produce of the revenues of the post-office at the time the act of Queen Anne passed, and from the accounts of the present weekly receipts of these revenues, and of the balances paid quarterly into the Exchequer, transmitted to us from the receiver-general, that the revenues of this office are much increased, and that the current weekly receipt



receipt will supply a much larger payment than seven hundred pounds. We are therefore of opinion, that the method of paying the balance every week into the exchequer, established in the customs, excise, and other offices above mentioned, should be adopted in the post-office: and that the receiver-general should every week pay the nett balance of his receipt into the exchequer, reserving in his hands no more than is necessary to answer the current payments and expences of the office.

It appears to be customary for the receiver of the first fruits, to detain in his hands the produce of the whole year, until eight or nine months after that year is ended, besides receiving the current produce of those months; and for the receiver of the tenths to detain in his hands, for at least a year, the whole of this duty, received by him before the 31st of May in each year (at which time he delivers a list of the defaulters into the exchequer), besides receiving the current produce of that year. It appears likewise, that the receivers of the fixpenny and shilling duties, do not pay into the exchequer the whole produce of these duties as they receive them. All such detentions are, in our opinion, a disadvantage to the public, and liable to abuse. There exists no reason why the public should not have the custody and use of public money, rather than an individual, until the service to which it is appropriated, of whatever nature that service may be, calls for its application: the public coffers are the safest repository for public money.

One purpose among others, expressed in the act that appoints us, is, that any defect in the present method of collecting the duties, may be corrected, and that a less expensive one may be established; and we are expressly directed to report such regulations, as in our judgment shall appear expedient to be established, in order that the duties may hereafter be received in the manner the most advantageous to the public.

We therefore, in obedience thereto, think it our duty to subjoin one observation, that has occurred to us during the progress of our inquiries.

The land-tax, and the duties arising from stamps, salt, licences to hawkers and pedlars, and from hackney coaches and chairs, are under the management of five separate and distinct boards of commissioners, consisting of twenty-five in number: the amount of the gross produce of the last four of these duties, by the returns made to our precepts, is eight hundred thirty-one thousand one hundred twenty-six pounds, three shillings and one penny three farthings; of the nett produce, seven hundred sixty thousand five hundred forty-eight pounds fifteen shillings and six pence. The time in which the commissioners are usually engaged in transacting the business of their several offices is as follows: the attendance of the commissioners of the land tax, at their office, is thrice a week; of the stamp-office, thrice a week; of the salt-office, twice a week; of hawkers and pedlars, once a week; of hackney coaches and chairs once a week.

We are aware, that the comparative



rative produce of different duties, is not alone a criterion by which we may judge with precision and certainty, of the time, trouble, expence, and number of officers necessary to be employed in the management of them: to have formed an accurate and decisive opinion upon this point, it would have been necessary to have entered into an examination, which would have carried us too far from the object of our present enquiry; but we are of opinion, that the small produce of some of these duties, and the short time in which each of these five boards are able to transact their business, are circumstances which induce a strong presumption, that so many establishments are not necessary for the management of these branches of the revenue; and which lay a reasonable foundation for an enquiry, whether there may not be formed a consolidation of offices, beneficial to the public. This suggestion we submit to the wisdom of the legislature.

*Office of Accounts, Bell-Yard,  
31<sup>st</sup> of January, 1781.*

GUY CARLETON,	(L. S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGOTT,	(L. S.)
R. NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND,	(L. S.)

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*The Third Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the public Accounts of the kingdom.*

**H**AVING finished our examinations of all those public accountants that came to our

knowledge in the first class, as far as relates to the balances of public money in their hands, we, in the next place, directed our attention to those accountants who receive public money out of the exchequer, by way of imprest, and upon account.

The certificate of the accounts depending in the office of the auditors of the imprest, transmitted to us pursuant to our precept, furnished us with a list of these accountants: we took them into our consideration in the order in which they stand upon that certificate; a rule we pursue in regard to all lists of accountants, unless there are some special reasons for departing from it.

The set of accountants therein first mentioned, are the treasurers of the navy; and of these, the names that stand first are the executors of Anthony Viscount Falkland, whose final account is dated the 4<sup>th</sup> of April, 1689, and from whom a balance of twenty-seven thousand six hundred and eleven pounds, six shillings, and five pence farthing, is declared to be then due. We did not mispend our time in a pursuit where there was so little probability of benefit to the public: a debt that has subsisted for nearly a century, may be presumed desperate. Passing over therefore this article, we issued our precepts to Earl Temple, as representative of the late George Grenville, Esq; to Lord Viscount Barrington, Lord Viscount Howe, and to Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet, as representative of the late Sir Gilbert Elliot, for an account of the public money in their hands, custody, or power, as late treasurers of the navy. The returns



returns made to our precepts are set forth in the Appendix; from which it appears, that the balances of public money remaining in their respective hands, upon the days therein mentioned, amounted together to the sum of seventy<sup>four</sup> six thousand seven hundred and ninety-three pounds, eighteen shillings, and one penny farthing.

That we might learn for what reason, services, or purposes, these sums are permitted to remain in the hands of the treasurers of the navy, so long after they are out of office, we examined several of the officers in this department, namely, George Swaffield, Esq; cashier of the victualling; Andrew Douglas, Esq; paymaster; Mr. Adam Jellicoe, chief clerk to the paymaster, and Mr. Francis Cook, ledger-writer. By them we are supplied with the following information:

The office of the treasurer of the navy is divided into three branches, the paymaster's, the cashier's, and the victualling branch. All the money he receives is for the navy services, and placed under, or carried over, to one of these branches; the money in each branch is subdivided, arranged, and kept under various different heads of services; the whole balance, at the time he leaves the office, continues to be liable, whether it be in his hands, or in the hands of his representatives, in case of his death, to the same services for which its several parts were originally destined; and the commissioners of the navy, victualling, and sick and hurt offices, each in their several departments, continue to assign bills upon him for payment, until they have reduced his balance to such a sum

as, in their opinions, will not be more than sufficient to answer the purposes for which it has been usual to leave money with him, until his final account is passed. These purposes are, first to carry on the recalls upon those ships books which were open in his treasurership, and the payment of the half-pay lists, and bounties to chaplains. The ships books are usually kept open for recalls, for seven or eight years after the expiration of the treasurership, in order to give those seamen who, by being either turned over to other ships, or employed in other places, could not attend at the time their ship was paid, an opportunity of receiving their wages when it is in their power to apply for them. The only fund applicable to this service is, the money in the pay branch, placed under the head of "To pay ships, and carry on recalls." This service is at an end when the ships books are made up. They are made up as they come in course, in order of time; and after the last is closed, the half-pay lists are also closed, and the payment of the bounty to chaplains ceases.

The other purpose is to pay the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and passing his accounts. Upon passing every annual account, fees are paid to the auditors of the imprest, out of the money in his hands, under the head of "To pay exchequer fees, and other contingent expences of the pay-office:" but upon passing his final account, there is a gratuity also paid in the following manner:—The officers and clerks who transact the business of the treasurer in office, carry on also



at the same time, and finally make up, the accounts of the treasurers out of office; for which extra work they have no salary or recompence whatever, until the final account is ready to be passed, at which time it has been usual for them, by petition to the lords of the treasury, to obtain a reasonable allowance for their trouble, which has been paid them, by virtue of a treasury warrant, out of any money remaining in the hands of that treasurer, under whatever heads of service it may be placed. This gratuity, together with the fees of passing the annual accounts, and for the quietus, it is imagined will exhaust the whole balance now remaining in the hands of Lord Temple.

All the ships books which were paid by Mr. Grenville, Lord Barrington, and Lord Howe, are made up, and consequently the balances which the three boards have left in the hands of these treasurers must be for the purpose of paying the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and passing their accounts. Of Sir Gilbert Elliot's ships books, five hundred and six are still open for recalls; and payments, if applied for are made upon them once a week; and therefore, whatever sums stand upon his account, in his paymaster's branch, under the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains, are still applicable to those services; and the residue of the money permitted to remain with him is for the purpose of paying the fees and expences of carrying on, making up, and passing his accounts.

How soon then will these several sums be wanted for this pur-

pose? The accounts of the treasurers of the navy are made up and passed as they come in course, in order of time; the officers must finish one year before they begin upon another; and a subsequent treasurer's account is never finished till his predecessor's is finally closed. The state in which their accounts are, in the office of the auditors of the imprest is this:—The last which is declared is Mr. Grenville's account for the year 1758: of all the subsequent accounts, only some sections of their respective navy and victualling ledgers are delivered into this office; which parts of a treasurer's accounts are usually sent thither as speedily as they can be made up after the year expires.

From an account of the balances remaining in the hands of these treasurers, at the times they respectively ceased to be treasures; and an account of the times when their last ships books were made up; and a state of Mr. Grenville's balances, and of the balances of Lord Barrington, Lord Howe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, every year since they severally went out of office, all transmitted to us from the pay office of the navy, pursuant to our requisitions, we find that Mr. Grenville resigned this office in 1762, and his last ship's book was made up in 1771; that Lord Barrington resigned this office in 1765, and his last ship's book was made up in 1775; that Lord Howe resigned this office in 1770; and his last ship's book was made up in 1778; and that Sir Gilbert Elliot died in 1777: hence it appears, that for nineteen years there have been in the hands of Mr. Grenville, or of his representatives, and



and for fifteen years in the hands of Lord Barrington, and for ten years in the hands of Lord Howe, and for three years in the hands of the representatives of Sir Gilbert Elliot, considerable sums of public money (exclusive of the sums on the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains) destined to purposes which (except the passing three years of Mr. Grenville's accounts) have not yet existed, and which, if we may judge from the progress hitherto made in passing these accounts, are not likely soon to exist.

Where public money is appointed for a service or purpose to arise at a future time, we are of opinion, the public alone ought to have the custody and use of that money, in the mean time, and until the service or purpose calls for its application.

When the fees and the gratuity become payable, we see no reason why the treasurer in office should not pay them, in like manner as the treasurers out of office pay them now.

We did not form our opinion upon those balances without first hearing the late treasurers themselves, or the representatives of those who are dead; and therefore we examined Earl Temple, Lord Viscount Barrington, Lord Viscount Howe, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, Baronet; not one of whom made any objection to paying their balances into the exchequer, upon condition, some of receiving their quietus, others of being made secure in such payments. We do therefore conceive, that the balances of public money now remaining in the hands of Earl Temple, as representative of the late George Grenville, Esq; and in the

hands of Lord Viscount Barrington, and of Lord Viscount Howe, and of Sir Gilbert Elliott, Bart. as representative of Sir Gilbert Elliot, late treasurers of the navy, ought to be paid into the exchequer, for the public service, leaving in the hands of Sir Gilbert Elliot the sums in his account placed under the heads of wages, half-pay, and bounties to chaplains, to carry on the services to which the same are applicable: that such payments should be without prejudice, and a proper security and indemnification be given to each of them, against any loss or detriment that may accrue to them, in consequence of such payments.

The Right Hon. Welbore Ellis, the present treasurer of the navy, returned to our requisition, a balance in his hands upon the 31st of August last, of three hundred forty-eight thousand, nine hundred forty-one pounds, eleven shillings and nine pence. The act directs us to examine into all balances in the hands of public accountants, for the purpose of considering what sum may be taken out of their hands, to be applied to the public service. It is obvious, we could not examine the balances in the hands of the treasurer in office with this view: it could not be in our power to say, that any part of it ought to be paid back into the exchequer, because, in an office of so constant and large an expenditure, this sum must probably be exhausted, even while it was under our consideration: but it was competent to us, and we thought it our duty, to examine whether this was a larger sum than the current business of the office required should  
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at that time be entrusted to the treasurer of the navy. A comparison between the quantum of the sum, and the demands upon it, would enable us to form some judgment upon this point; with this view we examined the present treasurer himself, Timothy Brett, Esquire, commissioner of the navy, and comptroller of the treasurer's accounts, John Slade, Esquire, commissioner of the victualling, and John Bell, Esquire, commissioner of the sick and hurt; from whom we collect the following information:

All the money received by the treasurer, for the services of the navy, is either issued to him out of the exchequer, or paid to him by sundry persons, in pursuance of the directions of the navy, victualling or sick and hurt boards. The money from the exchequer is issued to him, and arranged in his accounts under various heads of services. These heads are kept distinct, and he cannot place or transfer a sum issued to him under one head, to any other head of service. All bills assigned upon him for payment by these boards, specify the correspondent head of service out of which that bill is to be paid, and he must not pay it out of money placed under any other head of service, than that so specified on the bill.

When money is wanted, the application for it never originally moves from the treasurer, except in the single instance of money to pay fees, and other contingent expences; this he craves of himself, when that fund is nearly exhausted: in all other cases, the board, in whose department it is, by letter, desire him to present a me-

memorial to the lords of the treasury, specifying the sum wanted, and for what particular service; the memorial pursues the letter, and the issue is directed from the exchequer in the terms of the memorial. The treasurer immediately certifies to the navy board the whole sum he receives, and to the other board so much of that sum as concerns them: he also transmits to the navy-board an account of all his receipts and payments in the cashier's and victualling branch every fortnight, and in the pay branch every month: by these means they have an exact knowledge of the state of his balance under each head of service. Each of these boards enter in their books all the assignments they make upon him for payment; of which they transmit to him a list: hence they know what the actual demands upon him amount to; and, from their experience in the course of the navy business, they can form some conjecture relative to the probable approaching demands that may be made upon him in the various branches of the service. By such knowledge and conjecture these boards are guided in their directions to the treasurer, as to the time when, the quantum of the sum, and the service for which every application for a supply is to be made to the treasury.

At the end of every month the navy-board transmit to the treasury a certificate, containing an exact state of all the receipts and payments made by the treasurer during that month, as they appear from their books; hence the lords of the treasury have full knowledge of the state of his balance every month. This certificate for the month of August last



we procured from the navy-office, on which the balance in the hands of the treasurer appears to be two hundred sixty thousand, seven hundred and sixteen pounds, one shilling and eight pence farthing.

Being made acquainted thus far with the course of business in this office, our next step was to resolve this balance of three hundred forty-eight thousand, nine hundred and forty-one pounds, eleven shillings and nine pence into its constituent parts, and compare the quantum of each part, as far as we could, with the actual and probable demands of service upon it on the 31st of August, the date of his return.

The first circumstance that engaged our attention, was a difference between the treasurer's balance and the navy balance, upon the same day, the 31st of August, the former exceeding the latter by the sum of eighty-eight thousand, two hundred and twenty-five pounds ten shillings and three farthings: this difference lies in the cashier's and victualling branches, and arises from the following cause:—When the three boards assign bills upon the treasurer for payment, they immediately give him credit for those bills, in his account kept at their offices; but the treasurer does not himself take credit for any bills in his own account till he actually pays them. The persons who receive these bills do not always immediately present them to the treasurer for payment, but frequently keep them in their possession for a considerable time. The treasurer's balance must therefore exceed the navy balance as much as the sum of the bills assigned upon him for payment ex-

ceeds the sum of the bills actually paid by him. We conceive this excess is not money for which the treasurer is accountable to the public, but belongs to the proprietors of those bills, and remains in his hands, at their risk, until they apply to him for payment. This sum, therefore, we think, should be deducted from his balance.

We, in the next place, observed that several sums in each branch were not actually in the hands of the treasurer, but of his officers and clerks, either carrying on services in London, or at the distant ports, whither these sums were directed to be sent by the navy-board, to carry on the services at those ports. It may reasonably be presumed, that the boards would not have directed into the hands of the officers, nor the treasurer have entrusted them with, larger sums than were wanted; and therefore these sums too, may be deducted from the treasurer's balance; which will reduce the public money actually in his hands to the sum of one hundred twenty-eight thousand eighty-three pounds sixteen shillings and ten pence farthing. The constituent parts of this balance, under their several heads of service, consisting of a variety of articles, are stated in the navy certificate: some of them carry the appearance of having been applied for sooner than the services seem to have required; but, upon examination, we find that the boards do not direct an application for a supply to any fund, until they know that fund is nearly, or likely soon to be exhausted. The treasury are sometimes prevented from granting the



issue until many days after it is craved; and therefore the boards are careful to apply early enough, to guard against the hazard of a demand upon an exhausted fund. To search into the actual and probable demands, at that time, upon each of these sums, was hardly practicable: one circumstance alone might enable us to judge with sufficient accuracy, whether the sum total was too large or not; that is, in what time this balance was in fact paid away by the treasurer. It appears from his accounts for the month of August, that this whole balance, and much more, was received by him during that month: and by his accounts for the month of September, transmitted to us pursuant to our requisition, it appears that not only the balance remaining on the 31st of August, but a much larger sum, was in fact paid away by him during the succeeding month. Considering therefore this sum by itself, independent of, and unconnected with his other receipts and payments, prior and subsequent to the date of this balance, we have no grounds to say that this individual sum, received in one month, and paid away in the next, was more than the service required should be in the hands of the treasurer of the navy upon the 31st of August last.

But it was necessary to extend our enquiry still farther. What is the amount of the sum that has been continually in the hands of the treasurer of the navy; and has that sum been more than the current services required? To come at this knowledge, we obtained from the navy office an account of the total sums received

and paid by the treasurer of the navy, for every month from the 1st of January 1779, to the 31st of August last, with the total of the balances remaining in his hands at the end of each month, as they appear in the monthly certificates to the treasury.

As the public money should pass without delay from the pocket of the subject into the exchequer, so it ought not to issue out of the exchequer, either before it is wanted, or in larger sums than the service for which it is issued requires. By this last account, a very large sum has been constantly in his hands, during the period therein mentioned, exclusive of the amount of bills assigned upon him, but not presented to him for payment. The principal cause of the magnitude of this balance, is the practice, in this office, of not applying money issued under one head, towards satisfying a demand upon any other head of service; the consequence of which is, when the money upon the account of any head of service is nearly exhausted, a supply must be procured for that service, how abundant soever the sums upon other heads of accounts, or the sum total of his cash, may be. Were all the sums he receives to constitute and be considered as one common general cash, and be applied indiscriminately to every service, a much less sum than the lowest of the balances in the account last mentioned would, in our opinion, suffice to carry on the current services of the navy, even various and extensive as they now are. It would create no confusion in the accounts; for the receipts and payments under each head of service might still be kept distinct;



distinct; and though the payments might frequently exceed the receipts on some heads of accounts, yet the treasurer would not be without sufficient cash, and the next issue from the exchequer would restore the balances. What the sum necessary for carrying on the service should be, must depend upon circumstances: it will be different at different times, and must be left principally to the discretion of those commissioners, from whom the direction for supplies moves, who, being conversant in the business, can best determine. But, to enable the lords of the treasury likewise to judge of the propriety of, and be a check and controul upon, the requisition, we are of opinion, that, besides the certificate sent every month from the navy board, an account of the sum total of the balance in the hands of the treasurer of the navy, should be inserted in every application for a supply to the treasury.

We have not been inattentive to defects; we have observed in this office, during the course of our inquiries, defects which concern the officer, the office, and the public.

The treasurer finds his business does not end with his office; his accounts are still open: he goes on, receiving and paying, until he feels himself, his family, and his fortune, subject to all the evils of long public accounts far in arrear, and the difficulties of rendering an account increasing daily: he continues responsible for millions, without an expectation of obtaining his final discharge during his life.

The office is perplexed with a multiplicity of these accounts.—

There are four distinct accounts, of four treasurers of the navy, at this time open at the pay-office, and business is carried on upon every one of them at the same time, by the same officers, when the current business of the present treasurer alone would find employment enough for them all.

There have been issued to three of these treasurers, for the navy service, upwards of thirty three millions, the accounts of which are not passed; exclusive of above twenty five millions to the late Mr. Grenville, whose final account is not yet settled; and of sixteen millions to the present treasurer, none of whose accounts could as yet be settled.

The navy accounts in July last, when the imprest certificate was transmitted to us, were in arrear in the office of the auditor of the imprest twenty two years. This delay is occasioned by the accounts of the subsequent years not being made up at the pay-office of the navy, where there is a want of officers and clerks for this department. A sufficient number of persons, intelligent in this branch, should forthwith be provided by the proper authority, with adequate salaries, for the sole purpose of proceeding upon, bringing forward, and making up these accounts, with as much dispatch as the nature of the business will admit.

By this delay in making up the accounts the public loses the use, at least, of considerable sums of their own money; not that the principal itself has always been safe. A defaulter of above twenty-seven thousand pounds stands at the head of the list of treasurers of  
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the navy upon the imprest certificate.

We enquired why a treasurer, under the present constitution of the office, might not, upon his resignation, immediately pay over his balance to the successor, or into the exchequer, and all the subsequent transactions of office be carried on by the treasurer for the time being?—Two reasons were assigned for the necessity of keeping open his accounts, though out of office.

1st. That sufficient time may be given to his sub-accountants to clear their imprests.

The sub-accountants are certainly very numerous; and as, according to the present mode of passing these accounts, they must all be set *in super* upon the final account, was that account to be made up soon after the expiration of the treasurer'ship, it would be very voluminous and troublesome to the office. But, since the treasurer in office does now clear the imprests of some of his predecessors, and can clear the imprests of all, and the three boards can, at their pleasure, call upon the sub-accountants to clear their imprests, we do not think this reason conclusive.

2d. That the payment of his ships books may be completed.

A ship's book is a voucher for the treasurer who pays it: two cannot pay upon the same book; it would create confusion, as the payments of the one could not, without great trouble and difficulty, be distinguished from those of the other; it could not therefore be made a voucher for two treasurers. To enable a treasurer in office to carry on the payment of a ship's

book open in the time of his predecessor, the names of all the seamen not paid must be abstracted, and entered in a new book; a work of great labour and length of time, where the books are so numerous; and during all that time, no payment of wages could be made to the seamen unpaid upon those books.

Upon the examination of a ship's book, there appears a foundation for this objection, which opens a door for a possible mischief, worthy consideration. It is in the power of a treasurer of the navy, retiring in disgust, to refuse carrying on any more payments, and by that means to put a stop, for eight months or more, to the payment of all the seamen on the numerous volumes of ships' books open at the several ports in his treasurer'ship. Mr. Grenville left open above thirteen hundred. This evil does not rest in speculation; we have an instance of it in evidence. The office that does not guard against the possibility of such an evil, is fundamentally defective.

These defects should be speedily corrected. To alter the constitution of the office; to abolish the subordinate treasury; to render a treasurer the mere accountant; and to vary the mode of accounting, carry with them a strong appearance of an effectual remedy: but were we in the present state of our inquiries, to come to decisions of such moment, we should be premature, perhaps rash. It is easier to see the defects than to supply the regulation. The pay of the navy is an important object, and any alteration in the mode should be well weighed before it is adopted; it should be traced



traced through all its effects, and perfectly ascertained to be as feasible in practice, as it is specious in theory. To disturb, to confound, or to delay (effects not unfrequent, when novelty of form is introduced, and new principles applied to an old office) might be attended with very serious consequences.

The defects, to which we have alluded, presented themselves in the course of an examination made; in obedience to an Act, for a more limited purpose. Coming however, before us, they are, in our opinion, too important to be passed over in silence; we thought it our duty to point them out, that, should they be deemed a proper subject for the exercise of the wisdom of the legislature, the solid advantages, which would result to the public from their correction, might not be delayed. Had we protracted this report until we were possessed of materials for a well-grounded opinion upon these points, we must have disobeyed the Act, that enjoins us to report, in the first place, upon the balances in the hands of accountants in this session of parliament, to the end that the public money, long ago issued, and still remaining in their hands, may, with all convenient speed, be restored to the protection of the public.

GUY CARLETON,	(L. S.)
T. ANGUISH,	(L. S.)
A. PIGGOTT,	(L. S.)
RICHARD NEAVE,	(L. S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT,	(L. S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND,	(L. S.)

*Office of Accounts, Bell-Yard,*  
*March 6, 1781.*

VOL. XXIV.

*The remaining reports of the commissioners will be given in the next volume*

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*Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament from Nov. 1, 1780, to July 18, 1781.*

**A**N Act for the better supply of marines and seamen, to serve in his majesty's ships of war, and on board merchant ships, and other trading ships and vessels.

An Act for extending the provisions of three Acts made in the 18th, 19th, and 20th years of his present majesty's reign, with respect to bringing prize goods into this kingdom, to prizes taken from the States General of the United Provinces; for declaring what goods shall be deemed military or ship stores; for regulating the sale of, and ascertaining the duties upon East-India goods, condemned as prize in the port of London; for permitting the purchasers of prize goods, condemned abroad, to import such goods into this kingdom, under the like regulations and advantages as are granted by law to the captors themselves; and for reducing the duties on foreign prize tobacco.

An Act for the encouragement of seamen, and for the more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy.

An Act for keeping the militia forces of this kingdom complete, during the time therein mentioned; and for regulating the admission of substitutes to serve in the militia.

An Act to permit the importa-  
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tion of flax, and flax seed, into this kingdom, or Ireland, in any ship or vessel belonging to any kingdom or state in amity with his majesty, navigated with foreign mariners, during the present hostilities.

An Act to permit goods, the product or manufacture of certain places within the Levant, or Mediterranean seas, to be imported into Great Britain, or Ireland, in British or foreign vessels, from any place whatsoever, and for laying a duty on cotton, and cotton wool, imported into this kingdom, in foreign ships or vessels, during the present hostilities.

An Act to permit, during the present hostilities, the importation of goods, the produce of the plantations of the crown of Portugal, into Great Britain and Ireland, in Portuguese vessels, and the importation of certain other goods therein mentioned, in any neutral ships and vessels.

An Act for preventing certain abuses and profanations on the Lord's day, called Sunday.

An Act for continuing and amending an Act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "An Act for appointing and enabling commissioners to examine, take, and state the public accounts of the kingdom; and to report what balances are in the hands of accountants which may be applied to the public service, and what defects there are in the present mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for public money, and in what more expeditious and effectual, and less expensive manner, the said service can, in future, be regulated and

carried on for the benefit of the public."

An Act to direct the payment into the exchequer, of the respective balances remaining in the hands of the several persons therein named, for the use and benefit of the public, and for indemnifying the said respective persons and their representatives, in respect of such payments, and against all future claims relating thereto, and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An Act to render valid, certain marriages solemnized in certain churches and public chapels, in which banns had not usually been published before, or at the time of passing an Act, made in the 26th year of King George the Second, intituled, "An Act for the better preventing all clandestine marriages."

An Act for establishing an agreement with the united company of merchants trading to the East-Indies, for the payment of the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, for the use of the public, in full discharge and satisfaction of all claims and demands of the public, &c. and for granting to the said company, for a farther term, the sole and exclusive trade to and from the East Indies; and for establishing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the said company, as well in India as in Europe, and the recruiting the military forces of the said company.

An Act to explain and amend so much of an Act, made in the 13th year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, "An Act for establishing certain regulations for the



the better management of the affairs of the East India company, as well in India as in Europe, as relates to the administration of justice in Bengal; and for the relief of certain persons imprisoned at Calcutta, in Bengal, under a ju-

dicature; and also for indemnifying the governor-general and council of Bengal, and all officers who have acted under their orders or authority, in the resistance made to the process of the supreme court."

CHARAC-







## C H A R A C T E R S.

*Character of the Emperor Constantine ; from Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.*

[ A. D. 324. ]

THE character of the prince who removed the seat of empire, and introduced such important changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country, has fixed the attention, and divided the opinions, of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint ; while the discontent of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants, who, by their vice and weakness, dishonoured the imperial purple. The same passions have in some degrees been perpetuated to succeeding generations, and the character of Constantine is considered, even in the present age, as an object either of satire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of those defects which are confessed by his warmest admirers, and of those virtues which are acknowledged by his most implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a just portrait of that

extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of history should adopt without a blush. But it would soon appear, that the vain attempt to blend such discordant colours, and to reconcile such inconsistent qualities, must produce a figure monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights, by a careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine.

The person, as well as the mind of Constantine, had been enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, his deportment graceful ; his strength and activity were displayed in every manly exercise, and from his earliest youth, to a very advanced season in life, he preserved the vigour of his constitution by a strict adherence to the domestic virtues of chastity and temperance. He delighted in the social intercourse of familiar conversation ; and though he might sometimes indulge his disposition to raillery, with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station, the courtesy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The sincerity of his friendship has been suspected ; yet he



shewed, on some occasions, that he was not incapable of a warm and lasting attachment. The disadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a just estimate of the value of learning; and the arts and sciences derived some encouragement from the munificent protection of Constantine. In the dispatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almost continually exercised in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambassadors, and in examining the complaints of his subjects. Even those who censured the propriety of his measures were compelled to acknowledge, that he possessed magnanimity to conceive and patience to execute, the most arduous designs, without being checked either by the prejudices of education, or by the clamours of the multitude. In the field, he infused his own intrepid spirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a consummate general; and to his abilities, rather than to his fortune, we may ascribe the signal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domestic foes of the Republic. He loved glory, as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labours. The boundless ambition, which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appears as the ruling passion of his soul, may be justified by the dangers of his own situation, by the character of his rivals, by the consciousness of superior merit, and by the prospect that his success would enable him to restore peace and order to the distracted empire. In his ci-

vil wars against Maxentius and Licinius, he had engaged on his side the inclinations of the people, who compared the undissembled vices of those tyrants, with the spirit of wisdom and justice which seemed to direct the general tenor of the administration of Constantine.

Had Constantine fallen on the banks of the Tyber, or even in the plains of Hadrianople, such is the character which, with a few exceptions, he might have transmitted to posterity. But the conclusion of his reign (according to the moderate and indeed tender sentence of a writer of the same age) degraded him from the rank which he had acquired among the most deserving of the Roman princes. In the life of Augustus, we behold the tyrant of the republic, converted, almost by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country, and of human kind. In that of Constantine, we may contemplate a hero, who had so long inspired his subjects with love, and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest above the necessity of dissimulation. The general peace which he maintained during the last fourteen years of his reign, was a period of apparent splendor rather than of real prosperity; and the old age of Constantine was disgraced by the opposite yet reconcileable vices of rapaciousness and prodigality. The accumulated treasures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius, were lavishly consumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror, were attended with an encreasing



increasing expence ; the cost of his buildings, his court, and his festivals, required an immediate and plentiful supply ; and the oppression of the people was the only fund which could support the magnificence of the sovereign. His unworthy favourites, enriched by the boundless liberality of their master, usurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption. A secret but universal decay was felt in every part of the public administration, and the emperor himself, though he still retained the obedience, gradually lost the esteem, of his subjects. The dress and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he chose to affect, served only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Asiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, assumed an air of softness and effeminacy in the person of Constantine. He is represented with false hair of various colours, laboriously aranged by the skilful artists of the times ; a diadem of a new and more expensive fashion ; a profusion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of silk, most curiously embroidered with flowers of gold. In such apparel, scarcely to be excused by the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loss to discover the wisdom of an aged monarch, and the simplicity of a Roman veteran. A mind thus relaxed by prosperity and indulgence, was incapable of rising to that magnanimity which disdains suspicion, and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximinian and Licinius may perhaps be justified by the maxims of policy, as they

are taught in the schools of tyrants ; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which sullied the declining age of Constantine, will suggest to our most candid thoughts, the idea of a prince, who could sacrifice without reluctance the laws of justice, and the feelings of nature, to the dictates either of his passions or of his interest.

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*An Account of the pastoral Manners and of the Government of the Scythians or Tartars ; from the same Author.*

IN every age, the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life. In every age, the Scythians and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conquests. The Thrones of Asia have been repeatedly overturned by the shepherds of the North ; and their arms have spread terror and devastation over the most fertile and warlike countries of Europe. On this occasion, as well as on many others, the sober historian is forcibly awakened from a pleasing vision ; and is compelled, with some reluctance, to confess, that the pastoral manners, which have been adorned with the fairest attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illustrate this observation, I shall now proceed to consider a nation of shepherds and of warriors



rions, in the three important articles of I. their diet ; II. Their habitation ; and III. Their exercises. The narratives of antiquity are justified by the experience of modern times ; and the banks of the Borysthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently present the same uniform spectacle of similar and native manners.

I. The corn, or even the rice, which constitutes the ordinary and wholesome food of a civilized people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the husbandman. Some of the happy savages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nourished by the liberality of nature ; but in the climates of the North, a nation of shepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The skilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal, or of vegetable, food ; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel, deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary prejudice of humanity. Yet if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe, that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox or the sheep, are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food ; and the bleed-

ing limbs are served, with very, little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profession, and especially in the conduct of a numerous army, the exclusive use of animal food appears to be productive of the most solid advantages. Corn is a bulky and perishable commodity ; and the large magazines, which are indispensably necessary for the subsistence of our troops, must be slowly transported by the labour of men, or horses. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a sure and encreasing supply of flesh and milk : in the far greater part of the uncultivated waste, the vegetation of the grass is quick and luxuriant ; and there are few places so extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find some tolerable pasture. The supply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undistinguishing appetite, and patient abstinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the flesh of those animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of disease. Horse-flesh, which in every age and country has been proscribed by the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, they devour with peculiar greediness ; and this singular taste facilitates the success of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed, in their most distant and rapid incursions, by an adequate number of spare horses, who may be occasionally used, either to redouble the speed, or to satisfy the hunger, of the Barbarians. Many are the resources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp



of Tartars is almost consumed, they slaughter the greatest part of their cattle, and preserve the flesh, either smoked, or dried in the sun. On the sudden emergency of a hasty march, they provide themselves with a sufficient quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather of hard curd, which they occasionally dissolve in water; and this unsubstantial diet will support, for many days, the life, and even the spirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abstinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly succeeded by the most voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the most grateful present, or the most valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their industry seems to consist in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor, which possesses a very strong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the savages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate vicissitudes of famine and plenty; and their stomach is inured to sustain, without much inconvenience, the opposite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

II. In the ages of rustic and martial simplicity, a people of soldiers and husbandmen are dispersed over the face of an extensive and cultivated country; and some time must elapse before the warlike youth of Greece and Italy could be assembled under the same standard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progress of manufactures and

commerce insensibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city: but the citizens are no longer soldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the state of civil society, corrupt the habits of the military life. The pastoral manners of the Scythians seem to unite the different advantages of simplicity and refinement. The individuals of the same tribe are constantly assembled, but they are assembled in a camp; and the native spirit of these dauntless shepherds is animated by mutual support and emulation. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent pastures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The necessity of preventing the most mischievous confusion, in such a perpetual concourse of men and animals, must gradually introduce, in the distribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As soon as the forage of a certain district is consumed, the tribe, or rather army, of shepherds, makes a regular march to some fresh pastures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the pastoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the most important and difficult operations of war. The choice of stations is regulated by the



the difference of the seasons: in the summer, the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at least in the neighbourhood of a running stream. But in the winter they return to the South, and shelter their camp, behind some convenient eminence, against the winds, which are chilled in their passage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. These manners are admirably adapted to diffuse, among the wandering tribes, the spirit of emigration and conquest. The connection between the people and their territory is of so frail a texture, that it may be broken by the slightest accident. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property are always included; and, in the most distant marches, he is still surrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirst of rapine, the fear, or the resentment of injury, the impatience of servitude, have, in every age, been sufficient causes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into some unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful subsistence, or a less formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hostile nations, the victor and the vanquished have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to those of Germany. These great emigrations, which have been sometimes executed with almost incredible diligence, were rendered

more easy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more severe than in the midst of the temperate zone might reasonably be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which rise, especially towards the East, more than half a mile above the level of the sea, and to the quantity of saltpetre, with which the soil is deeply impregnated. In the winter season, the broad and rapid rivers, that discharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caspian, or the Icy Sea, are strongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of snow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may securely traverse, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the smooth and hard surface of an immense plain.

III. The pastoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleness; and as the most honourable shepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domestic management of the cattle, their own leisure is seldom disturbed by any servile and assiduous cares. But this leisure, instead of being devoted to the soft enjoyments of love and harmony, is usually spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. The plains of Tartary are filled with a strong and serviceable breed of horses which are easily trained for the purposes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and skilful riders: and constant practice had seated them so firmly on horseback, that they were supposed by strangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat,



eat, to drink, and even to sleep, without dismounting from their steeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irresistible force. These arrows are often pointed against the harmless animals of the desert, which increase and multiply in the absence of their most formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the stag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horses are continually exercised by the fatigues of the chase; and the plentiful supply of game contributes to the subsistence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the destruction of timid or innoxious beasts; they boldly encounter the angry wild-boar, when he turns against his pursuers, excite the sluggish courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tyger, as he slumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the fairest field to the exertions of valour, may justly be considered as the image, and as the school, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compose an instructive exercise for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompass the game of an extensive district; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, surrounded on every side, are aban-

doned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to swim the rivers, and to wind through the vallies, without interrupting the prescribed order of their gradual progress. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their steps, to a remote object; of preserving their intervals; of suspending, or accelerating their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the signals of their leaders. Their leaders study, in this practical school, the most important lesson of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of distance, and of time. To employ against a human enemy the same patience and valour, the same skill and discipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the amusements of the chase serve as a prelude to the conquest of an empire.

The political society of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, distinguished by the modern appellation of *Hords*, assume the form of a numerous and increasing family; which in the course of successive generations, has been propagated from the same original stock. The meanest and most ignorant of the Tartars preserve, with conscious pride, the inestimable treasure of their genealogy; and whatever distinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal distribution of pastoral wealth, they mutually respect themselves, and each other, as the descendants



descendants of the first founder of the tribe. The custom, which still prevails, of adopting the bravest, and most faithful of the captives, may countenance the very probable suspicion, that this extensive consanguinity is, in a great measure, legal and fictitious. But the useful prejudice, which has obtained the sanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty Barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *murfa*, as the representative of their great father, exercises the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original state of the pastoral world, each of the *murfas* (if we may continue to use a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and separate family; and the limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by superior force, or mutual consent. But the constant operation of various and permanent causes contributed to unite the vagrant Hords into national communities, under the command of a supreme head. The weak were desirous of support, and the strong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the result of union, oppressed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquished were freely admitted to share the advantages of victory, the most valiant chiefs hastened to range themselves, and their followers, under the formidable standard of a confederate nation. The most successful of the Tartar princes assumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the superiority, either of merit, or of power. He was

raised to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *Khan* expresses, in the language of the North of Asia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary succession was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal descendents of the renowned Zingis. But, as it is the indispensable duty of a Tartar sovereign to lead his warlike subjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often disregarded; and some royal kinsman, distinguished by his age and valour, is entrusted with the sword and sceptre of his predecessor. Two distinct and regular taxes are levied on the tribes, to support the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of those contributions amounts to the tythe, both of their property, and of their spoil. A Tartar sovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domestic riches of flocks and herds increase in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the rustic splendour of his court, to reward the most deserving, or the most favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be sometimes refused to the stern mandates of authority. The manners of his subjects, accustomed, like himself, to blood and rapine, might excuse, in their eyes, such partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civilised people; but the power of a despot has never been acknowledged in the deserts of Scythia.

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The immediate jurisdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the antient institution of a national council. The Coroultai, or Diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the spring and autumn, in the midst of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the chiefs of the respective tribes, may conveniently assemble on horseback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the strength, must consult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may be discovered in the constitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of those hostile nations has sometimes terminated in the establishment of a powerful and despotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has spread his conquests over Europe or Asia: the successful shepherds of the North have submitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after destroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne.

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*An Account of the Life and literary Character of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey; extracted from Warton's History of English Poetry.*

OUR communications and intercourse with Italy, which began to prevail about the beginning of the sixteenth century, not

only introduced the studies of classical literature into England, but gave a new turn to our vernacular poetry. At this period, Petrarch still continued the most favourite poet of the Italians; and had established a manner, which was universally adopted and imitated by his ingenious countrymen. In the mean time, the courts both of France and England were distinguished for their elegance. Francis the first had changed the state of letters in France, by mixing gallantry with learning, and by admitting the ladies to his court in company with the ecclesiastics. His carousals were celebrated with a brilliancy and a festivity unknown to the ceremonious shews of former princes. Henry the eighth vied with Francis in these gaieties. His ambition, which could not bear a rival even in diversions, was seconded by liberality of disposition and a love of ostentation. For Henry, with many boisterous qualities, was magnificent and affable. Had he never murdered his wives, his politeness to the fair sex would remain unimpeached. His martial sports were unincumbered by the barbaric pomp of the antient chivalry, and softened by the growing habits of more rational manners. He was attached to those spectacles and public amusements, in which beauty assumed a principal share; and his frequent masques and tournaments encouraged a high spirit of romantic courtesy. Poetry was the natural accompaniment of these refinements. Henry himself was a leader and a chief character in these pageantries, and at the same time a reader and a writer of verses. The language and the manners of Italy



Italy were esteemed and studied. The sonnets of Petrarch were the great models of composition. They entered into the genius of the fashionable manners: and in a court of such a complexion, Petrarch of course became the popular poet. Henry Howard earl Surrey, with a mistress perhaps as beautiful as Laura, and at least with Petrarch's passion if not his taste led the way to great improvements in English poetry, by a happy imitation of Petrarch, and other Italian poets, who had been most successful in painting the anxieties of love with pathos and propriety.

Lord Surrey's life throws so much light on the character and subjects of his poetry, that it is almost impossible to consider the one, without exhibiting a few anecdotes of the other. He was the son and grandson of two lords treasurers dukes of Norfolk; and in his early childhood discovered the most promising marks of lively parts and an active mind.

While a boy, he was habituated to the modes of a court at Windsor-castle; where he resided, yet under the care of proper instructors, in the quality of a companion to Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, a natural son of king Henry the eighth, and of the highest expectations.

This young nobleman, who also bore other titles and honours, was the child of Henry's affection: not so much on account of his hopeful abilities, as for a reason insinuated by lord Herbert, and at which those who know Henry's history and character will not be surpris'd, because he equally and strongly resembled both his father and mother.

A friendship of the closest kind commencing between these two illustrious youths, about the year 1530, they were both removed to cardinal Wolsey's college at Oxford, then universally frequented, as well for the excellence as the novelty of its institution; for it was one of the first seminaries of an English university, that professed to explode the pedantries of the old barbarous philosophy, and to cultivate the graces of polite literature. Two years afterwards, for the purpose of acquiring every accomplishment of an elegant education, the earl accompanied his noble friend and fellow-pupil into France, where they received king Henry, on his arrival at Calais to visit Francis the first, with a most magnificent retinue. The friendship of these two young noblemen was soon strengthened by a new tie; for Richmond married the lady Mary Howard, Surrey's sister. Richmond, however, appears to have died in the year 1536, about the age of seventeen, having never cohabited with his wife. It was long before Surrey forgot the untimely loss of this amiable youth, the friend and associate of his childhood, and who nearly resembled himself in genius, refinement of manners, and liberal acquisitions.

It is not precisely known at what period the earl of Surrey began his travels. They have the air of a romance. He made the tour of Europe in the true spirit of chivalry, and with the ideas of an Amadis; proclaiming the unparalleled charms of his mistress, and prepared to defend the cause of her beauty with the weapons of knight-errantry. Nor was this adventurous



rous journey performed without the intervention of an enchanter. The first city in Italy which he proposed to visit was Florence, the capital of Tuscany, and the original seat of the ancestors of his Geraldine\*. In his way thither, he passed a few days at the emperor's court; where he became acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, a celebrated adept in natural magic. This visionary philosopher shewed our hero, in a mirror of glass, a living image of Geraldine, reclining on a couch, sick, and reading one of his most tender sonnets by a waxen taper. His imagination, which wanted not the flattering representations and artificial incentives of illusion, was heated anew by this interesting and affecting spectacle. Inflamed with every enthusiasm of the most romantic passion, he hastened to Florence; and on his arrival, immediately published a defiance against any person who could handle a lance and was in love, whether Christian, Jew, Turk, Saracen, or Canibal, who should presume to dispute the superiority of Geraldine's beauty. As the lady was pretended to be of Tuscan extraction, the pride of the Florentines was flattered on this occasion: and the grand Duke of Tuscany permitted a general and unmolested ingress into his dominions of the combatants of all countries, till this important trial should be decided. The challenge was accepted, and the earl victorious. The shield which he presented to the duke before the tournament began, is exhibited in Vertue's

valuable plate of the Arundel family, and was actually in the possession of the late duke of Norfolk.

These heroic vanities did not, however, so totally engross the time which Surrey spent in Italy, as to alienate his mind from letters: he studied with the greatest success a critical knowledge of the Italian tongue, and that he might give new lustre to the name of Geraldine, attained a just taste for the peculiar graces of the Italian poetry.

He was recalled to England for some idle reason by the king, much sooner than he expected: and he returned home the most elegant traveller, the most polite lover, the most learned nobleman, and the most accomplished gentleman of his age. Dexterity in tilting, and gracefulness in managing a horse under arms, were excellencies now viewed with a critical eye, and practised with a high degree of emulation. In 1540, at a tournament held in the presence of the court at Westminster, and in which the principal of the nobility were engaged, Surrey was distinguished above the rest for his address in the use and exercise of arms. But his martial skill was not solely displayed in the parade and ostentation of those domestic combats. In 1542, he marched into Scotland, as a chief commander in his father's army; and was conspicuous for his conduct and bravery at the memorable battle of Flodden-field, where James the fourth of Scotland was killed. The next year, we find the career of his vic-

\* Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, second daughter to Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare.



tories impeded by an obstacle which no valour could resist. The censures of the church have humiliated the greatest heroes: and he was imprisoned in Windsor-castle for eating flesh in Lent. The prohibition had been renewed or strengthened by a recent proclamation of the king. I mention this circumstance, not only as it marks his character, impatient of any controul, and careless of very serious consequences which often arise from a contempt of petty formalities, but as it gave occasion to one of his most sentimental and pathetic sonnets. In 1544, he was field-marshal of the English army in the expedition to Bologne, which he took. In that age, love and arms constantly went together: and it was amid the fatigues of this protracted campaign, that he composed his last sonnet, called the *Fansie of a wearied Lover*.

But as Surrey's popularity increased, his interest declined with the king; whose caprices and jealousies grew more violent with his years and infirmities. The brilliancy of Surrey's character, his celebrity in the military science, his general abilities, his wit, learning, and affability, were viewed by Henry with disgust and suspicion. It was in vain that he possessed every advantageous qualification, which could adorn the scholar, the courtier, and the soldier. In proportion as he was amiable in the eyes of the people, he became formidable to the king. His rising reputation was misconstrued into a dangerous ambition, and gave birth to accusations equally groundless and frivolous. He was suspected of a design to marry the princess Mary; and,

by that alliance, of approaching to a possibility of wearing the crown. It was insinuated, that he conversed with foreigners, and held a correspondence with cardinal Pole.

The addition of the escutcheon of Edward the Confessor to his own, although used by the family of Norfolk for many years, and justified by the authority of the heralds, was a sufficient foundation for an impeachment of high treason. These motives were privately aggravated by those prejudices, with which Henry remembered the misbehaviour of Catharine Howard, and which were extended to all that lady's relations. At length, the earl of Surrey fell a sacrifice to the peevish injustice of a merciless and ungrateful master. Notwithstanding his eloquent and masculine defence, which even in the cause of guilt itself would have proved a powerful persuasive, he was condemned by the prepared suffrage of a servile and obsequious jury, and beheaded on Tower-hill in the year 1547. In the mean time we should remember, that Surrey's public conduct was not on all occasions quite unexceptionable. In the affair of Bologne he had made a false step. This had offended the king. But Henry, when once offended, could never forgive. And when Hertford was sent into France to take the command, he could not refrain from dropping some reproachful expressions against a measure which seemed to impeach his personal courage. Conscious of his high birth and capacity, he was above the little attentions of caution and reserve; and he too frequently neglected to consult his  
own



own situation, and the king's temper. It was his misfortune to serve a monarch, whose resentments, which were easily provoked, could only be satisfied by the most severe revenge. Henry brought those men to the block, which other monarchs would have only disgraced.

Among these anecdotes of Surrey's life, I had almost forgot to mention what became of his amour with the fair Geraldine. We lament to find that Surrey's devotion to this lady did not end in a wedding, and that all his gallantries and verses availed so little ! No memoirs of that incurious age have informed us, whether her beauty was equalled by her cruelty ; or whether her ambition prevailed so far over her gratitude, as to tempt her to prefer the solid glories of a more splendid title and ample fortune, to the challenges and the compliments, of so magnanimous, so faithful, and so eloquent a lover. She appears, however, to have been afterwards the third wife of Edward Clinton, earl of Lincoln. Such also is the power of time and accident over amorous vows, that even Surrey himself outlived the violence of his passion. He married Frances, daughter of John earl of Oxford, by whom he left several children. One of his daughters, Jane countess of Westmoreland, was among the learned ladies of that age, and became famous for her knowledge of the Greek and latin languages.

Surrey's poems were in high reputation with his cotemporaries, and for many years afterwards. He is thus characterised by the author of the old Arte of English Poesie, whose opinion remained

long as a rule of criticism. " In the latter end of the same kinges [Henry] raigne, spronge up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyat the elder and Henry earle of Surrey were the two chieftaines, who having travailed into Italie, and there tasted the sweete and statly measures and stile of the Italian poesie, as novices newly crept out of the schools of Dante, Ariosto, and Petrarch, they greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poesie from that it had bene before, and for that cause may justly be sayd the first reformers of our English meeter and stile." And again towards the close of the same chapter. " Henry earle of Surrey, and Sir Thomas Wyat, between whom I finde very little difference, I repute them (as before) for the two chief lanternes of light to all others that have since employed their pennes upon English poesie : their conceits were loftie, their stiles statly, their conveyance cleanly, their termes proper, their meetre sweete and well-proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their maister Francis Petrarcha." I forbear to recite the testimonies of Leland, Sydney, Tuberville, Churchyard, and Drayton. Nor have these pieces, although scarcely known at present, been without the panegyric of more recent times. Surrey is praised by Waller, and Fenton ; and he seems to have been a favourite with Pope. Pope, in Windfor-forest, having compared his patron lord Cranville with Surrey, he was immediately reprinted, but without attracting many readers. It was vainly imagined, that all the world would eagerly



eagerly wish to purchase the works of a neglected antient English poet, whom Pope had called *the Granville of a former age*. So rapid are the revolutions of our language, and such the uncertainty of literary fame, that Philips, Milton's nephew, who wrote about the year 1674, has remarked, that in his time Surrey's poetry was antiquated and totally forgotten.

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*Character of Thomas Sackville,  
the first Lord Buckhurst ; from  
the same Author.*

**S**ACKVILLE was born at Buckhurst, a principal seat of his antient and illustrious family in the parish of Withiam in Suffex. His birth is placed, but with evident inaccuracy, under the year 1536. At least it should be placed six years before. Discovering a vigorous understanding in his childhood, from a domestic tuition he was removed, as it may reasonably be conjectured, to Hart-hall, now Hertford college, in Oxford. But he appears to have been a master of arts at Cambridge. At both universities he became celebrated as a Latin and English poet ; and he carried his love of poetry, which he seems to have almost solely cultivated, to the Inner Temple. It was now fashionable for every young man of fortune, before he began his travels, or was admitted into Parliament, to be initiated in the study of the law. But instead of pursuing a science, which could not be his profession, and which was unaccommodated to the bias of his genius, he betrayed his predilection to a more pleasing species of literature,

by composing a tragedy for the entertainment and honour of his fellow-students. His high birth, however, and ample patrimony, soon advanced him to more important situations and employments. His eminent accomplishments and abilities having acquired the confidence and esteem of queen Elizabeth, the poet was soon lost in the statesman, and negotiations and embassies extinguished the milder ambitions of the ingenuous Muse. Yet it should be remembered, that he was uncorrupted amongst the intrigues of an artful court, that in the character of a first minister he preserved the integrity of a private man, and that his family refused the offer of an apology to his memory, when it was insulted by the malicious insinuations of a rival party. Nor is it foreign to our purpose to remark, that his original elegance and brilliancy of mind sometimes broke forth, in the exercise of his more formal political functions. He was frequently disgusted at the pedantry and official barbarity of style, with which the public letters and instruments were usually framed ; and Naunton relates, that his " secretaries had difficulty to please him, he was so *facete* and choice in his style." Even in the decisions and pleadings of that rigid tribunal the star-chamber, which was never esteemed the school of rhetoric, he practised and encouraged an unaccustomed strain of eloquent and graceful oratory : on which account, says Lloyd, " so flowing was his invention, that he was called the star-chamber bell." After he was made a peer by the title of lord Buckhurst, and had succeeded to



a most extensive inheritance, and was now discharging the business of an envoy to Paris, he found time to prefix a Latin epistle to Clerke's Latin translation of Castilio's Courtier, printed at London in 1571, which is not an unworthy recommendation of a treatise remarkable for its polite Latinity. It was either because his mistress Elisabeth paid a sincere compliment to his singular learning and fidelity, or because she was willing to indulge an affected fit of indignation against the object of her capricious passion, that when Sackville, in 1591, was a candidate for the chancellorship of the university of Oxford, she condescended earnestly to solicit the university in his favour, and in opposition to his competitor the earl of Essex. At least she appears to have approved the choice, for her majesty soon afterwards visited Oxford, where she was entertained by the new chancellor with splendid banquets and much solid erudition. It is neither my design nor my province, to develop the profound policy with which he conducted a peace with Spain, the address with which he penetrated or baffled the machinations of Essex, and the circumspection and success with which he managed the treasury of two opulent sovereigns.

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*Character of the late Dr. Fothergill; extracted from Dr. Hird's "Affectionate Tribute to his Memory."*

**I**T must be admitted that no partiality of affection should so warp the mind, as to influence its regard for truth. On common

subjects, the world is indulgent enough to accept the embellishments which a warm imagination may add to a few plain facts, but the language of eulogy is always suspected, and consequently much more exposed to the severity of remark; yet if any subject that I am acquainted with will bear a more than ordinary warmth of expression, it certainly may be indulged in a tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Fothergill.

The general voice has placed him amongst the illustrious characters of the present age; but, what is more to his honour, it has placed him amongst the best of men. May the memorial I am giving to the public preserve his name unblemished by misrepresentation, till some more equal pen shall hand it down to posterity, as a bright example of what great usefulness extraordinary talents may prove to society, when under the direction of a good heart, fine feelings, and an enlarged philanthropy.

His understanding was of a manly, energetic cast; it was penetrating, comprehensive, and highly cultivated: there was a firm dignity in his character, which, though it could not bend to any thing unbecoming itself, yet was accompanied by a certain softness and complacency of manner peculiarly conciliating. His heart was sincere, friendly, compassionate and liberal to excess. His hand was an unsparing distributor, and the bounties of it, lest they might not reach the truly worthy, were, not unfrequently, diffused amongst the imposing and the ungrateful.

His practice as a physician was by



by no means confined to London and its environs, the place of his long and general residence. For some years past he made a point of retiring, during a few summer months, to his place in Cheshire; a seat chosen by him as a sequestered retreat from the labours and fatigue of his professional attentions, to digest his thoughts, take possession of himself, and invigorate his mind and body for his returning duties; but it too frequently happened, that what he had pleasingly conceived as an asylum from care and intrusion, proved not the retirement he was in pursuit of. Wheresoever he resided, his name and character followed him, carrying along with them those influences, which not only pervaded every quarter of this and the neighbouring kingdom of Ireland, but a very considerable part of Europe and North America; from whence, in cases that apparently would admit of the delay, he was frequently consulted by letter and description.

From this high rank in his profession, and from the respectful manner in which he was always treated, it may very reasonably be concluded that the pecuniary emoluments of his practice were large: and so they certainly were, to an uncommon degree: the produce of his annual practice being greater than has fallen to the lot of most physicians in this nation: and could the fees he rejected be added to the sum, it would have increased to a surprising amount; but he was accustomed to make distinctions, which would not, I presume at least, enter into every mind.—Yet notwithstanding all these sources of affluence, so large

and so numerous were the channels through which his bounties flowed, that they might be truly said to be scarcely equal to the liberality of his heart.

There is a certain exquisiteness of sensation in the tones of some minds, which, amidst the various circumstances of life, and the unavoidable evils attendant on humanity, is, indeed, a most painful species of pre-eminence: the mind of Dr. Fothergill was of this mould; it was ever in unison with the afflicted spirit in all situations, exciting him to acts of the most cordial friendliness.

In the distribution of his favours, he retreated as much as possible from the acknowledgments of those he obliged. He knew the value of a grateful heart fully, for his own was grateful in the extreme; but he rather chose that the objects of his kindness should feel that active and essential gratitude which is better evinced by a proper use of favours, and a happy change in circumstance and situation, than by any verbal expression. In a few words, Dr. Fothergill's beneficences flowed from him with so graceful an ease, and so high a polish of address, that no modest worth was wounded, nor the acuteness of distress increased, by the awkwardness of its acknowledgments.—His was not that drop-like bounty which pauses in its progress; it was full, flowing, and benign.

Although it may be the general practice of physicians in other countries, as well as in this, to refuse the fees of the inferior clergy, yet the conduct of Dr. Fothergill towards numbers of this class, was distinguished by something more



more generous than mere forbearance ; it was marked by extraordinary kindness.

He considered the inferior classes of clergymen as more particularly the objects of his liberality and attention ; being brought up in that line of education, which, in the opinion of the world, precludes bodily labour, and to which the idea of the gentleman is annexed without a competency to support the character ; to many of these, I am an evidence, he was a kind friend and a private benefactor ; not only by his advice in personal distress, but by his purse, on severely trying occasions.—Nay, so cordial was his humanity towards these, that on a friend's hinting to him, whilst he was in the country, that his favours were not marked by propriety of distinction (the gentleman from whom he refused his fee being placed in high rank in the church, with an independent fortune) he returned a ready explanation of his principle of action ; “ I had rather, said the Doctor, return the fee of a gentleman with whose rank I am not perfectly acquainted, than run the risk of taking it from a man, who ought perhaps, to be the object of my bounty.” Such was the noble style of this most excellent man's way of thinking.

The humane reader will feel the finest springs of his affections moved, by the following anecdote, given to me by a clergyman of high rank, who reveres the memory of Dr. Fothergill, and places his obligations to him in a very trying season, near to his heart.

A friend of his, a man of a worthy character, who has at this time an income of about one hun-

dred pounds a year, church preferment, was in the earlier part of his life seated in London upon a curacy of fifty pounds per annum, with a wife and a numerous family.—An epidemical disease, which was at that time prevalent, seized upon his wife, and five of his children : in this scene of distress he looked up to the Doctor for his assistance, but dared not apply to him, from a consciousness of his being unable to reward him for his attendance.—A friend who knew his situation, kindly offered to accompany him to the doctor's, and give him his fee ; they took the advantage of his hour of audience, and after a description of the several cases, the fee was offered, and rejected ; but a note was taken of his place of residence. The Doctor called assiduously the next and every succeeding day, till his attendance was no longer necessary. The curate, anxious to return some grateful mark of the sense he entertained of his services, strained every nerve to accomplish it ; but his astonishment was not to be described, when, instead of receiving the money he offered, with apologies for his situation, the Doctor put ten guineas into his hand, desiring him to apply to him without diffidence in future difficulties.

Although amidst the diffusion of his favours he too frequently met with painful returns, yet he would never allow instances of this sort to check the ardour of his mind in doing all the good he could to others, and even to those who returned ingratitude for kindness, his charity continued still patient, hoping all things. It was his common expression, when he found his favours misapplied, or



himself imposed upon. "I had much rather that my favours should fall upon many undeserving objects, than that one truly deserving should escape my notice."

From the extensiveness of his daily employments in London and its neighbourhood, to which must be added, the variety of his medical, philosophical, literary, and friendly correspondence, it may be a matter of surprise to many, how he could acquit himself of the number of his engagements; yet, he understood so well the value of a moment, and the influence of order in the management of time, that he could generally settle his most interesting concerns every evening, before he retired to rest. His thoughts were so perfectly digested, his penetration was so quick, and his hand was so rapid in its obedience to the dictates of his mind, that what might have been to many able men a scene of inquietude, not to say of confusion, was, in his hands, easy and familiar. In cases of moment he was no procrastinator.

In the practice of a physician it is a happiness to himself, and certainly a much greater to his patients, if he is in possession of that native acumen or sagaciousness of mind, which, from the superior importance of his art, ought to have a high place in the scale of character, could it be clearly ascertained.—In every other art or science it may be easily distinguished by men of moderate abilities; but in medicine, its effects not being so obvious, popular, impression, or private influence, must necessarily be accepted as security for its existence. It has so little dependence upon me-

dical education, and professional employment, that a man may have enjoyed all the advantages of the one, and all the emoluments of the other, yet neither he nor his patients may have felt the least degree of its influence.—Education and employment are ordinary things; but this alone is the life of medical genius, and is truly extraordinary; it operates by quick discrimination in dubious cases; it throws a clear light upon apparent difficulties; it fixes the judgment determinately upon the right object, and is practically illustrated by happy and unexpected events.—It was this species of penetration that principally distinguished Dr. Fothergill as a medical man.

There was another advantage, of no small moment, which his patients derived from his attendance; he knew how to unite the kindness of friendship with his professional duties; and could enter into those retreats of anxiety, from which flow an infinitude of bodily distresses, with an eye clearly discerning, yet incurious and benign.—A religious sensibility of spirit disposed him to draw near the deep springs of affliction, and diffuse the oil of peace over the troubled waters. There was a discretion in his sympathy, that attached the confidence of his patients to an uncommon degree; and of what importance such an acquisition must be in the course of an extensive practice, I leave to the judgment of every skilful practitioner.

A lady of my acquaintance, occasionally expressing her high regard for the Doctor, and the satisfaction she received from his atten-



attendance upon her on many occasions, made use of the following pathetic language.—“ He was indeed my warm friend and adviser in my distress, as well as my physician.—He was, under Providence, the preserver of my health, and the restorer of my peace in the severest conflicts of my life.

[Dr. Hird proceeds to speak of him as an encourager of science, as a patron of men of genius, and as a generous promoter of, and contributor to, charities and works of public utility and convenience; in speaking of Dr. Fothergill under this last head, he gives an account of his laudable institution of the foundling Hospital at Ackworth. The conclusion is as follows.]

The person of Dr. Fothergill was of a delicate, or rather of an extenuated make; his features were all character; his eyes had a peculiar brilliancy of expression, yet it was not easy so to mark the leading trait, as to disengage it from the united whole. He was remarkably active and alert, and, with a few exceptions, enjoyed a general good state of health.

He had a peculiarity of address and manner, resulting from a person, education, and principle; but it was so perfectly accompanied by the most engaging attentions, that he was the genuine polite man above all forms of breeding.—I knew him well, and I never knew a man who left such pleasing impressions on the minds of his patients.

His dress was remarkably neat, plain, and decent, peculiarly becoming himself; a perfect transcript of the order, and I may

add, the neatness of his mind.—He thought it unworthy a man of sense, and inconsistent with his character, to suffer himself to be led by the whim of fashion, and become the slave of its caprices. But this impression upon his understanding was much strengthened by his firm attachment to his principles as a Quaker, which led to that decent plainness and modesty in dress, which may be presumed to be one at least amongst the external evidences of a spirit elevated in its views above all transient and sublunary things.

At his meals he was remarkably temperate; in the opinion of some, rather too abstemious, eating sparingly, but with a good relish, and rarely exceeding two glasses of wine at dinner or supper; yet by this uniform and steady temperance, he preserved his mind vigorous and active, and his constitution equal to all his engagements.

His ideas of retreat from business were marked by a degree of dignity perfectly correspondent with the rest of his character. “ I wish, said he, as far as I ought to wish, to withdraw myself from my professional labours in full possession of my faculties, and, I may add, of my reputation; for I well know, from many an humiliating instance, how much the infirmities of age, or paralytic debility, to which we are all of us alike exposed, may affect the remembrance of our best qualities.—He wished to retire with the respect, rather than the compassion, of his friends.—It has pleased Providence to remove him from society, after a few weeks painful indisposition, in the vigour



of his faculties, and in the lustre of his reputation, having closed a life of usefulness and honour; in the 69th year of his age, with expressions of a well grounded assurance of an happy immortality.

In the language of his own eulogium on the memory of his friend Dr. Russell, I shall conclude this imperfect tribute to the memory of my affectionate, steady, and I may add, my partial friend, Dr. Fothergill;—" animated by  
 " his example, let us pursue the  
 " arduous track of public virtue;  
 " and having, like him, supported the dignity of our profession, by dealing with a liberal hand to all the blessings of health, to the utmost of our abilities, and done honour to our species, by the constant exercise of uprightness, candour and benignity, may we close the scene in full possession of all that deserves the name of human felicity."

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*An Account of the Indians of Porto de la Trinidad, in 41. N. Lat. on the N. W. Coast of America, from the Spanish Journal by Don Francisco Maurelle, of a voyage in 1775, to explore the Coast of America, Northwards of California, translated by the Hon. Daines Barrington. From Barrington's Miscellanies.*

ON the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1775, we had fixed every thing with regard to our anchorage, and we determined to take possession of the country, upon the top of a high mountain, which lyes at the entrance of the port. For this purpose our crews divided into dif-

ferent parties, which were properly posted, so that thereft might proceed without any danger of an attack. We moreover placed centinels at a considerable distance to reconnoitre the paths used by the Indians, who possessed themselves of those parts from which we had most to fear. With these precautions the crews marched in two bodies, who adored the holy cross upon disembarking, and when at the top of the mountain formed a square, the centre of which became a chapel. Here the holy cross was again raised, mass celebrated, with a sermon, and possession taken, with all the requisites enjoyed by our instructions. We also fired both our musquetry and cannon, which naturally made the Indians suppose we were irresistible. After they had recovered their fright however, and found that we had done them no harm, they visited us again, and probably to examine more nearly what had occasioned the tremendous noise which they had never heard before. As we thus took possession on the day when holy mother church celebrates the festival of the most holy Trinity, we named the port accordingly.

The following days were taken up in procuring wood and water, whilst the schooner was careened. We likewise cut some masts for her.

We could not but particularly attend to all the actions of the Indians, their manner of living, habitations, garments, food, government, laws, language, and arms, as also their hunting and fisheries. The distrust indeed which we naturally entertained of these barbarians, made us endea-



vour to get as great an insight into all these as possible, yet we never observed any thing contrary to the most perfect friendship and confidence which they seemed to repose in us. I may add, that their intercourse with us was not only kind, but affectionate.

Their houses were square, and built with large beams, the roofs being no higher than the surface of the ground, for the doors to which they make use of a circular hole, just large enough for their bodies to pass through. The floors of these huts are perfectly smooth and clean, with a square hole two feet deep in the centre, in which they make their fire, and round which they are continually warming themselves, on account of the great cold. Such habitations also secure them, when not employed out of doors, from the wind and noxious animals.

The men however do not wear any covering, except the cold is intense, when indeed they put upon their shoulders the skins of sea-wolves, otters, deer, or other animals: many of them also have round their heads sweet-smelling herbs. They likewise wear their hair either dishevelled over their shoulders, or otherwise *en castanna*.

In the flaps of their ears they have rings like those at the end of a musquet.

They bind their loins and legs quite down to the ancles, very closely, with stripes of hide or thread.

They paint their face, and greater part of their body, regularly either with a black or blue colour.

Their arms are covered with

circles of small points in the same manner that common people in Spain often paint ships and anchors.

The women cover the tops of their heads with an ornament like the crest of a helmet, and wear their hair in two tresses, in which they stick many sweet-smelling herbs. They also use the same rings in their caps (which are of bone) as the men are before described to do, and cover their bodies with the same skins, besides which they more decently wear an apron of the same kind, about a foot wide, with some threads formed into a fringe. They likewise bind their legs in the same manner with the men.

The underlip of these women is swelled out into three *fascias*, or risings, two of which issue from the corners of the mouth to the lowest part of the beard, and the third from the highest point, and middle of that point to the lower, like the others, leaving between each a space of clear flesh, which is much larger in the young than in the older women, whose faces are generally covered with punctures, so as to be totally disfigured.

On their necks they wear various fruits, instead of beads; some of these ornaments also consist of the bones of animals, or shells from the sea-coast.

This tribe of Indians is governed by a ruler, who directs where they shall go both to hunt and fish for what the community stands in need of. We also observed that one of these Indians always examined carefully the sea-shore, when we went to our ships on the close of twilight, the occasion of



which probably was to take care that all their people should return safe to their habitations about that time.

It should seem that the authority of this ruler is confined to a particular village of these habitations, together with such a district of country as may be supposed to belong to the inhabitants of such a community, who sometimes are at war with other villages, against whom they appeared to ask our assistance, making us signs for that purpose. There are however many other villages which are friendly to each other, if not to these Indians; for on our first arrival more than 300 came down in different parties, with their women and children, who were not indeed permitted to enter the village of our Indians.

Whilst this sort of intercourse continued between us, we observed an infant who could scarcely be a year old, shooting arrows from a bow proportioned to his size and strength, and who hit one's hand at two or three yards distance, if it was held up for a mark.

We never observed that these Indians had any idols, or made sacrifices: but as we found out that they had a plurality of wives, or women, at least, we inferred, *with good reason, that they were perfect atheists.*

Upon the death of one of these Indians they raised a sort of funeral cry, and afterwards burned the body within the house of their ruler; but from this we could not pronounce they were idolaters, because the cry of lamentation might proceed from affliction, and the body might have been burnt, that the corps should not be ex-

posed to wild beasts; or perhaps this might have been done, to avoid the stench of the deceased, when putrefaction might commence.

We were not able to understand one of their regulations, as they permitted our people to enter all their houses, except that of their ruler; and yet when we had broken through this etiquette, we could not observe any thing different between the *palace*, and the other huts.

It was impossible for us to understand their language, for which reason we had no intercourse but by signs, and therefore both parties often continued in a total ignorance of each other's meaning: we observed however that they pronounced our words with great ease.

Their arms are chiefly arrows pointed with flint, and some of them with copper or iron, which we understood were procured from the N, and one of these was thus marked C<sub>1</sub>. These arrows are carried in quivers of wood or bone, and hang from their wrist or neck.

But what they chiefly value is iron, and particularly knives or hoops of old barrels; they also readily barter for bugles, whilst they rejected both provisions or any article of dress. They pretended however that they sometimes approved the former, in order to procure our esteem; but soon after they had accepted any sort of meat, we observed that they set it aside, as of no value. At last indeed they took kindly to our biscuits and really eat them.

Amongst these Indians there was one who had more familiar inter-



intercourse with us than all the rest, sitting down with us in sight of his countrymen.

They used tobacco, which they smoked in small wooden pipes, in form of a trumpet, and procured from little gardens where they had planted it.

They chiefly hunt deer, cibullos, sea-wolves, and otters, nor did we observe that they pursued any others. The only birds we met with on this part of the coast were daws, hawks, very small paroquets, ducks and gulls; there were also some parrots with red feet, bills, and breasts, like lorries both in their heads and flight.

The fish on that coast are chiefly sardines, pejeray, and cod; of which they only bring home as much as will satisfy the wants of the day.

We tried to find if they had ever seen other strangers, or ships, than our own, but though we took great pains to inform ourselves on this head, we never could perfectly comprehend what they said; upon the whole we conceived that we were the only foreigners who had ever visited that part of the coast.

We likewise endeavoured to know from them whether they had any mines or precious stones; but in this we were likewise disappointed.

What we saw of the country leaves us no doubt of its fertility, and that it is capable of producing all the plants of Europe. In most of the gullies of the hills there are rills of clear and cool water, the sides of which are covered with herbs (as in the meadows of Europe) of both agree-

able verdure and smell. Amongst these were Castilian roses, smallage, lilies, plantain, thistles, camomile, and many others. We likewise found strawberries, raspberries, blackberries, sweet onions, and potatoes, all which grew in considerable abundance, and particularly near the rills. Amongst other plants we observed one which much resembled percelly (though not in its smell), which the Indians bruised and eat, after mixing it with onions.

The hills were covered with very large, high, and strait pines, amongst which I observed some of 120 feet high, and 4 feet in diameter towards the bottom.

All these pines are proper for masts and ship-building.

The outline of the port is represented in Chart the 6th, which was drawn by D. Bruno Heceta, D. Juan Fr. de la Bodega, and myself. Though the port is there represented as open, yet it is to be understood that the harbour is well sheltered from the S. W. W. & N. W. as also from the N. N. E. and E†.

[This discovery was made by the schooner on the 9th of June.]

In the W. part there is a hill 50 fathoms high, joining to the continent on the N. side, where there is another rising of 20, both of which afford protection not only from the winds, but the attack of an enemy.

At the entrance of the port is a small island of considerable height, without a single plant upon it; and on the sides of the coast are high rocks, which are very convenient for disembarking;

† These charts, which amount to nine, have never been transmitted to England.



goods also may be shipped so near the hill, that a ladder may be used from the land to the vessel; and near the sand are many small rocks, which secure the ship at anchor from the S. E. and S. W.

We compleated our watering very early from the number of rills which emptied themselves into the harbour; we were likewise as soon supplied with wood.

We paid great attention to the tides, and found them to be as regular as in Europe.

We made repeated observations with regard to the latitude of this harbour, and found it was exactly 41 degrees and 7 minutes N. whilst we supposed the Longitude to be 19 degrees and 4 minutes W. of S. Blas.

We had thus thoroughly investigated every thing which relates to this harbour, except the course of a river which came from the S. W. and which appeared whilst we were at the top of the hill. We took therefore the boat on the 18th, and found that the mouth was wider than is necessary for the discharge of the water, which is lost in the sands on each side, so that we could not even enter it except at full tide. However we left our boat, and proceeded a league into the country, whilst the river continued of the same width; viz. 20 feet, and about five deep.

On the banks of this river were larger timber trees than we had before seen, and we conceived that in land-floods the whole plain (which was more than a quarter of a league broad) must be frequently covered with water, as there were many places where it continued to stagnate.

We gave this river the name of

*Pigeons*, because at our first landing we saw large flocks of these, and other birds, some of which had pleasing notes.

On the sides of the mountains we found the same plants and fruits, as in the more immediate neighbourhood of Trinity, harbour.

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*An Account of John Law and of the Mississippi Scheme, projected by him in 1717—from the private Life of Lewis 15th, translated from the French, by J. O. Justamond, F. R. S.*

**J**OHN Law was a Scotchman, the son of a goldsmith of Edinburgh. Never did man possess, in so perfect a degree, the power of calculating and combining; and he cultivated these talents, by following the bent of his inclination. He applied himself to every thing that related to banks, lotteries, and to the trading companies of London; he studied the means of supporting them, of animating the hopes and confidence of the public, by keeping up their expectations, or by increasing their zeal. He penetrated into the inmost secrets of these matters; and increased his stock of knowledge still more, from the new company, established by Harley Earl of Oxford, for paying off the national debt. Having afterwards obtained the employment of secretary to some agent of the resident's in Holland, he made himself acquainted upon the spot with the famous bank of Amsterdam; with its capital, its produce its resources; with the demands individuals had upon it; with its variations, its interest; with the mode



mode of lowering or raising its stock, in order to withdraw the capital, that it might be distributed and circulated; with the order that bank observed in its accounts and in its offices; and even with its expenditures and its form of administration. By dint of reflecting upon the information he had acquired, and of combining so many different ideas, he formed a system which was admirable for its order, and the concatenation of the various operations which constituted it; a system founded at least as much upon the knowledge of the human heart, as upon the science of numbers; but from which good faith, equity, and humanity were totally banished, to make way for perfidy, injustice, violence, and cruelty. And indeed the author of it was himself an unprincipled wretch, bound by no ties of morality or religion. Having slain or murdered a man, he was obliged to fly from Great Britain; he brought away with him another man's wife, with whom he lived many years as if she had been his own. His avidity was insatiable, and it was to gratify this passion, that all his extensive combinations were made to concur. In that exhausted state to which the war had reduced all the European powers, he foresaw that they would necessarily endeavour to re-establish their finances, and he conceived greater hopes of succeeding than ever, by the allurements of his system, which was calculated to seduce any power that would not scruple to prefer the speediest method of exonerating itself, to that which was most honest. The object of his plan,

therefore, was neither trade nor the facility of levying taxes without diminishing them, nor the retrenchment of expences, nor the cultivation of the soil, nor the consumption of provisions, nor even the circulation of the specie. He had built up his system with a view that a sovereign should pay his debts, not only without encroaching upon his profusion or his luxury, but also by attracting to himself all the gold and silver of his subjects; and such was to be the illusion, that the subjects should give it up voluntarily; nay more, should be eager to bring it in, should insist upon its being received, should consider it as a favour to be preferred; and that when they were roused from this dream, if they should find themselves bereft of their property, they should not be able to lay the blame on any thing but their own avidity. A project of a most alarming nature to the human mind, and which every other man, except this daring genius, would have rejected as a chimera, if it had suggested itself to him!

This system consisted of a bank, the real capital of which was to be the revenues of the state, and the accruing capital, some unknown kind of commerce. This benefit being calculated to keep pace with the imagination in its increase, was to be a wonderful spur to those gamblers who wished to partake of it, by means of shares which were to be made out successively, in proportion to the eagerness of the parties.

These shares, in fact, which were at first few in number, could not fail of rising to an enormous price, on account of their scarcity,  
and



and the rapidity of the circulation; this would not only facilitate, but even necessitate the making of other shares, and at an advanced premium.

This new paper, bringing the old into discredit, would furnish an excellent mode of distributing it; because the old paper would be received at par, but always with a certain proportion of money.

In order to engage persons to get rid of this old paper, the value of it was to be made uncertain by frequent fluctuations; thus the possessors of it would be apprehensive that it might become of no value in their hands: when it should be raised, one would readily convert it into shares, to secure the advantage; and when it should be lowered, one would fear that it should become lower still.

The bank, on the contrary, were to make all their payments in bills, whose value being inviolable, would keep up the confidence in them, and would render them more negotiable, and preferable to specie.

The discredit brought upon money would lower the interest of it, and the prince was to avail himself of this reduction to make his loans, and thus discharge part of his debts, without any disbursement; for the individuals, not knowing what to do with it, would bring it back to him.

If the individuals wished to lay out their money in more solid acquisitions, lands, provisions, and merchandize would increase, and consequently so would the receipt of the taxes and the customs.

This phantom of fortune dazzling the eyes of every one, the several classes of citizens, in their

eagerness for partaking of it, would interest themselves in the keeping up of the bank so much the more; as a number of individuals either more fortunate or more dexterous, necessarily making enormous profits, would excite the general cupidity, nearly in the same manner as the highest prize in a lottery, keeps up the hopes of the adventurers, of whom the greater part must nevertheless be losers. Now, what sort of competition would there not be in this instance, where every one would be certain of winning, by increasing the dividends à propos?

Let this illusion be kept up only for a few years, and the sovereign will have paid off all his debts, and will have drawn into his coffers, the greatest part of the specie of his own, and even of other kingdoms.

Such were the axioms and the corollaries of Law's system: an infernal theory, deduced certainly from facts, and which he had never ventured to consider coolly in all its horror: let us say more, a theory that was not even to be conceived; but the regent and he, hurried away, in spite of themselves, by the rapid motion of this political machine, were obliged to yield to its impulse, till it broke to pieces by its own efforts.

However this may be, the author of this plan, whether more or less digested with respect to its consequences, perceiving that it could not be carried into execution in any state, except where the sovereign enjoyed absolute authority, considered France as the kingdom most fit for his design. Besides, he knew the people; that they



they were fond of novelty, that they adopted it without consideration, and gave themselves up to it with a kind of frenzy. It has been asserted, that he first proposed his system to Lewis XIV. who, notwithstanding his being in want of such a scheme, upon the bare exposition of it, rejected it with a kind of abhorrence. The author was not disconcerted, but produced it again to the Duke of Orleans. That prince, more determined, more enterprising, and certainly less scrupulous, considered it as very useful to his views; he was moreover pressed by circumstances; he wished to avail himself of the short time he had to govern, to remedy the evils of the state, which required a necessary crisis. He therefore adopted this system; he would not allow himself to think of the violent convulsion into which he was going to throw the state, and flattered himself, that his genius would be able to put a stop to its effects, whenever they should become too fatal. Nevertheless, as he was not the absolute master, and that he was obliged to act with a great deal of caution, he adopted it only slowly, and by degrees.

At first he contented himself with permitting Law to establish a bank, in order to accustom the people by degrees to such a title, and to such an establishment. It was presented under an appearance of public utility, and it would really have been attended with very great advantages, if it had been confined to the functions specified in the edict which set it on foot.

The year following, in order

to give this bank a credit, which was to be answerable to the more extensive undertakings it was to embrace, a decree of council was issued, which ordered all those who had the management of the royal treasure, to receive and even to discharge the bills without discount. By this decree, full of artifice, under the appearance of simplicity, the bank was made the repository of all the revenues of the king. This was the first step towards that ideal fortune it was to make: it immediately fixed the interest at seven and an half per cent.

Some time after, a trading company was created, under the title of the *Western or Mississippi Company*. Its object was the planting and culture of the French colonies of North America. The king gave to this company all the lands of Louisiana, and permitted French, as well as foreigners, to be concerned in it, by taking shares of it, part of the value of which might be furnished in bills of state, which lost from fifty to sixty per cent. upon the spot. How was it possible to resist such a bait, more especially as the country was represented as a Peru, more fertile in gold than that of the Spaniards! Even the parliament was taken in, and made no scruple of registering. They yet saw nothing in this, but what might be useful to the state.

In 1718, the bank made further advances. It was announced under the title of *Bank Royal*, by a declaration of his majesty, which signified, that the king had reimbursed in money the capitals of those persons who had shares in the bank, which they had only paid



paid in bills of state, and that these capitals had been converted into shares of the Western company; and in a word, that the king was become sole proprietor of all the shares of the bank. Mr. Law was appointed director to it, under the authority of his majesty and the orders of the regent.

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*An Account of the Chevalier d'Eon.  
From the same.*

**T**HIS Chevalier d'Eon, who has since been transformed into a woman, and who probably partakes of both sexes, deserves to be more particularly known. She relates her history in the following manner:—Born at Tonnerre, Mademoiselle d'Eon, a lady according to her own confession, was in the tenderest age endowed with a prudence capable of seconding the political views of her parents, who made her pass for a boy. She was sent to Paris, and placed at the College Mazarin, where we may conceive how much disgust, labour, and fatigue, she must have experienced, to go through the several exercises of body and mind, without betraying the secrets of her sex, which was never suspected. To the study of the Belles Lettres, succeeded that of the laws. She was received Doctor in Civil, then in Canon, Law, and afterwards counsellor. Already known by several works, she had an opportunity of introducing herself to the Prince of Conti, who honoured her family with a particular protection. Russia was then at variance with France, it was an important matter to reconcile these two courts:

a mysterious agent was wanted without a title, and yet capable of insinuation, and of fulfilling the delicate commission he was to be charged with. The Prince of Conti thought he had found in Mademoiselle d'Eon all the necessary qualifications, and proposed her to Lewis XV. who was fond of such mysteries. He readily accepted the female negotiator; who upon her approach to Peterbourg, assumed the dress of her real sex, and succeeded so well in her business, that his majesty was pleased to send her a second time into Russia, with the Chevalier Douglas. She had then resumed her manly dress, and went through this second character with still more finesse, since it is affirmed, that she was not even discovered by the empress. The aim of her negotiations was, to determine Russia to form an alliance with the courts of Vienna and Versailles, rather than with Prussia. When the treaty was signed, Mademoiselle d'Eon was commissioned to carry the news to the king. She broke her leg upon the road. This accident however, did not stop her, and she arrived at Versailles six-and-thirty hours before the courier who had been dispatched from Vienna at the instant of her departure. The king, delighted, ordered his surgeon to take particular care of Mademoiselle d'Eon, and gave her a lieutenancy of dragoons, which she desired. She served in the last campaigns, then re-entered the career of politics, and was sent secretary of an embassy to London, where she made herself so agreeable to that court, that his Britannic majesty, contrary to custom,



custom, chose her to carry to Versailles, and to the Duke of Bedford his ambassador at Paris, the ratification of the treaty of peace concluded between the two nations. It was upon this occasion, that the king gave her the cross of Saint Louis. He had already bestowed two pensions upon her. It must indeed be acknowledged, that she is the most extraordinary person of the age. We have several times seen women metamorphosed into men, and doing their duty in the war; but we have seen no one who has united so many military, political, and literary talents.

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*Character of the French. From  
Sherlock's Letters.*

“**A** Frenchman,” says the Earl of Chesterfield, “who, with a fund of learning, virtue, and good sense, has the manners and good-breeding of his country, is the perfection of human nature.” I am not an enemy to the French; but I do not think this assertion true. In my opinion, the following would have been juster: *An Englishman, who joins manners and good-breeding to the solidity, energy, and greatness of mind, which characterize his country, is the perfection of human nature.* I do not mean to compliment. But sentiments and actions are upon a more elevated scale here than can be found in any other nation in the world. There are no effects without causes; and the causes of this are very obvious. We pass our youth with the Greeks and Romans. Their great examples expand our souls; the brightness

of their actions, and the splendour of their principles, kindle the most noble passions in our minds; and, when we come to be men, the nature of our government feeds this flame, and we glow with a certain internal ardour, which occasionally breaks out into action, and which is neither known nor comprehended but in the dominions of Britain.

I do justice here to my country; and my soul feels happy, that I am able to give her, with truth, a superiority over the universe in genius and magnanimity. But if from this I shall be understood to think meanly of the French, because they are the rivals and enemies of this nation, it would indeed be to misinterpret me much. Though I do not think that people *equal* to this in *greatness*, I think them a very great people. And if the English are superior to the French in all the more elevated qualities which dignify and ennoble humanity; so the French surpass the English in all the milder and gentler virtues, which grace and adorn it.

In England the French have few friends. But they have *one*; and *that* one am I. They could not, I acknowledge, have a feebler advocate; but while I have a tongue to speak, or a pen to write, wherever I go I'll do them justice.

Let every man who *knows* that nation speak of it as he found it; if he lived in their intimacy for years (as I did), and if he found them ill-natured, ill-mannered, treacherous, and cowardly, let him speak his mind. I quarrel with no man who judges for himself, and who speaks the truth.

But



But let the indulgence I grant, be granted to me again ; and let me be permitted to tell the world, that, however other men may have found them, I found them good-humoured, good-natured, brave, polished, frank and friendly.

They *were* my friends faithful and just to me ;

But Brutus says they are *perfidious* ;

And Brutus is an honourable man.

I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke;

But here I am to *speak what I do know*.

I found them all animated with a desire to please, and always ready to do me every service in their power. I owe them a thousand obligations. I had faults ; they corrected them : I wanted knowledge ; they informed me : I was rough ; they softened me : I was sick ; they visited me : I was vain ; they flattered me : I had need of counsel ; they gave me the best advice : every man has need of agreeable company, and every man may be sure to find it in France.

I could be lavish in praise of this nation ; but I am sorry to say, that too many people here have prejudices against them, as ridiculous as they are ill-founded. They *despise* the French as if they were beings without either sense or sentiment ; though their writings and actions shew they are full of both. Because two states have different interests, is *that* a reason that every individual belonging to those states should promote, to the utmost of his abilities, the interest and glory of the country to which he belongs ? It certainly is. And *therefore*, every Frenchman has the same merit in labouring with all his might for the destruction of

the British fleet, that every Englishman has in exerting all *his* powers to annihilate the navy of France. If a blast of *my* breath could send all the ships she has to the bottom of the sea—Puff—They were sunk, before you could finish this period. But is it a reason I should hate or despise the French, because I am naturally and necessarily the enemy of France ?

The best way I think to judge this matter is to take two other rival nations ; Austria and Prussia ; Athens and Sparta. Here you are dispassionate ; your judgment will be just. Do you think it the duty of a liberal-minded Prussian to despise an Austrian ? Or, should a well-born Athenian detest a Lacedæmonian, because he is equally animated by the same noble flame that warms himself, the love of his country ? The nation which is able to rival another, proves herself worthy the admiration of that nation even by her rivalry ; and had I no other reason to consider the French as a great people, beside their being able to contend with England, that proof for *me* would be sufficient.

But the French are *perfidious in politics*. I deny that they *can* be perfidious with the English. They may be treacherous, for aught I know, with the Austrians and the Spaniards. There they profess friendship. They are of the same religion, frequently intermarry, and have frequent alliances. With England France has no connection. She may overreach her in politics ; but she never can deceive her by perfidy ; because she is her uniform enemy. There is not an infant that does

not



not know, that France ever was, and ever will be, the enemy of England. The making a peace is not making a friendship; and the French will not be more the friends of England when this peace is made, than they were five years before the war began; or than they are now. The rivalry between the two nations will last while the nations last. They are *littora littoribus contraria*, opposite in every thing. It is the duty of France to depress England as much as she can. It is the duty of England to keep down France as much as is in her power. It is the duty of both to do justice to the other. This justice the French *do* render the English. I am sorry I cannot say the English do the same by them. Every class of men in France praise the people of this country: some, the solidity of their understanding, and the extent of their genius; others, the energy and vigour of their character; many, their magnanimity and benevolence; and all, their courage and good faith. While here—but I blush for numbers, and am ashamed to finish my period.

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*Character of the French Ladies compared with that of the English. From the same.*

**W**OMEN are a subject upon which so much has been said and written by so many men of abilities, that it is not easy to imagine a new light to shew them in; or to place them in an attitude, in which they have not been already placed. But, talking of a nation, if one did not

say something about so considerable a part of it, the subject must appear mutilated and imperfect.

*As brevity is the soul of wit, I shall be brief;* and I shall only touch on the principal points in which the women of France differ from those of other countries.

When a French lady comes into a room, the first thing that strikes you is, that she walks better, holds herself better, has her head and feet better dressed, her cloaths better fancied, and better put on, than any woman you have ever seen.

When she talks, she is the art of pleasing personified. Her eyes, her lips, her words, her gestures, are all prepossessing. Her language is the language of amiableness; her accents are the accents of grace. She embellishes a trifle; she interests upon a nothing; she softens a contradiction; she takes off the insipidness of a compliment by turning it elegantly; and, when she has a mind, she sharpens and polishes the point of an epigram better than all the women in the world.

Her eyes sparkle with spirit; the most delightful sallies flash from her fancy; in telling a story, she is inimitable; the motions of her body, and the accents of her tongue, are equally genteel and easy; an equable flow of softened sprightliness keeps her constantly good-humoured and cheerful; and the only objects of her life are to please and to be pleased.

Her vivacity may *sometimes* approach to folly; but perhaps it is not in her moments of folly she is least interesting and agreeable. English women have many points of superiority over the French; the



the French are superior to them in many others. I have mentioned some of those points in other places. Here I shall only say, there is a particular idea in which no woman in the world can compare with a French-woman; it is in the power of *intellectual irritation*. She will draw wit out of a fool. She strikes with such address the cords of self-love, that she gives unexpected vigour and agility to fancy; and electrifies a body that appeared non-electric.

I have mentioned here the women of England; and I have done wrong. I did not intend it when I began the letter. They came into my mind as the *only* women in the world worthy of being compared with those of France. To settle the respective claims of the fair sex in those two countries, requires an abler pen than mine. I shall not dare to examine it even in a single point; nor presume to determine whether, in the important article of beauty, form and colour are to be preferred to expression and grace, or whether grace and expression are to be considered as preferable to complexion and shape. I shall not examine whether the *piquant* of France is to be thought superior to the *touchant* of England; or whether deep sensibility deserves to be preferred to animation and wit. So important a subject requires a volume. I shall only venture to give a trait. If a goddess could be supposed to be formed, compounded of Juno and Minerva, that goddess would be the emblem of the women of this country. Venus, as she is, with all her amiable-nesses and imperfections, may

stand justly enough, for an emblem of French women. I have decided the question without intending it; for I have given the preference to the women of England.

One point I had forgotten; and it is a material one. It is not to be disputed on; for what I am going to write is the opinion and sentiment of the universe. The English women are the best wives under heaven—and shame be on the men who make them bad husbands!

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*Character of the Italians. From the same.*

**M**EDIOCRITY is rare here; every thing is in extremes. No where is so fine music to be heard; no where (except at the opera of Paris) are the ears so cruelly tortured: the eyes are charmed and tormented alternately by the most superb and most detestable pictures and statues. No citizens; an excessive luxury among individuals; and the people in the most abject misery. It is the same in regard to religion; you will see nothing but a blind superstition or determined atheists. But of all the extremes the most striking are those which are observed in the character of the nation. The Italian, in general, is exceedingly good, or wicked to a degree. There are excellent hearts in this country; but, like the great pictures, they are scarce. Men are born there with strong passions, and, not receiving any education, it is not astonishing that they often commit great crimes. Under a cold exterior



terior they conceal burning hearts, and their exterior is cold only to conceal their hearts. Love, jealousy, and revenge are their ruling passions; as they think only of the sensual part of love, and know well the constitutions of their women, and the wiles of their rivals, their jealousy is always awake, and their revenge is implacable.

As to understanding, it is nearly the same; men of talents form the large class; there are few fools; and middling men are very rare. "Why then, you will ask, do these men produce nothing excellent?" Because they have ungoverned imaginations, and no philosophy; and because good taste has not yet penetrated into their country. And why has not good taste entered Italy? Because Italy has neither a London nor a Paris; and because she never had a Lewis the fourteenth.

Travellers are often mistaken in judging of the Italian, especially the Neapolitan. They think he has no sense, because he wants ideas. A man can have but few ideas when he has never been out of his own country, and when he has read nothing; but examine the Neapolitan on all the subjects with which he is acquainted, and you will see whether he wants natural capacity. He resembles the soil of his own country: a field well tilled in Naples produces the most plentiful crops; neglected, it yields but briars and thistles. It is the same with the genius of the inhabitants; cultivated, it is capable of every thing; untilled, it produces only folly and vice.

*Sketch of the Life and Character of the famous Poet Lope de Vega; from a Book entitled "Letters from an English Traveller in Spain, &c."*

Madrid, August 15, 1778.

**T**HOUGH I perfectly agree with you in opinion, relating to our immortal Shakespeare, yet I cannot refrain from doing that justice to his contemporary Lope de Vega which his most extraordinary talents deserve; I shall therefore attempt to give you the character of this great poet, which is no easy task when his amazing abilities are considered; however, I shall venture to proceed, as this will be the last letter I shall write to you from hence.

Lope Felix de Vega Carpio, born the 25th of November, 1562, was the son of Felix Vega de Carpio, a gentleman of Madrid, who had the reputation of being a very good poet, a turn which he observed with rapture in his child from its infancy, and which the fond parent cherished with the greatest delight. At five years of age young Lope could read Spanish and Latin fluently; and even make verses, which he exchanged with his school-fellows for pictures and other trifles. His father, charmed with this surprising dawn of genius, spared no pains to cultivate a darling plant; that seemed to encourage the most flattering expectations. At the age of twelve, Lope was master of the Latin tongue and the art of rhetoric; could dance and fence with ease and dexterity, and sing with a tolerable taste.—Endowed with these accomplishments, he became



an orphan at his first entrance into the world, with every pressure of distress, and was taken into the service of the bishop of Avila, in whose praise he wrote several pastorals, and made his first dramatic essay, with a comedy entitled *La Pastoral de Jacinto*. He soon after quitted his patron, went to the university of Alcalá, where he studied philosophy, and took a degree, then returned to Madrid, and became secretary to the duke of Alva, who entrusted him with his most weighty concerns. Encouraged by his new Mécenas, he again turned his lyre, and sung his praise in a poem entitled *Arcadia*. About this time he married Dona Isabella de Urbina, a lady of fashion, on account of whose gallantries he soon after fought a duel, and having grievously wounded his antagonist, fled to Valencia, where he lived some years; after which he returned again to Madrid, where losing his wife, he felt himself animated with a military ardour, and repaired to Cadiz to embark on board the great armada, fitting out by Philip the second, against Queen Elizabeth. In this fleet he sailed for Lisbon in company with his brother, a lieutenant in the Spanish navy, who lost his life in that expedition. Our poet had his share of the misfortunes of that disappointed fleet, and appeared at Madrid without a single friend, became secretary to the marquiss of Malpica, and afterwards to the count of Lemos. Though his first marriage was so unsuccessful, he was in hopes of being more fortunate in that state with Dona Juana de Guardia, a lady of rank,

whom he soon after lost. Inconsolable at these repeated afflictions, he entered into the ecclesiastic state, was ordained a priest, and appointed head chaplain to a congregation of priests at Madrid, though he still courted the muses, making this the chief relaxation that softened his sorrows. He was now in the zenith of his poetic glory, and his reputation became so universal, that Pope Urban the eighth sent him the degree of doctor in divinity, and the cross of the order of Malta, added to a lucrative post in the apostolic exchequer, which Lope held to his death, which happened in his seventy-third year, to the great regret of the court, and every learned man in the kingdom. The duke of Sesa, who was his patron and executor, caused him to be interred at his own expence, with such pomp and magnificence as had never been seen before for a private person; the duke invited all the grandees of the kingdom, who attended in person, in token of their concern at the loss of so distinguished a character. The funeral obsequies lasted three days, all the clergy of the king's chapel assisted, three bishops officiated pontifically, and three of the most eloquent orators exerted themselves in praise of the deceased, adding new laurels to the fame of Lope de Vega, with whom, when living, many princes gloried in being acquainted. Pope Urban wrote him a letter in answer to a dedication of his poem in favour of Mary queen of Scots, entitled *Corona tragica de Maria Stuardo*. Cardinal Barbarini held a very intimate correspondence with him, as did  
many



many other cardinals and noblemen, who courted his friendship. When he walked in the streets, he was gazed upon and followed as a prodigy; he was, moreover, loaded with presents, and by the rapid sale of his numerous works, soon amassed a considerable fortune, and acquired a capital of 150,000 ducats, besides his annual income of fifteen hundred ducats, arising out of his benefices and employments, so great was the fertility of his genius, the amazing readiness of his wit and rapidity of thought, added to his animated expression, that perhaps there never was a poet in the world, either ancient or modern, that could be compared to him.—His lyric compositions and fugitive pieces, with his prose essays, form a collection of fifty volumes, besides his dramatic works, which make twenty-six volumes more; exclusive of four hundred scriptural dramatic pieces, called in Spain *Autos Sacramentales*, all which were successively brought on the stage; and what is still more extraordinary, speaking of his printed works, in one of his pastorals to Claudio, he says, they form the least part of what still remained in his closet. It appears from his own authority, that he used constantly to write five sheets a day, which multiplied by the days of his life, would make 133,225 sheets; then reckoning the number of verses corresponding to each sheet, it will appear that, exclusive of prose, he wrote 21,316,000 verses, an unheard of exertion and facility of versification! Our author possessing an inexhaustible fund, which, like the fire of Vesuvius, continually afforded new mat-

ter, and blazed out incessantly. So extraordinary was the rapidity of his genius, he would often finish a play in twenty-four hours, and some comedies in less than five hours, with as much correctness and elegance in his verse, as the most laboured pieces of other writers of his time. Such was the contemporary of Sir Philip Sidney, Shakespeare, and Spencer; in his *Laurel de Apollo* he has celebrated all the good poets of his time, but none were more universally praised from all parts than himself; his surprising faculties were such, that in his dramatic pieces he broke through all rules of art, yet such was his success, that he was constantly the favourite of the public, and drew perpetual bursts of applause.—It was not his fault if his successors had not his talents to conceal their defects, and only imitated his imperfections, rendering the Spanish Drama insupportable when deprived of the beauties of Lope; this was foreseen by Cervantes, who reproaches our poet with destroying the rules of the drama, as laid down by the ancients, in order to court popular applause; to obtain which he lost sight of every idea of nature or good taste, adding, that the probability of fable dwindled in his hands, and was wasted away by the enchanting magic of verse; all unity of time and place was annihilated; his heroes came out of their cradles, and wandered from east or west as lovers or combatants, put on the cowl of monks, died in cloisters, and worked miracles on the stage. The scene is transported from Italy to Flanders, and as easily shifted from Valencia to Mexico. Footmen discourse



like courtiers, princes like bullies, and ladies like chambermaids. The actors appear in legions, often seventy at a time, and close with numerous processions, which are still kept up with us, as well as opening graves, and burying the dead, performing the most awful rites of mortality by way of amusement, which for my part I must own makes my heart recoil at the dismal sight; nor can the most captivating language of Shakspeare overcome my feelings at this glaring indecorum.

So sensible was Lope of the wildness of his imagination, and how wantonly he sported with the confidence of the public, that speaking of himself, he acknowledges his fault in the following words:

Mas ninguno de todos llamar puedo  
Mas bárbaro que yo, pues contra el arte  
Me atrevo a dar preceptos, y me dexo  
Llevar de la vulgar corriente, a donde  
Me llaman ignorante, Italia y Francia.

And again,

Y escribo por el arte, que inventaron  
Lo que el vulgar aplauso pretendieron

Porque como los paga el vulgo, es justo  
Hablarle en necio, para darle gusto.

That is, “that he was sensible of the reproaches Italy and France would make him for breaking through all rules to please the ignorant public, but since it was they that paid for it, they had a right to be pleased in their own way.”

I have now given you both sides of the question, respecting this great man; were I to speak to you of his personal virtues, they are yet superior to his literary talents. His benevolence and charity towards the indigent and distressed was so great, that he always extended his hand to the needy, insomuch that notwithstanding his considerable fortune and income, not more than six thousand ducats were found at his death.—O illustrious bard, if an Englishman is not capable of doing justice to thy poetical numbers, and the harmony of thy verse, accept at least of this tribute to the goodness of thy heart.



# NATURAL HISTORY.

*Natural History and Description of the Tyger-Cat of the Cape of Good Hope, by John Reinhold Forster, L. L. D. F. R. and A. S. from Vol. 71st of the Philosophical Transactions.*

**F**EW tribes of quadrupeds have in Africa more representatives of their different species than that of the cat. The genus of antelopes may perhaps be excepted, since to my knowledge, about twenty different gazels and antelopes are to be met with in Africa; but no more than about eight or nine of the cat tribe have hitherto been discovered on that continent. However, I know about twenty-one different species of this great class; and, I suppose, these by no means exhaust this numerous tribe.

The greater and more numerous the different genera of animals are, the more difficult it must be to the natural historian properly to arrange the whole of such an extensive division of animals, especially if they are not equally well known. To form new genera, in order to dispose and arrange them under, is a remedy which increases the evil instead of curing it. The best method, therefore, which can be devised, is to make great divisions in each genus, comprehending those species which, on account of

some common relation or character, have a greater affinity to one another. The genus of cat, to which the animal belongs we are going to speak of more at large, offers three very easy and natural subdivisions. The first comprehends animals related to the cat tribe, with long hair or manes on their necks; secondly, such as have remarkable long tails without any marks of a mane on their necks; lastly, such as have a brush of hair on the tips of their ears, and shorter tails than the second subdivision. The first might be called in Latin *Feles jubata*; the second subdivision should be named *Ælures*; and the third and last, *Lynxes*. To the first subdivision the lion and the hunting leopard or Indian chittah, belong. The second subdivision consists of the tyger, the panther, the leopard, the ounce, the puma, the jaguar-etc, the jaguara, the ocelot, the gingly of Congo, the Marakaya, the tyger-cat of the Cape or the 'nsussi of Congo, the Tibetan tyger-cat which I saw at Petersburg, the common bush-cat of the Cape; and lastly, the wild cat, and its domestic varieties. To the third division belong the lynx, the caracal, the serval, the bay lynx, and the ghaus of Professor Guldenstedt.



Since it is quite foreign to my purpose to speak of those species which are known already to the naturalist, I confine myself to that species only which hitherto has been imperfectly known to naturalists.

The first notice we had of the Cape cat is, in my opinion, to be met with in Rabat's *Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie occidentale*, tom. I. p. 177. taken as is supposed from Father Carazzi. Labat mentions there the 'nsuffi; a kind of wild cat of the size of a dog, with a coat as much striped and varied as that of a tyger. Its appearance bespeaks cruelty, and its eyes fierceness; but it is cowardly, and gets its prey only by cunning and insidious arts. All these characters are perfectly applicable to the Cape cat, and it seems the animal is found in all parts of Africa, from Congo to the Cape of Good Hope, in an extent of country of about eleven degrees of latitude. Kolbe, in his *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol. II. p. 127. (of the English edition) speaks of a tyger bush-cat, which he describes as the largest of all the wild cats of the Cape countries, and is spotted something like a tyger. A skin of this animal was seen by Mr. Pennant in a furrier's shop in London, who thought it came from the Cape of Good Hope; from this skin Mr. Pennant gave the first description which could be of any utility to a natural historian. All the other authors mention this animal in a vague manner. When I and my son touched the second time at the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1775, an animal of

this species was offered me to purchase; but I refused buying it because it had a broken leg, which made me apprehensive of losing it by death during the passage from the Cape to London. It was very gentle and tame. It was brought in a basket to my apartment, where I kept it above four and twenty hours, which gave me the opportunity of describing it, and of observing its manners and œconomy; as it did to my son that of making a very accurate drawing of it.

After a most minute examination, I found its manners and œconomy perfectly analogous to those of our domestic cats. It ate fresh raw meat, and was very much attached to its feeders and benefactors: though it had broke the fore-leg by accident, it nevertheless was very easy. After it had been several times fed by me, it soon followed me like a tame favourite cat. It liked to be stroked and caressed; it rubbed its head and back always against the person's cloaths who fed it, and desired to be made much of. It purred as our domestic cats do when they are pleased. It had been taken when quite young in the woods, and was not above eight or nine months old; I can, however, positively aver, having seen many skins of full-grown tyger-cats, that it had already very nearly, if not quite, attained its full growth. I was told, that the tyger-cats live in mountainous and woody tracts, and that in their wild state they are very great destroyers of hares, rabbits, yerbuas, young antelopes, lambkins, and of all the feathered tribe.

DESCRIP-



## DESCRIPTIO FELIS CAPENSIS.

Felis cauda sub-elongata, annulata; corpore fulvo, supra maculis virgatis infra orbicularibus, auriculis nigris, macula lunata alba.

*Nfussi*. Labat Ethiopic. occident. tom. I. p. 177.

*Tyger Bosch-katten*. Kolbe Cape of Good Hope, vol. II: p. 127. (Engl. edit.)

*Cape-cat*. Pennant Syn. Quadrup. p. 181. (1st edit.)

*Corpus* magnitudine *Felis Cati sylvestris* vel paulo majus. In genere supra colore pallide fulvo, subtus e cinereo albo, maculis atris.

(*Pili* apice pallide fulvi, basi albi.)

*Capus* *Rostro* magis acuto, quam *F. Cati*, albo; in labio superior prope angulum rictus macula orbiculata, nigra. *Nares* nudæ, atræ. *Myſtaces* plurium ordinum in labio superiore et supra oculos validæ, albæ et fulvæ. *Oculi* figura fere trianguli sphærici, latere anteriore perpendiculari; *Irides* flavæ. *Pupilla* orbicularis, diurna (ne ut in *F. Cato* perpendiculari rima lemniscata.) *Lingua* retrosum aculeata. *Dentis* acuti ut in cogeribus.

*Linea albida* utrinque naso parallela, ad interiora oculorum latera. *Linea nigra* paullulum convergens a cantho anteriore oculorum descendit in nasum; *aliæ duæ nigrae* supra oculos infra convergentes, inque frontem ascendentes; præterea in capite *puncta et lineolæ nigrae* plures sparsæ.

*Auriculæ* amplæ, longitudine fere capitis, ovatæ, suberectæ, *intus* villosæ, ochroleucæ; *extus* ni-

græ, macula lunata, transversa alba. *Margo exterior* sacculo membranaceo nudo, lobato.

*Corpus* ovatum, elegans. *Lineæ atræ* longitudinales quatuor in cervice inter aurium bases orfæ, in *Dorso* interruptæ; *Superiora laterum* obtinent maculæ oblongæ, lineares, obliquæ. *Inferiora laterum* maculis rotundis sparsis. *Abdomen* e cinereo album, maculis rotundis parvis, sparsis, nigris.

*Pedes* omnes superne subfasciati, extremitatibus punctis numerosis, nigris conspersi. *Digit* quinque felini. *Ungues* modici, retractiles, nigri.

*Cauda* attingit basin tarfi, annulis circiter octo vel decem nigris cincta.

## MENSURÆ.

	Unciæ ped. Angl.
Ab apice rostri ad basin caudæ	18
Cauda	8
Caput longum	4
Auriculæ margine exteriori	3
Pedes anteriores a cubito	7
Pedes postici (tarfi scilicet)	4½

*An Account of the Ganges and Burrampooter Rivers. By James Rennell, Esq; F. R. S. communicated by Joseph Banks, Esq. P. R. S. from Vol. LXXI. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

THE Ganges and Burrampooter rivers, together with their numerous branches and adjuncts, intersect the country of Bengal in such a variety of directions, as to form the most complete and easy inland navigation that can be conceived. So equally and admirably diffused are those  
natura



natural canals, over a country that approaches nearly to a perfect plane, that, after excepting the lands contiguous to Burdwan, Birboom, &c. (which all together do not constitute a sixth part of Bengal) we may fairly pronounce, that every other part of the country has, even in the dry season, some navigable stream within 25 miles at farthest, and more commonly within a third part of that distance.

It is supposed, that this inland navigation gives constant employment to 30,000 boatmen. Nor will it be wondered at, when it is known, that all the salt, and a large proportion of the food consumed by ten millions of people, are conveyed by water within the kingdom of Bengal and its dependencies. To these must be added, the transport of the commercial exports and imports, probably to the amount of two millions sterling per annum; the interchange of manufactures and products throughout the whole country; the fisheries; and the article of travelling.

These rivers, which a late ingenious gentleman aptly termed sisters and rivals (he might have said *twin* sisters, from the contiguity of their springs), exactly resemble each other in length of course; in bulk, until they approach the sea; in the smoothness and colour of their waters; in the appearance of their borders and islands; and, finally, in the height to which their floods rise with the periodical rains. Of the two, Burrampooter is the largest; but the difference is not obvious to the eye. They are now well known to derive their

sources from the vast mountains of Thibet; from whence they proceed in opposite directions; the Ganges seeking the plains of Hindoostan (or Indostan) by the west; and the Burrampooter by the east; both pursuing the early part of their course through rugged vallies and defiles, and seldom visiting the habitations of men. The Ganges, after wandering about 750 miles through these mountainous regions, issues forth a deity to the superstitious, yet gladdened, inhabitant of Hindoostan. From Hurdwar (or Hurdoar) in latitude 30°, where it gushes through an opening in the mountains, it flows with a smooth navigable stream through delightful plains during the remainder of its course to the sea (which is about 1350 miles) diffusing plenty immediately by means of its living productions; and secondarily by enriching the adjacent lands, and affording an easy means of transport for the productions of its borders. In a military view, it opens a communication between the different posts, and serves in the capacity of a *military way* through the country; renders unnecessary the forming of magazines; and infinitely surpasses the celebrated inland navigation of North America, where the *carrying places* not only obstruct the progress of an army, but enable the adversary to determine his place and mode of attack with certainty.

In its course through the plains, it receives eleven rivers, some of which are equal to the Rhine, and none smaller than the Thames, besides as many others of lesser note. It is owing to this vast influx



flux of streams, that the Ganges exceeds the Nile so greatly in point of magnitude, whilst the latter exceeds it in length of course by one-third. Indeed the Ganges is inferior in this last respect to many of the northern rivers of Asia; though I am inclined to think that it discharges as much or more water than any of them, because those rivers do not lie within the limits of the periodical rains.

The bed of the Ganges is, as may be supposed, very unequal in point of width. From its first arrival in the plains at Hurdwar, to the conflux of the Jumnah (the first river of note that joins it) its bed is generally from a mile to a mile and a quarter wide; and, compared with the latter part of its course, tolerably straight. From hence, downward, its course becomes more winding, and its bed consequently wider, till, having alternately received the waters of the Gogra, Soane, and Gunduck, besides many smaller streams, its bed has attained its full width; although, during the remaining 600 miles of its course it receives many other principal streams. Within this space it is, in the narrowest parts of its beds, half a mile wide, and in the widest, three miles; and that, in places where no islands intervene. The stream within this bed is always either increasing or decreasing, according to the season. When at its lowest (which happens in April) the principal channel varies from 400 yards to a mile and a quarter; but is commonly about three quarters of a mile.

The Ganges is fordable in some places above the conflux of the Jumnah, but the navigation is

never interrupted. Below that, the channel is of considerable depth, for the additional streams bring a greater accession of depth than width. At 500 miles from the sea, the channel is thirty feet deep when the river is at its lowest; and it continues at least this depth to the sea, where the sudden expansion of the stream deprives it of the force necessary to sweep away the bars of sand and mud thrown across it by the strong southerly winds; so that the principal branch of the Ganges cannot be entered by large vessels.

About 220 miles from the sea (but 300 reckoning the windings of the river) commences the head of the Delta of the Ganges, which is considerably more than twice the area of that of the Nile. The two westernmost branches, named the Cossimbuzar and Jellinghy rivers, unite and form what is afterwards named the Hoogly River, which is the port of Calcutta, and the only branch of the Ganges that is commonly navigated by ships. The Cossimbuzar River is almost dry from October to May; and the Jellinghy River (although a stream runs in it the whole year) is in some years unnavigable during two or three of the driest months; so that the only subordinate branch of the Ganges, that is at all times navigable, is the Chundagh River, which separates at Moddapour, and terminates in the Hooringotta.

That part of the Delta bordering on the sea, is composed of a labyrinth of rivers and creeks, all of which are salt, except those that immediately communicate with the principal arm of the Ganges. This tract, known by the



the name of the Woods, or Sunderbunds, is in extent equal to the principality of Wales; and is so completely enveloped in woods, and infested with tygers, that if any attempts have ever been made to clear it (as is reported) they have hitherto miscarried. Its numerous canals are so disposed as to form a compleat inland navigation throughout and across the lower part of the Delta, without either the delay of going round the head of it, or the hazard of putting to sea. Here salt, in quantities equal to the whole consumption of Bengal and its dependencies, is made and transported with equal facility: and here also is found an inexhaustible store of timber for boat-building. The breadth of the lower part of this Delta is upwards of 180 miles; to which, if we add that of the two branches of the river that bound it, we shall have about 200 miles for the distance to which the Ganges expands its branches at its junction with the sea.

It has been observed before, that the course of this river, from Hurdwar to the sea, is through an uniform plain, or, at least, what appears such to the eye: for the declivity is much too small to be perceptible. A section of the ground, parallel to one of its branches, in length 60 miles, was taken by order of Mr. Hastings; and it was found to have about nine inches descent in each mile, reckoning in a straight line, and allowance being made for the curvature of the earth. But the windings of the river were so great as to reduce the declivity on which the water ran, to less than four inches per mile; and by a compa-

risson of the velocity of the stream at the place of experiment with that in other places, I have no reason to suppose, that its general descent exceeds it.

The medium rate of motion of the Ganges is less than three miles an hour in the dry months. In the wet season, and during the draining off of the waters from the inundated lands, the current runs from five to six miles an hour; but there are instances of its running seven, and even eight miles, in particular situations, and under certain circumstances. I have an experiment of my own on record, in which my boat was carried 56 miles in eight hours, and that against so strong a wind, that the boat had evidently no progressive motion through the water.

When we consider, that the velocity of the stream is three miles in one season, and five or more in the other, on the same descent of four inches per mile; and, that the motion of the inundation is only half a mile per hour, on a much greater descent; no further proof is required how small the proportion of velocity is, that the descent communicates. It is then, to the impetus originating at the spring head, or at the place where adventitious waters are poured in, and successively communicated to every part of the stream, that we are principally to attribute the velocity, which is greater or lesser, according to the quantity of water poured in.

In common, there is found on one side of the river an almost perpendicular bank, more or less elevated above the stream, according to the season, and with deep water near it: and on the opposite side a bank,



bank, shelving away so gradually as to occasion shallow water at some distance from the margin. This is more particularly the case in the most winding parts of the river, because the very operation of winding produces the steep and shelving banks: for the current is always strongest on the external side of the curve formed by the serpentine course of the river; and its continual action on the banks either undermines them, or washes them down. In places where the current is remarkably rapid, or the soil uncommonly loose, such tracts of land are swept away in the course of one season, as would astonish those who have not been eye-witnesses to the magnitude and force of the mighty streams occasioned by the periodical rains of the tropical regions. This necessarily produces a gradual change in the course of the river; what is lost on one side being gained on the other, by the mere operation of the stream: for the fallen pieces of the bank dissolve quickly into muddy sand, which is hurried away by the current along the border of the channel to the point from whence the river runs off to form the next reach, where the stream growing weak, it finds a resting place, and helps to form a shelving bank, which commences at the point, and extends downwards, along the side of the succeeding reach.

To account for the slackness of the current at the point, it is necessary to observe, that the strongest part of it, instead of turning short round the point, preserves for some time the direction given it by the last steep bank, and is accordingly thrown obliquely

across the bed of the river to the bay on the opposite side, and pursues its course along it, till the intervention of another point again obliges it to change sides.

In those few parts of the river that are straight, the banks undergo the least alteration, as the current runs parallel to them; but the least inflection of course has the effect of throwing the current against the bank; and if this happens in a part where the soil is composed of loose sand, it produces in time a serpentine winding.

It is evident, that the repeated additions made to the shelving bank before mentioned, become in time an encroachment on the channel of the river; and this is again counter-balanced by the depredations made on the opposite steep bank, the fragments of which either bring about a repetition of the circumstances above recited, or form a bank or shallow in the midst of the channel. Thus a steep and a shelving bank are alternately formed in the crooked parts of the river (the steep one being the *indented* side, and the shelving one the *projecting*); and thus, a continual fluctuation of course is induced in all the winding parts of the river; each meander having a perpetual tendency to deviate more and more from the line of the general course of the river, by eating deeper into bays, and at the same time adding to the points, till either the opposite bays meet, or the stream breaks through the narrow isthmus, and restores a temporary straightness to the channel.

Several of the windings of the Ganges and its branches are fast approach-



approaching to this state ; and in others, it actually exists at present. The experience of these changes should operate against attempting canals of any length, in the higher parts of the country ; and I much doubt, if any in the lower parts would long continue navigable. During eleven years of my residence in Bengal, the outlet or head of the Jellinghy River was gradually removed three quarters of a mile farther down : and by two surveys of a part of the adjacent bank of the Ganges, taken about the distance of nine years from each other, it appeared that the breadth of an English mile and a half had been taken away. This is, however, the most rapid change that I have noticed ; a mile in ten or twelve years being the usual rate of encroachment, in places where the current strikes with the greatest force, namely, where two adjoining reaches approach nearest to a right angle. In such situations it not unfrequently excavates gulfs of considerable length within the bank. These gulfs are in the direction of the strongest parts of the stream ; and are, in fact, the *young shoots* (if I may so express myself) which in time strike out and become branches of the river ; for we generally find them at those turnings that have the smallest angles.

Two causes, widely different from each other, occasion the meandering courses of rivers ; the one, the irregularity of the ground through which they run, which obliges them to wander in quest of a declivity ; the other, the looseness of the soil, which yields to the friction of the border of the stream. The meanders in the first

case, are, of course, as digressive and irregular as the surface they are projected on : but, in the latter, they are so far reducible to rule, that rivers of unequal bulk will, under similar circumstances, take a circuit to wind in, whose extent is in proportion to their respective breadths: For I have observed, that when a branch of the Ganges is fallen so low as to occupy only a part of its bed, it no longer continues in the line of its old course ; but works itself a new channel, which winds from side to side across the former one. I have observed too, that in two streams of equal size, that which has the slowest current has also the smallest windings : for as these (in the present case) are solely owing to the depredations made on the banks by the force of the current ; so the extent of these depredations, or in other words, the dimensions of the windings, will be determined by the degree of force acting on the banks.

The windings of the Ganges in the plains, are, doubtless, owing to the looseness of the soil : and (I think) the proof of it is, that they are perpetually changing ; which those, originally induced by an inequality of surface, can seldom, or never do.

I can easily suppose, that if the Ganges was turned into a straight canal, cut through the ground it now traverses in the most winding parts of its course, its straightness would be of short duration. Some yielding part of the bank, or that which happened to be the most strongly acted on, would first be corroded or dissolved : thus a bay or cavity would be formed in the side of the bank. This begets an inflection



inflection of the current, which, falling obliquely on the side of the bay, corrodes it incessantly. When the current has passed the innermost part of the bay, it receives a new direction, and is thrown obliquely towards the opposite side of the canal, depositing in its way the matter excavated from the bay, and which begins to form a shallow or bank contiguous to the border of the canal. Here then is the origin of such windings as owe their existence to the nature of the soil. The bay, so corroded, in time becomes large enough to give a new direction to the body of the canal: and the matter excavated from the bay is so disposed as to assist in throwing the current against the opposite bank, where a process, similar to that I have been describing, will be begun.

The action of the current on the bank will also have the effect of deepening the border of the channel near it; and this again increases the velocity of the current in that part. Thus would the canal gradually take a new form, till it became what the river now is. Even when the windings have lessened the descent one half, we still find the current too powerful for the banks to withstand it.

There are not wanting instances of a total change of course in some of the Bengal rivers. The Cosa River (equal to the Rhine) once ran by Purneah, and joined the Ganges opposite Rajemal. Its junction is now 45 miles higher up. Gour, the ancient capital of Bengal, stood on the banks of Ganges.

Appearances favour very strongly the opinion, that the Ganges had its former bed in the tract now

occupied by the lakes and morasses, between Nattore and Jaffiergunge, striking out of its present course at Bauleah, and passing by Pootyah. With an equal degree of probability (favoured by tradition) we may trace its supposed course by Dacca, to a junction with the Burrampooter or Megna near Fringybazur; where the accumulation of two such mighty streams probably scooped out the present amazing bed of the Megna.

In tracing the sea coast of the Delta, we find no less than eight openings; each of which, without hesitation, one pronounces to have been in its time the principal mouth of the Ganges. Nor is the occasional deviation of the principal branch, probably, the only cause of fluctuation in the dimensions of the Delta. One observes, that the Deltas of capital rivers, (the tropical ones particularly) encroach upon the sea. Now, is not this owing to the mud and sand brought down by the rivers, and gradually deposited, from the remotest ages down to the present time? The rivers, we know, are loaded with mud and sand at their entrance into the sea; and we also know, that the sea recovers its transparency at the distance of twenty leagues from the coast; which can only arise from the waters having precipitated their earthy particles within that space. The sand and mud banks at this time, extend twenty miles off some of the islands in the mouths of the Ganges and Burrampooter; and in many places rise within a few feet of the surface. Some future generation will probably see these banks rise above water, and succeeding



ceeding ones possess and cultivate them ! Next to earthquakes, perhaps the floods of the tropical rivers produce the quickest alterations in the face of our globe. Extensive islands are formed in the channel of the Ganges, during a period far short of that of a man's life ; so that the whole process lies within the compass of his observation. Some of these islands, four or five miles in extent, are formed at the angular turnings of the river, and were originally large sand banks thrown up round the points (in the manner before described) but afterwards insulated by breaches of the river. Others are formed in the straight parts of the river, and in the middle of the stream ; and owe their origin to some obstruction lurking at the bottom. Whether this be the fragments of the river bank ; a large tree swept down from it ; or a sunken boat ; it is sufficient for a foundation : and a heap of sand is quickly collected below it. This accumulates amazingly fast : in the course of a few years it peeps above water, and having now usurped a considerable portion of the channel, the river borrows on each side to supply the deficiency in its bed ; and in such parts of the river we always find steep banks on both sides. Each periodical flood brings an addition of matter to this growing island ; increasing it in height as well as extension, until its top is perfectly on a level with the banks that include it : and at that period of its growth it has mould enough on it for the purposes of cultivation, which is owing to the mud left on it when the waters subside, and is indeed a part of the œconomy

which nature observes in fertilizing the land in general.

Whilst the river is forming new islands in one part, it is sweeping away old ones in other parts. In the progress of this destructive operation, we have opportunities of observing, by means of the sections of the falling bank, the regular distribution of the several strata of sand and earths, lying above one another in the order in which they decrease in gravity. As they can only owe this disposition to the agency of the stream that deposited them, it would appear, that these substances are suspended at different heights in the stream, according to their respective gravities. We never find a stratum of earth under one of sand ; for the muddy particles float nearest the surface. I have counted seven distinct strata in a section of one of these islands. Indeed, not only the islands, but most of the river banks wear the same appearance ; for as the river is always changing its present bed, and verging towards the site of some former one now obliterated, this must necessarily be the case.

As a strong presumptive proof of the wandering of the Ganges from the one side of the Delta to the other, I must observe, that there is no appearance of *virgin* earth between the Tiperah hills on the east, and the province of Burdwan on the west ; nor on the north till we arrive at Dacca and Bauleah. In all the sections of the numerous creeks and rivers in the Delta, nothing appears but sand and black mould in regular strata, till we arrive at the clay that forms the lower part of their beds. There is not any substance so coarse



as gravel either in the Delta or nearer the sea than 400 miles, where a rocky point, a part of the base of the neighbouring hills, projects into the river; but out of the vicinity of the great rivers the soil is either red, yellow, or of a deep brown.

I come now to the particulars of the annual swelling and overflowing of the Ganges.

It appears to owe its increase as much to the rain water that falls in the mountains contiguous to its source, and to the sources of the great northern rivers that fall into it, as to that which falls in the plains of Hindoostan; for it rises fifteen feet and a half out of thirty-two (the sum total of its rising) by the latter end of June: and it is well known, that the rainy season does not begin in most of the flat countries till about that time. In the mountains it begins early in April; and by the latter end of that month, when the rain-water has reached Bengal, the rivers begin to rise, but by very slow degrees; for the increase is only about an inch per day for the first fortnight. It then gradually augments to two and three inches before any quantity of rain falls in the flat countries; and when the rain becomes general, the increase on a medium is five inches per day. By the latter end of July all the lower parts of Bengal, contiguous to the Ganges and Burrampooter, are overflowed, and form an inundation of more than a hundred miles in width; nothing appearing but villages and trees, excepting very rarely the top of an elevated spot (the artificial mound of some deserted village) appearing like an island.

The inundations in Bengal differ from those in Egypt in this particular, that the Nile owes its floods *entirely* to the rain-water that falls in the mountains near its source; but the inundations in Bengal are as much occasioned by the rain that falls there, as by the waters of the Ganges; and as a proof of it, the lands in general are overflowed to a considerable height long before the bed of the river is filled. It must be remarked, that the ground adjacent to the river bank, to the extent of some miles, is considerably higher than the rest of the country, and serves to separate the waters of the inundation from those of the river until it overflows. This high ground is in some seasons covered a foot or more; but the height of the inundation within, varies, of course, according to the irregularities of the ground, and is in some places twelve feet.

Even when the inundation becomes general, the river still shews itself, as well by the grass and reeds on its banks, as by its rapid and muddy stream; for the water of the inundation acquires a blackish hue, by having been so long stagnant among grass and other vegetables: nor does it ever lose this tinge, which is a proof of the predominancy of the rain-water over that of the river; as the slow rate of motion of the inundation (which does not exceed half a mile per hour) is of the remarkable flatness of the country.

There are particular tracts of land, which, from the nature of their culture, and species of productions, require less moisture than others; and yet, by the lowness of their situation, would re-

main



main too long inundated, were they not guarded by dykes or dams, from so copious an inundation as would otherwise happen from the great elevation of the surface of the river above them. These dykes are kept up at an enormous expence; and yet do not always succeed, for want of tenacity in the soil of which they are composed.

During the swollen state of the river, the tide totally loses its effect of counteracting the stream; and in a great measure that of ebbing and flowing, except very near the sea. It is not uncommon for a strong wind, that blows up the river for any continuance, to swell the waters two feet above the ordinary level at that season: and such accidents have occasioned the loss of whole crops of rice. A very tragical event happened at Luckipour in 1763, by a strong gale of wind conspiring with a high spring tide, at a season when the periodical flood was within a foot and a half of its highest pitch. It is said that the waters rose six feet above the ordinary level. Certain it is, that the inhabitants of a considerable district, with their houses and cattle, were totally swept away; and to aggravate their distress, it happened in a part of the country which scarce produces a single tree for a drowning man to escape to.

Embarkations of every kind traverse the inundation: those bound upwards, availing themselves of a direct course and still water, at a season when every stream rushes like a torrent. The wind too, which at this season blows regularly from the south-east, favours their progress; inso-

much, that a voyage, which takes up nine or ten days by the course of the river when confined within its banks, is now effected in six. Husbandry and grazing are both suspended; and the peasant traverses in his boat, those fields which in another season he was wont to plough; happy that the elevated site of the river-banks place the herbage they contain, within his reach, otherwise his cattle must perish.

The following is a table of the gradual increase of the Ganges and its branches, according to observations made at Jellinghy and Dacca.

	At Jellinghy.		At Dacca.	
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
In May it rose	-	6 0	2	4
June - - -	-	9 6	4	6
July - - -	-	12 6	5	6
In the 1st half of Aug.	4	0	1	11
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	32	0	14	3
	<hr/>		<hr/>	

These observations were made in a season, when the waters rose rather higher than usual; so that we may take 31 feet for the medium of the increase.

The inundation is nearly at a stand for some days preceding the middle of August, when it begins to run off; for although great quantities of rain fall in the flat countries, during August and September, yet, by a partial cessation of the rains in the mountains, there happens a deficiency in the supplies necessary to keep up the inundation. The quantity of the daily decrease of the river is nearly in the following proportion: during the latter half of August, and all September, from three to four inches; from September to the end



end of November, it gradually lessens from three inches to an inch and a half; and from November to the latter end of April, it is only half an inch per day at a medium. These proportions must be understood to relate to such parts of the river as are removed from the influence of the tides; of which more will be said by and by. The decrease of the inundation does not always keep pace with that of the river, by reason of the height of the banks; but after the beginning of October, when the rain has nearly ceased, the remainder of the inundation goes off quickly by evaporation, leaving the lands highly manured, and in a state fit to receive the seed, after the simple operation of plowing.

There is a circumstance attending the increase of the Ganges, and which, I believe, is little known or attended to; because few people have made experiments on the heights to which the periodical flood rises in different places. The circumstance I allude to, is, the difference of the quantity of the increase (as expressed in the foregoing table) in places more or less remote from the sea. It is a fact, confirmed by repeated experiments, that from about the place where the tide commences, to the sea, the height of the periodical increase diminishes gradually, until it totally disappears at the point of confluence. Indeed, this is perfectly conformable to the known laws of fluids: the ocean preserves the same level at all seasons (under similar circumstances of tide) and necessarily influences the level of all the waters that communicate with it, unless precipitated in the

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form of a cataract. Could we suppose, for a moment, that the increased column of water, of 31 feet perpendicular, was continued all the way to the sea, by some preternatural agency: whenever that agency was removed, the head of the column would diffuse itself over the ocean, and the remaining parts would follow, from as far back as the influence of the ocean extended; forming a slope, whose perpendicular height would be 31 feet. This is the precise state in which we find it. At the point of junction with the sea, the height is the same in both seasons at equal times of the tide. At Luckipour there is a difference of about six feet between the heights in the different seasons; at Dacca, and places adjacent, 14; and near Cussee, 31 feet. Here then is a regular slope; for the distances between the places bear a proportion to the respective heights. This slope must add to the rapidity of the stream; for, supposing the descent to have been originally four inches per mile, this will increase it to about five and an half. Cussee is about 240 miles from the sea, by the course of the river; and the surface of the river there, during the dry season, is about 80 feet above the level of the sea at high water. Thus far does the ocean manifest its dominion in both seasons: in the one by the ebbing and flowing of its tides; and in the other by depressing the periodical flood, till the surface of it coincides as nearly with its own, as the descent of the channel of the river will admit.

Similar circumstances take place in the Jellinghy, Hoogly, and  
E  
Burram.



Burrampooter Rivers; and, I suppose, in all others that are subject either to periodical or occasional swellings.

Not only does the flood diminish near the sea, but the river banks diminish in the same proportion; so that in the dry season the height of the periodical flood may be known by that of the bank.

I am aware of an objection that may be made to the above solution; which is, that the lowness of the banks in places near the sea, is the true reason why the floods do not attain so considerable a height, as in places farther removed from it, and where the banks are high; for that the river, wanting a bank to confine it, diffuses itself over the surface of the country. In answer to this, I shall observe, that it is proved by experiment, that at any given time, the quantity of the increase in different places, bears a just proportion to the sum total of the increase in each place respectively: or, in other words, that when the river has risen three feet at Dacca, where the whole rising is about 14 feet; it will have risen upwards of six feet and a half at Cuttee, where it rises 31 feet in all.

The quantity of water discharged by the Ganges, in one second of time, during the dry season, is 80,000 cubic feet; but in the place where the experiment was made, the river, when full, has thrice the volume of water in it; and its motion is also accelerated in the proportion of 5 to 3: so that the quantity discharged in a second at that season is 405,000 cubic feet. If we take the medi-

um the whole year through, it will be nearly 180,000 cubic feet in a second.

THE Burrampooter, which has its source from the opposite side of the same mountains that give rise to the Ganges, first takes its course eastward (or directly opposite to that of the Ganges) through the country of Thibet, where it is named Sanpoo or Zanciu, which bears the same interpretation as the Gonga of Hindoostan: namely, the River. The course of it through Thibet, as given by Father Du Halde, and formed into a map by Mr. D'Anville, though sufficiently exact for the purposes of general geography, is not particular enough to ascertain the precise length of its course. After winding with a rapid current through Thibet, it washes the border of the territory of Lassa (in which is the residence of the grand Lama) and then deviating from an east to a south-east course, it approaches within 220 miles of Yunan, the westernmost province of China. Here it appears, as if undetermined whether to attempt a passage to the sea by the Gulf of Siam, or by that of Bengal; but seemingly determining on the latter, it turns suddenly to the west through Assam, and enters Bengal on the north-east. I have not been able to learn the exact place where it changes its name; but as the people of Assam call it Burrampoot, it would appear that it takes this name on its entering Assam. After its entry into Bengal, it makes a circuit round the western point of the Garrow Mountains; and then, altering



altering its course to south, it meets the Ganges about 40 miles from the sea.

Father Du Halde expresses his doubts concerning the course that the Sanpoo takes after leaving Thibet, and only supposes generally that it falls into the gulf of Bengal. M. D'Anville, his geographer, with great reason supposed the Sanpoo and Ava River to be the same: and in this he was justified by the information which his materials afforded him: for the Burrampooter was represented to him, as one of the inferior streams that contributed its waters to the Ganges, and not as its equal or superior; and this was sufficient to direct his researches, after the mouth of the Sanpoo River, to some other quarter. The Ava River, as well from its bulk, as the bent of its course for some hundred miles above its mouth, appeared to him to be a continuation of the river in question: and it was accordingly described as such in his maps, the authority of which was justly esteemed as decisive; and, till the year 1765, the Burrampooter, as a capital river, was unknown in Europe.

On tracing this river in 1765, I was no less surprized, at finding it rather larger than the Ganges, than at its course previous to its entering Bengal. This I found to be from the east; although all the former accounts represented it as from the north: and this unexpected discovery soon led to enquiries, which furnished me with an account of its general course to within a hundred miles of the place where Du Halde left the Sanpoo. I could no longer doubt,

that the Burrampooter and Sanpoo were one and the same river: and to this was added the positive assurances of the Affamers, "That *their* river came from the North-west, through the Bootan mountains." And to place it beyond a doubt, that the Sonpoo River is not the same with the river of Ava, but that this last is the great Nou Kian of Yunan: I have in my possession a manuscript draught of the Ava River, to within 150 miles of the place where Du Halde leaves the Nou Kian, in its course towards Ava; together with very authentic information that this river (named Irabattey by the people of Ava) is navigable from the city of Ava into the province of Yunan in China.

The Burrampooter, during a course of 400 miles through Bengal, bears so intimate a resemblance to the Ganges, except in one particular, that one description may serve for both. The exception I mean is, that, during the last 60 miles before its junction with the Ganges, it forms a stream which is regularly from four to five miles wide, and but for its freshness might pass for an arm of the sea. Common description fails in an attempt to convey an adequate idea of the grandeur of this magnificent object; for,

—Scarce the muse  
Dares stretch her wing o'er this enormous  
mass  
Of rushing water; to whose dread expanse,  
Continuous depth, and wond'rous length  
of course,  
Our floods are rills——  
Thus pouring on, it proudly seeks the deep,  
Whose vanquish'd tide, recoiling from the  
shock,  
Yields to this liquid weight——

THOMSON'S SEASONS.



I have already endeavoured to account for the singular breadth of the Megna, by supposing that the Ganges once joined it where the Iffamutty now does; and that their joint waters scooped out its present bed. The present junction of these two mighty rivers below Luckipour, produces a body of running fresh water, hardly to be equalled in the old hemisphere, and, perhaps, not exceeded in the new. It now forms a gulf interspersed with islands, some of which rival, in size and fertility, our Isle of Wight. The water at ordinary times is hardly brackish at the extremities of these islands; and, in the rainy season, the sea (or at least the surface of it) is perfectly fresh to the distance of many leagues out.

The *Bore* (which is known to be a sudden and abrupt influx of the tide into a river or narrow strait) prevails in the principal branches of the Ganges, and in the Megna; but the Hoogly River, and the passages between the islands and sands situated in the gulf, formed by the confluence of the Ganges and Megna, are more subject to it than the other rivers. This may be owing partly, to their having greater embouchures in proportion to their channels, than the others have, by which means a larger proportion of tide is forced through a passage comparatively smaller; and partly, to there being no capital openings near them, to draw off any considerable portion of the accumulating tide. In the Hoogly or Calcutta River, the *Bore* commences at Hoogly point (the place where the river first contracts itself) and is perceptible above Hoogly

Town; and so quick is its motion, that it hardly employs four hours in travelling from one to the other, although the distance is near 70 miles. At Calcutta, it sometimes occasions an instantaneous rise of five feet: and both here, and in every other part of its track, the boats, on its approach, immediately quit the shore, and make for safety to the middle of the river.

In the channels, between the islands in the mouth of the Megna, &c. the height of the *Bore* is said to exceed twelve feet; and is so terrific in its appearance and dangerous in its consequences, that no boat will venture to pass at spring tide. After the tide is fairly past the islands, no vestige of a *Bore* is seen, which may be owing to the great width of the Megna, in comparison with the passages between the islands; but the effects of it are visible enough by the sudden rising of the tides.

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*Of the Air that has been supposed to come through the Pores of the Skin, and of the Effects of the Perspiration of the Body; from Priestley's Experiments in Natural Philosophy.*

I HAVE sometimes found it necessary, though it is by no means agreeable to me, to correct the mistakes of others on the subject of which I am treating; and I must appropriate this section to that business.

It cannot be thought extraordinary, that when it has been imagined that air is extracted from the most compact bodies, as gold, by means of the air pump, it should be thought to issue from the human



man skin. It was also very natural to imagine, that since *respiration* injures and phlogisticates air, the *perspiration* of the body, sensible and insensible, should do the same; and they who suppose that phlogiston converts common air into fixed air, must of course imagine, that the air contiguous to the skin is continually undergoing this change. Dr. Ingenhousz asserts the former, and Mr. Cruikshank, after Sig. Moscati, the latter. On both these subjects I shall make some animadversions, and likewise a few experiments that I think will be deemed conclusive, on the subject of perspiration, and sufficient to confirm what I have advanced with respect to it in my last volume.

Dr. Ingenhousz not only supposes that air is continually issuing from the human skin; but he took pains to collect it, in a considerable variety of circumstances, of which he has given a particular account, p. 129. This I took the liberty to tell him I had no doubt was a deception; the air that he found not having come from the *skin*, but from the water in which it was plunged: and both the quality of the air that he found, and the circumstances in which he procured it, left me no doubt upon the subject. It was just that mixture of fixed air and partially phlogisticated air, that pump water, which he recommends for the purpose, generally abounds with. The bubbles of air rising and swelling at the same part of the skin, is by no means any proof that the air came from the skin: for that is always the case with air issuing from water, the air bubbles never rising within the water itself, but

always from some other body immersed in it. All the phenomena he has described may be seen with a piece of metal, or glass, plunged in water containing air, in an exhausted receiver; in which case it is easily shewn, that the air does not come from the pores of the metal, or of the glass, but from the water itself: for if the water contain no air, and the surfaces of the metal and of the glass be carefully wiped, that appearance cannot be produced.

He says that water exhausted of its air is not proper for this experiment, because it readily absorbs all the air as fast as it issues from the skin. But if the experiment be made in water at all, this must be the only unexceptionable manner of making it; and water by no means absorbs any kind of air so fast as he describes this to issue from the skin, and especially such a kind of air as he describes, a great proportion of which is air partially phlogisticated. It requires a long time before water, in a quiescent state, will take up any sensible quantity of such air as this. Besides, there is nothing that we know of the human frame, that would lead any person to suspect that air ever issues from the skin. Where are the *air vessels* for that purpose? and what is their origin, or connection with other parts of the system? The present state of anatomy indicates nothing on this subject.

To satisfy my friend, not myself, I told him I would make an experiment, which I did not doubt would convince him of his mistake in this respect: I did it in the following manner. I boiled a quantity of rain water, in order



to expel from it all the air it might contain, and then sat with my naked arm plunged in a vessel filled with it, after carefully wiping off, under water, all the bubbles of air that adhered to it. But though I continued to sit in this manner a full half hour, not a single bubble of air made its appearance afterwards. I might have examined whether this water had contained any air, besides what it might have been supposed to have imbibed from the atmosphere in this interval; but I neglected to do it, and am very confident it was quite unnecessary.

After this I need not say any thing to my friend's ingenious observations on the air which he took the pains to collect from the skins of old and young persons, and his laudable endeavours to remove a popular prejudice concerning the unwholesomeness of the former, and the wholesomeness of the latter kind of air.

Mr. Cruikshank's experiments, if they could be depended upon, would both prove that fixed air is composed of common air and phlogiston, and that the perspiration of animal bodies, in a healthy state, has the same effect upon air that breathing it has, viz. phlogisticating it, and making it noxious, which is contrary to the experiments of which I gave an account in my last publication; by which it appears that the air under my arm-pits, and near other parts of my body, was never less pure than the external air. The Abbé Fontana also told me, that he had always found the same result in experiments made upon himself. But Mr. Cruikshank says, in the second edition of his *Letter to Mr.*

*Clare*, printed in Mr. Clare's *Treatise on Abscesses*) that, after he had confined his leg in a glass vessel, so as to prevent all communication with the external air, lime water poured into it immediately afterwards, came out a little turbid. But this he would probably have found to be the case with a small quantity of lime water, poured into and out of any vessel of the same size, on account of the great surface of the fluid that must, in those circumstances, have been exposed to the common atmosphere; in consequence of which it is always known to attract fixed air.

However, partly to examine this matter more thoroughly, and with a variation that I had thought of, I repeated the experiments on my own perspiration in various ways, and they all confirmed what I advanced before, viz. that the perspirable matter has no such effect upon the air, but leaves it as wholesome, that is, as fit for respiration, as ever, judging by the test of nitrous air, which, however, Mr. Cruikshank does not say that he ever applied in this case.

Pursuing his steps, I fastened a moist ox's bladder, containing about a quart of air, close about my ankle, so that my foot, clean washed and warm, as his was, was exposed to it; and I sat near the fire, so as to keep my foot properly warm a full hour. After this I carefully withdrew my foot from the bladder, without changing the air; and applying the test of nitrous air, the air in the bladder appeared to be of the same degree of purity with the external air; the measures of the test, applied



plied in the same manner to both, being 1. 26. I also admitted part of this air to lime water, and observed that it did not make it in the smallest degree turbid.

Willing to give more time to this experiment, that the opportunity of this perspiration phlogisticating the air might be the greater, I once more fastened the bladder about my foot, just before I went to bed, and slept with it all night, keeping myself sufficiently warm, from eleven to half past six in the morning, when the bladder was quite dry. However, carefully moistening it, and especially where it was fastened to my ankle, I withdrew my foot, without changing the air, and immediately examined it. The quantity contained in the bladder was 40 ounce measures. It did not affect lime water, and with respect to purity was of the same standard with common air; the measures of the test with the nitrous air I happened to make use of, being in both cases 1. 3.

I cannot therefore but see reason to conclude, as I did before, that it is only *respiration*, and not the *perspiration* of the body, that injures common air.

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*Of the Respiration of Fishes; from the same.*

I HAD formerly found that fishes injure the air contained in solution in the water in which they live, vol. III. p. 342; the water in which they had been confined appearing to contain air of a worse quality, than it did before they were put into it. I had also before observed the effect of water

impregnated with fixed air, and with nitrous air, on fishes put into it. I have since repeated all these experiments with an attention to more circumstances; and they both confirm and extend my former general conclusions.

Having at hand some water from the Hot-well at Bristol, which I had found to contain air in a state of great purity, I completely filled a large phial with it, and I put into it a few very small fishes, which I had provided for the purpose of these and other experiments. They were minnows, and other small fishes, about two inches in length. In this water they were confined without any access of common air till they died.

After this I took equal quantities of the water in which the fishes had died, and of that out of which it had been taken, when they were confined in it; and I expelled from both all the air which they would yield. That from the water in which no fishes had been put, exceeded in quantity that from the water in which they had been confined in the proportion of three to two; and examining the quality of both these quantities of air, by the test of nitrous air, the former exceeded the latter in a still greater proportion. The air from the water, in which no fishes had been confined, was about the standard of common air, but that which had been contaminated by the respiration, as I may say, of the fishes, though not thoroughly phlogisticated, was something worse than air in which a candle just goes out. I should probably have found it still worse than this, if I had expelled and examined



examined the air immediately; but the water remained in an open vessel all night before I made the experiment upon it.

From this experiment it may be concluded with certainty, that air contained in water, in an unelastic state, is as necessary to the life of fishes, as air in an elastic state is to that of land animals. It is not properly *water* that receives the phlogiston discharged from the fishes, but the *air* that is incorporated with it. And this may possibly be the reason of the attraction which, in many of my experiments, there appears to be between phlogiston and water; whereas it has been an opinion universally received among chemists, that water has no affinity whatever with phlogiston.

From this experiment I had no doubt, but that putting fishes into water impregnated with air that was thoroughly phlogisticated, would be injurious, if not fatal to them, as much as the same kind of air in an elastic state, is to land animals; and this was verified by the following experiments; from which, however, it appears that fishes, like insects, and some other exanguinous animals, can live a considerable time without any thing equivalent to respiration. What limits that time has, may in some measure appear from these observations.

I began with water that contained, as far as we are able to discover, no air at all. For it was rain water, that had been recently boiled a considerable time. The vessel contained about three pints of it; and into this, without admitting any air at all, I put nine of the small fishes abovementioned,

and they lived in it between three and four hours. This experiment resembles the putting of frogs and serpents into a vacuum, only that there was no expansion of air contained in them to swell their bodies in this case.

Taking the same water, which, as I observed, contained little or no air, I made it imbibe as much as I could of a quantity that had been phlogisticated with iron filings and brimstone, six months before. Of this, however, the water would take but very little. Into a pint of this water, thus imperfectly impregnated, I put two of the fishes, and they lived in it near an hour. The result was the same when I impregnated an equal quantity of the same water with inflammable air. For in this case also the two fishes lived about an hour. This experiment resembled the putting of mice, and other land animals, into phlogisticated or inflammable air, which is known to be fatal to them, but more suddenly than this water was to the fishes, owing, I suppose, to its imperfect impregnation.

When I impregnated water with nitrous air on a former occasion, I observed that fishes put into it were immediately seized with convulsions, and died presently; just as they did in water impregnated with fixed air. But though at that time I took all the care I could to prevent the decomposition of the nitrous air, that remained after the operation, filling the phial in which the process was made with fresh water, by means of a funnel, &c. still a decomposition of some small part of it would necessarily be made, before I could possibly slip the funnel into the neck



neck of the phial. To prevent this, I now introduced the fishes into the vessel in which I had impregnated the water while it remained inverted in the basin, the remainder of the nitrous air not imbibed by the water still resting upon it. The phial I used contained something more than a pint, and the nitrous air occupied about one fourth of it.

Into this vessel, thus prepared, I introduced two of my small fishes, and they continued very quiet, without being seized with any convulsions, ten minutes, or a quarter of an hour, before they died. The cause of the convulsions, therefore, in the former experiment, must have been not the *nitrous air*, properly speaking, but the *nitrous acid*, though in so very small a quantity, diffused in the water, and acting like the fixed air (which is only another kind of acid) in the water impregnated with it. Whereas in this experiment the fishes were no otherwise affected than they were in the water impregnated with phlogisticated or inflammable air, except that the water imbibed much more of the nitrous air, and on that account was sooner fatal to them.

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*Of the Rein-Deer ; from Barrington's Miscellanies.*

**I**T hath been a generally received opinion, that the rein-deer will not live for any time south of Lapland, or that part of North America which, though of a more southern latitude, equals Lapland in the rigour of its climate.

Queen Christina of Sweden had procured five-and-twenty of these quadrupeds, which she proposed to send to Oliver Cromwell, and which might long since have proved the contrary, had they reached this country.

Whitelock was then ambassador from England at that court, and endeavoured to prevail upon four Laplanders, who brought the reins as far as Stockholm, to attend them to England, which they refused to do, but said they would take care of them during the winter. The Laplanders, however, were very negligent in their charge, for soon afterwards fifteen were killed by the wolves, and the remaining ten did not long survive, the climate of Stockholm being considered as too warm.

Buffon (who is one of the latest naturalists that hath described the rein-deer) mentions, that three or four were not long since carried to Dantzic, where they soon died, as the temperature of the air was too mild for them; and in another part of the same article, he regrets the impossibility of seeing this quadruped alive in France, on which account he only engraves the skeleton, having procured a drawing from a specimen in the Museum of the Royal Society. Pontoppidan also says, that it will always be a vain attempt to naturalize this animal in other countries, as no nourishment can be found any where else which will keep them alive, so that they have all perished.

Notwithstanding, however, this most prevailing opinion, it is contradicted, by the fact of a buck rein-deer having lived near three years at Homerton (not far from Hackney),



Hackney), in the close of Mr. Heyde, a merchant, and which died only in 1773, very suddenly, having been the preceding day in perfect health. He was sent to England from Norway with a doe, which did not live more than a year; and Mr. Heyde hath this autumn [1773] received a male and female, which were in November last very healthy. Leemius observes, that in Finmark they are subject to the epilepsy.

Every written voyage to the higher northern latitudes makes mention of this very useful quadruped, whilst Scheffer, Buffon, Hoffberg, and Leemius, have given us its natural history.

Leemius is the last of these, who published at Copenhagen his account of Finmark Lapland in 1767, and resided in that country more than ten years; he is therefore more to be depended upon than any of the others, who, it is believed, never saw the animal alive; at least the upper antlers, as engraved by Hoffberg, more resemble those of the elk than of the rein-deer. There is, however, a very good representation of the rein-deer in Pennant's Synopsis of Quadrupeds.

As Leemius's work hath scarcely found its way yet into the more southern parts of Europe, I shall make some extracts from it, with regard to this animal, with which he had so frequent opportunities of being thoroughly acquainted.

It is agreed by all naturalists to be peculiar to the female rein-deer, that they should have horns as well as the male: Leemius however remarks, that this is not always the fact, some having none at all, as

likewise that they lose them entirely after parturition.

The projecting brow antler also is not observed in any other species of deer, the use of which I should conceive to be a proper defence against that arch enemy the wolf; and Leemius accordingly mentions an instance of one rein having drove away two of these maroders. When the reins, however, use their antlers against their own species in the rutting time, the horns are frequently so entangled, that they cannot be separated but by the assistance of the rein herd.

If it be asked why every species of deer hath not the same protection? the answer seems to be, that the swiftness of the other kinds enables them to escape their pursuer.

Though the northern naturalists speak of the expedition also, with which the rein-deer will draw the traineau; yet I beg leave to say, from having seen three of these animals, that they are rather of a make calculated for the collar, than for extraordinary swiftness; and I have little doubt but that they are the slowest of their whole genus, except the elk, whose antlers are also of a most peculiar form, as well as strength.

I should conceive likewise, that the elk makes uses of these extraordinary horns to remove the thick underwood and briars in which this quadruped lives, not being so fleet as the rest of its genus are: the antlers therefore are excessively wide, as well as shallow, and the sagged terminations seem not improper to perform the office of a saw.

I know well that some naturalists,



its, not being able to find out the use of particular parts in several animals, have rather ridiculed the attempt to discover for what purpose they are designed: I am persuaded, however, that this arises from ignorance of the habits of the animal (which is the interesting part of natural history); nor is it less true, because it hath been often advanced, *that nature does nothing in vain*.

Buffon makes but one article of the rein and elk; he also observes, that when the latitude begins to be too warm for the former, the elks are first to be discovered. North America furnishes, however, an exception to this observation, because reins are found in Newfoundland, 50° N. lat. and the Hudson's bay company have a noble specimen of elk's horns in their hall, which was sent them from their forts, some of which are nine degrees to the northward; at the same time that the situation is so much more inland, and consequently from that circumstance also the temperature more cold than might be expected, merely from the fort's being nine degrees nearer to the pole. On the other hand *Isbrand Ides* met with a great many reins not far from Nezzinskoi, which is only in N. lat. 50. at no great distance from the Eastern Ocean.

I shall now mention two or three particulars from Leemius, with regard to the rein, which have not been noticed by other naturalists.

They are extravagantly fond of human urine, and lick up the snow with the greatest avidity when the upper part hath been stained by it; possibly, however, the opening

the way to their favourite lichen may be in part the occasion of their immediately finding out such spots.

We have the same authority for their killing a vast number of mice, which are called in the Lapland language *Godde Saepaw*, and *Le-mæner* in the Norwegian. As their make, however, is not described, and as I can find no names which bear the least affinity in the *Fauna Suecica*, it is impossible to settle the species. Possibly also the reins only use this food when they can procure no other; it is for the same reason that the Lapland gulls are said likewise to feed on mice, and the crows to tear the linen which is hung to dry. Leemius, in other parts of his work, mentions, that they devour the heads of these mice only, with the greatest avidity; which also may arise from want of other food, as it is believed that no other quadruped (which chews the cud) destroys animals for the purpose of sustenance.

All describers of the rein have taken notice of the cracking noise which they make when they move their legs, which Hoffberg attributes to the animals separating and afterwards bringing together the divisions of their hoof; but he does not assign the cause of the reins so doing, which I conceive to be the following.

The rein inhabits a country which is covered with snow for great part of the year; the hoof therefore of this quadruped is most admirably adapted to the surface which it is most commonly to tread.

The under part is entirely covered with hair, in the same manner



ner that the claw of the Ptarmigan is with feathery bristles, which is almost the only bird that can endure the rigour of the same climate.

The hoof, however, is not only thus protected; the same necessity which obliges the Laplanders to use snow shoes, makes the extraordinary width of the rein's hoof to be equally convenient in passing over snow, as it prevents their sinking too deep, which they would be subject to eternally, did the weight of their body rest only on a small point.

This quadruped hath therefore an instinct to use a hoof of such a form in a still more advantageous manner, by separating it when the foot is to touch the ground, so as to cover a larger surface of snow. The instant, however, the leg of the animal is raised, the width of the foot becomes inconvenient, especially when it is going against the wind; the hoof, therefore, is then immediately contracted, and the collision of the parts occasions the snapping, which is heard upon every motion of the rein.

Another reason, possibly, for this noise, may arise from Lapland's being not only covered with snow great part of the year, but also for some time under a perpetual night; the rein is a gregarious animal, and often obliged to go a great way for sustenance, probably therefore the cracking which they perpetually make, may serve to keep them together when the weather is remarkably dark. Bells round sheep are known to be very convenient for the same purpose, when they graze upon a wide extended down.

Leemius mentions another very singular circumstance with regard to the Lapland wolves; which is, that, when they have killed the rein, they always place the carcase with the head towards the east, and that the skeletons are constantly found in such position. This fact, indeed, is so extraordinary, that it should not be too lightly credited; animals, however, have undoubtedly their reason for chusing or declining certain aspects: the martin, for example, seldom builds its nest against the south.

Though I have stated so many particulars from this writer, not only because he is the latest naturalist who hath described the rein, but because he resided ten years in Finland; yet I cannot but take notice of one passage in his work, in which I conceive he must be entirely mistaken.

Leemius affirms, in his ninth chapter, that the reins lose their horns in the spring, which is not only contradicted by what Hoffberg and Buffon have advanced, but by the fact, for Mr. Heyde's buck dropt his horns for two successive winters, but *resumed them in the spring*. In one of these years they continued to be no more than stumps till the 30th of January, when they began to shoot; on the 24th of February they were five or six inches high, covered with a deep pile of velvet.

At the same time Leemius not only asserts this to happen otherwise, but the engravings which accompany his work represent the deer amongst snow with their horns on.

In justice to Leemius, however, I should add, that though Hoffberg



berg and Buffon take notice that the rein loses his horns at the approach of winter, yet other naturalists have supposed that they were of use in removing the snow which covers the lichen they are said to be so fond of, and which is utterly inconsistent with this quadruped being deprived of them during the winter. Leemius indeed expressly informs us, that they procure the lichen by means of their feet.

As I have very frequently visited Mr. Heyde's rein, I shall now mention some few particulars I happened to observe myself with regard to this quadruped, which is so seldom to be seen to the southward of the Baltic.

This animal was kept in a close of about an acre, the grass of which was rich; and he constantly fed upon it during the whole year, though he was much fonder of the lichen, which was sent over from Norway: by holding a little of it in my hand, I could at any time bring him to me. No animal, indeed, could be better humoured, as he would even permit his antlers to be handled when the blood vessels were most turgid. He likewise permitted me to measure his height, which was three feet two inches and a half, being in his sixth year, and of full growth. Now Leemius observes, that the doe is not so large as the buck; and I have measured the specimen of a doe-rein, lately sent to the Royal Society from Hudson's-bay, which is about three feet in height. I state this comparison, because it makes me doubt with regard to the justness of an observation of M. de Buffon, who (in his article Rein-deer) supposes that all Ameri-

can animals are less than the same species in other parts of the globe. Mr. Pennant also takes notice, that the American elk is larger than the European.

I once saw this rein in Mr. Heyde's garden, where there was a considerable variety of flowering shrubs and forest-trees, all of which he browsed upon except the elder; he also drank a great deal of water out of a pond.

I have therefore little doubt but that this quadruped will live without the Lapland lichen, to which it only hath, perhaps, recourse, because there is in those latitudes no other sustenance during the winter.

I have, indeed, procured some of this lichen, which I have tasted, and conceive from thence it may be a nourishing food either to man or beast; it is, however, by no means peculiar to Lapland, as we have much of the same on our own heaths. In one respect, indeed, the rein fares better in England than in Lapland, as Hoffberg and all other naturalists speak much of its suffering from an insect, which they term the *Oestrus Tarandi*. We have, perhaps, the same gad-fly in England, but they are not so numerous, and Mr. Heyde's rein did not seem to feel much inconvenience from this persecution.

Le Brun observes, that the rein carries his head so high, that the horns touch the back; and it is not therefore improbable that these antlers may be given them as a means of removing these very troublesome insects.

The same traveller takes notice, that the chiefs of the Samoeds have sometimes six or eight of them



them to draw their traineaux, and that they never sweat, notwithstanding their being often much pressed, but pant with their tongues out, just as grey-hounds do after a severe course.

Leemius also informs us, that after being hard driven they lose their sight frequently for three or four days.

I have before observed, that Mr. Heyde's buck rein was very good humoured; possibly, however, if he had been harassed, I should not have found him so tractable, for on account of its greater docility, a gelt rein bears a much better price in Lapland, and another cause for the advanced value is, that the operation being performed but awkwardly, the owners frequently lose them: for the same reason the poorer Laplanders only harness the doe.

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*Of the Bat, or Rere-Mouse; from the same Author.*

THE bat is so disagreeable an animal, that we are generally desirous of avoiding it rather than examining into its habits; the consequence of which aversion is, that we are more ignorant with regard to its natural history, than perhaps of any other animal of the same size.

Hideous as it may appear to our eyes, yet, if we are to believe Johnson (who is a writer of merit) there is a perpetual alliance between them and pigeons, inso-much, that if the head of a bat is fixed upon the top of a pigeon-house, the pigeons will never leave it. I profess, however, that I cannot hear this animal hath any other

friend or ally, and they must naturally be dreaded by moths or other insects of the night, as much as hawks are the terror of our smaller birds; nature is one perpetual scene of warfare, for the sake of food, and bats again become the prey of owls.

A friend of mine kept one for ten days, and was much amused with its manner of taking flies, on which it chiefly lived: Linnæus hath classed it with his primates, at the head of which stands *Man*: a more natural arrangement, perhaps, might have exalted this animal to the *order of angels*, as they are depicted with wings as well as teats.

I never met with any one who hath tasted a bat: and, indeed, with us they are so diminutive, that the morsel should be as delicate as it is small. In the island of Mauritius, however, where they are very large, the seamen consider them as dainties. "They are innumerable, and some as large as goshawks, and the seamen catch them as rabbits; they hang in swarms on the boughs of the trees, by claws fixed at the extreme part of their wings, and their monkey faces turned downwards." In the time of falconry they were given to hawks as a remedy for the falling sickness.

From its likeness to a mouse, the synonym is formed in many languages, the French terming it *chauve-sauris* and *ratpennade*. The Dutch, *Vleermuys*. The Germans, *Fleder-mausch*. The Danes, *Flaggermuus*. The Swedes, *Fläder-mus*. The Spaniards, *Murcielago*. As for our modern name of Bat, I do not know whence we apply it to this animal, but it was anciently



anciently called *rere-mouse*, from the Anglo-Saxon *hpenemur*. Our blasoners also use this word. In the Greek and Latin, however, the name is taken from its appearing only during the night *nocturnis* & *vespertilio*.

“Seroque trahunt a vespere nomen.” Ov.

Different species, or varieties of bats, are found in most quarters both of the old and new world; but for an enumeration of these I shall refer to Mr. Pennant's most excellent Synopsis of Quadrupeds, and after observing, that some of those in America are supposed to suck blood of persons asleep, I shall confine myself to those of our own island.

That most able naturalist Mr. Ray, takes notice of but one species, though Mr. Pennant conceives that we have four. Nothing can exceed both the diligence and accuracy of Ray, but the common aversion to these animals seems to have prevented both him and others from either catching or examining many species.

Having but two teats, it is supposed that they never produce more than two young ones, which, according to Pliny, they fly about with on their back.

If this is true at all, I should suppose that it only takes place when the young are to be taught to fly, as they may be more easily launched from their parents back into the air, than from any other place. They cannot rise at all from the ground, according to Linnæus; and in this situation therefore they seem divested of every pretension to be deemed birds, if their being viviparous, and having no beaks, did not suf-

ficiently exclude them, as well as their want of feathers. As to their having wings, a flying fish, or the flying squirrel, might for the same reason be considered as birds.

But the most interesting part in relation to this animal, is its state of torpidity during the winter, to which it is induced probably from want of flying-insects for its food, as seems to be the case with the swallow tribe.

In this part of the natural history of this animal, I am much indebted to the communication of a most ingenious correspondent, who knows where to find them torpid at any time during the winter, and more particularly in a large cavern near Torbay.

The prevailing notion that they hang always in clusters touching each other is not true, as this depends entirely upon their having a proper opportunity of adhering to the place from which they are suspended; they sometimes, therefore, are in contact, and often at considerable distances, but always fix themselves by both their feet.

Martial says of the dormouse, that it is fatter during its state of torpidity than when it revives. I therefore begged to know from Mr. Cornish, whether this was the case with bats during winter, who informs me that the fact does not hold with regard to the one or the other, and that bats mute whilst they are thus suspended. Both dormice and bats lose from five to seven grains in weight during a fortnight, whilst in a state of torpidity.

Bats on the whole fare better during a hard than a mild winter, for warm weather not only awakens them,



them, but promotes their power of digestion, whilst at the same time they cannot procure the food of which they are in search. This holds likewise with regard to bees, which are better preserved in a dark room than if exposed to the air whilst torpid, because sometimes they are awakened by the mild temperature of the weather, when there are no flowers for their support.

As bats mute whilst torpid, there is also a circulation of the blood, for Mr. Cornish having applied a thermometer to the body of one perfectly asleep, which stood at 36, the heart beat 60 times in a minute; the same bat being awakened so as to fly weakly, the thermometer applied in the same manner rose to 38, and the heart beat 100 times in a minute.

They have been, however, observed to continue in their torpid state, when the thermometer, placed in the air, hath been at 48, which is ten degrees warmer than the animal when awakened according to this experiment.

Most of the bats roused by irritation have not survived more than three days, but then it is stated that the weather became colder. Frequent attempts have been made to revive them after this seeming death, but they have all proved ineffectual.

Having desired Mr. Cornish to make some experiments with an air-pump on torpid bats, he informs me that his apparatus for that purpose is not so good as it should be, but that he is of opinion, from some imperfect trials, that they are not so soon affected by want of air, as other animals,

which do not sleep during the winter.

That distinguished anatomist Mr. John Hunter, having occasion to dissect bats during the winter, applied to me to procure him some from Devonshire, knowing that I had a correspondence with Mr. Cornish, who could at any time resort to their lurking places.

I accordingly requested Mr. Cornish to send up a dozen of bats in their state of torpidity, which he was so obliging as to do by the next conveyance; but though he had packed them with the greatest care, they died, as Mr. Cornish apprehended, before they reached London. The motion of the carriage probably occasioned this disappointment, as also that they did not hang in their usual attitude, nor in the proper temperature of air. If they had continued to live, Mr. Cornish informed me, that though one could perceive no motion in them, yet if placed in contact with a proper crevice, they would however fix themselves by their claws.

These bats were kept for some time by Mr. Hunter before he would absolutely pronounce them to be dead, and afterwards, at Sir Ashton Lever's, before they were *set up*; but though they never shewed any signs of life, yet their bodies did not putrify. The same thing I had occasion to observe with regard to some torpid martins which were sent to me from Somersetshire, and which I wished Mr. Hunter to dissect. These birds also did not revive, but no signs of putrefaction appeared, though they were kept a considerable time.

And



And here it may be observed, that a moderate heat, such as the bosom or hand, is the most likely to bring torpid animals to life, which are often killed by being placed too near the fire, from the common prejudice, that one cannot have too much of a good thing.

For a more immediate test of life in the animal, it will shrink either upon the touch, or holding a lighted candle near it.

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*On the Torpidity of the Swallow Tribe when they disappear. From the same Author.*

**I**N the foregoing treatise upon the migration of birds, the appearance and disappearance of the swallow-tribe hath necessarily been touched upon; but I think it better to reserve, for a separate dissertation, what more particularly relates to their being during the winter in a state of torpidity.

I have for many years attended carefully to the motions of these birds from the latter end of March to the latter end of April, at which time I have travelled into, or returned from, North Wales.

For the last twelve years the spring seasons in that part of Great Britain have been generally dry, the east winds prevailing during the month of April.

The consequence hath been, that on my journey towards Wales, or upon my arrival in the principality, I have perhaps seen a straggling swallow or swallows; but upon the weather growing more severe, they have disappeared perhaps for a fortnight or

more, so that I never have been able to procure any, though I have sent people out with guns to shoot them. My inducement was to examine them upon their first appearance, and to see in what plight they might be, both as to case and plumage; as also what they might feed upon before many winged insects are to be found.

Upon my return towards London I have commonly seen five or six skimming over the river Clwyd, near the gate of the town of Ruthin, which is called Porthydwr.

After this it hath commonly happened, that I have not observed any of this tribe of birds but at the distance of 20, 30, or 40 miles, and this always depending upon the approach to rivers or ponds, so that I could be tolerably certain where I might expect to observe them.

These circumstances seem to me very decisive, that swallows are concealed near the place where they begin to appear; and on first consideration of these facts it may be perhaps inferred, that these birds are all to be found under the water; it must however be recollected, that they probably procure more food in such situations when on the wing, whatever may have been their winter residence. By the latter end of April the swallow tribe appears in numbers.

I shall now state such facts as I have myself observed, or received from ingenious correspondents, in relation to each species of swallow, and without hesitation make my own inferences, leaving them to be corrected by those who may be more fortunate in collecting more decisive instances.



I shall begin with the *swallow*, as Mr. Pennant does in his British Zoology; and premise that I mean the species whose tail is most forked, and which is marked with a red spot on the forehead and chin.

This bird appears the first of its tribe, and (as I conceive at least) hides itself under water during the winter, because, in the few instances where the relater hath been able to particularize the species thus found, it hath happened to be a swallow.

There is scarcely a treatise on ornithology, written in the Northern parts of Europe, which does not allude to the submerſion of swallows during the winter, as a fact almost as well known as their peopling the air during the summer; and because the name of Linnæus is respected by most of the incredulous on this head, I copy from him the following words in the description of the bird.

“*Hirundo [Rustica]*, habitat in Europæ domibus intra tectum, unaque cum *urbica* demergitur, vereque emergit.”

It is also clear from the expression of *demergitur* (though perhaps not classical) that this naturalist conceived these birds hid themselves under water during the winter; and it is to be observed, that he seems to have stated it after a proper examination, because in the *Fauna Suecica*, published five years before, he omits the mention of this circumstance.

As the instances of finding swallows under water are most common in the Northern parts of Europe, I shall begin with the

testimony of the inhabitants of that part of the globe.

Mr. Peter Brown, a Norwegian and ingenious painter, informs me, that from the age of 6 to 17, whilst he was at school near Sheen, he with his companions hath constantly found swallows in numbers torpid under the ice, which covered bogs, and that they have often revived upon being brought into a warm room.

Baron Rudbeck, a Swedish gentleman, who was not long since in England, hath assured me that this fact was so well known in Sweden as to leave no doubt with any one.

Mr. Stephens, A. S. S. informs me, that when he was 14 years of age, a pond of his father's (who was vicar of Shrivenham, in Berkshire) was cleaned during the month of February, that he picked up himself a cluster of three or four swallows (or martins) which were caked together in the mud, that the birds were carried into the kitchen, on which they soon afterwards flew about the room, in the presence of his father, mother, and others, particularly the Rev. Dr. Pye. Mr. Stephens also told me that his father observed at the time, he had read of similar instances in the Northern writers. Though I have stated these birds to have been either swallows or martins, I rather suppose them to have been the former, from their being found under water.

The compilers of the *Encyclopædie* (art. Mort.) have inserted the following observation and fact in relation to swallows discovered in the same situation.

“Plusieurs oiseaux passant aussi tout



tout l'hyver sous les eaux, telles sont *hirondelles*, qui loin d'aller suivant *l'erreur populaires fort accréditée*, dans les climats plus chauds, se precipitent au fond de la mer, des lacs, & des rivières, &c."

It is there also stated, that Mr. Falconet, a Physician, living at Paris, had seen in one of the provinces, "une masse de terre que les pecheurs avoient tirée de l'eau; apres avoir lavée & debronillée, il apperçut que ce n'étoit autre, chose qu'un amas d'hirondelles," which, on being brought to the fire revived, the fishers declaring that this was not uncommon.

The late ingenious Mr. Stillingfleet informs us, that one swallow's being found at the bottom of a pond in winter, and brought to life by warmth, was attested to him by a gentleman of character.

Some years ago the moat of Aix-la-Chapelle was cleaned during the month of October, and the water let out for that purpose, when on the sides of the moat, and much below the parts which had been covered with water, a great number of swallows were seen to all appearance dead, but their plumage not impaired.

Du Tertre mentions, that a Russian of credit had told him, that, a piece of ice in a village of Muscovy having been brought into a house with swallows in it, they all revived.

There are several reasons why swallows should not be frequently thus found; ponds are seldom cleaned in the winter, as it is such cold work for the labourers, and the same instinct which prompts the bird thus to conceal itself, instructs it to choose such a

place of security, that common accidents will not discover it.

But the strongest reason for such accounts not being more numerous, is, that facts of this sort are so little attended to; for though I was born within half a mile of the pond near Shrivenham, and have always had much curiosity with regard to the natural history of animals, yet I never heard a syllable about this very material and interesting intelligence till very lately.

To these instances I must also add, that swallows may be constantly taken in the month of October, during the dark nights, whilst they sit on the willows in the thames; and that one may almost instantaneously fill a large sack with them, because at this time they will not stir from the twigs, when you lay your hands upon them. This looks very much like their beginning to be torpid before they hide themselves under the water.

A man near Brentford says, that he hath caught them in this state in the eyt opposite to that town, even so late as November.

I shall conclude the proofs on this first head by the dignified testimony of Sigismond King of Poland, who affirmed, on his oath, to Cardinal Commendon, that he had frequently seen swallows which were found at the bottom of lakes.

I shall now proceed to the second species of the swallow tribe, called a *martin*, which hath no colours but black and white, hath a shorter tail than the preceding, and builds commonly under the eaves of houses.

I may be mistaken, but I shall  
F 2 here



here again hazard a conjecture that this species does not hide itself under water during the winter, but rather in the crevices of rocks or other proper lurking places above ground, as most of those which have been discovered in such situations have been martins.

The instances of this sort are so numerous from all parts, that to bring them within a moderate compass I must only select a few of them; promising those who are incredulous, that I can most readily furnish many more than I shall now produce.

I shall begin with a letter dated at Towyn in Merionethshire, dated March 22, 1773.

Extract from a letter relative to torpid Martins.

*Towyn, Merionethshire,*  
SIR, *March 22, 1773.*

I received yours; and according to your desire I made as much enquiry as I could concerning the swallows. Richard Hugh, a boatman at Aberdysyny, tells me, that he lived with Mr. Anwyl about twenty years ago, when they were found by Mr. Anwyl himself, who ordered him, with some others of his servants, to go along with him to see them; and the said Richard Hugh really believes that there were some thousands of them; and Mr. Anwyl, with his own hand, put some of them into a part of the cliff which remained in the rock; they could at first scarcely perceive life in them, but soon they began to crawl a little, then they carried some into the house, and held them near the fire, when they became pretty

lively. Richard Hugh cannot recollect who was the person that saw them beside himself and Mr. Anwyl, neither can he remember exactly what month it was; but he is ready to make oath, that it was a very uncommon time of year to see swallows, and to the best of his memory it was either the latter end of January or the beginning of February. I went to Mr. Griffith Evans at Tymaur, to ask whether he had heard any thing of them; and he told me, that he now well remembers, to have heard Mr. Anwyl telling a deal about them, how remarkable it was to see them at such time of the year, and he believes it was about twenty years ago; and Mr. Griffith Evans says he is positive that it is true. Also one Hugh Richard, a very credible old man in this town, says that he really heard Mr. Anwyl mentioning them."

I have another account of the same sort with regard to swallows (or martins) being discovered, about 16 years ago, at Yew Law Castle, near Hawarden, in Flintshire.

I have received also the same kind of information relative to torpid swallows, in Carnarvonshire, and Castleton in Derbyshire.

Sir William Bellers told the late Dr. Chauncey that he happened to stop at a Fisherman's house in Cornwall, whose net had been much torn by a large clod of earth, which, upon being examined, was very full of swallows, that awaked from their torpidity upon being brought near the fire. I should rather suppose however that they were martins, from the circumstance



cumstance of their being found in a large clod of earth, which had probably dropt from the bank a little while before.

By a letter from Dr. Finley, Provost of the college of New Jersey, dated May 1, 1765, to the late Dr. Chandler, and soon afterwards communicated to the Royal Society, it appears that the same notion prevails in America, with regard at least to some species of their own swallows. Kalm also mentions their being found torpid in holes and clefts of rocks near Albany.

Dr. Pallas gives an account that on the 18th of March a swallow (perhaps martin) was brought to him, near Ufa, which had been found in a field, to all appearance lifeless, but having remained a quarter of an hour in a warm room, it flew about, and lived some days, till killed by accident.

Mr. Cornish, an ingenious surgeon, who resides at Totness in Devonshire, was fishing in the river Dart, at the beginning of November, 1774, and on a very warm day observed several martins issuing from some large rocks, overgrown with ivy and thicket. On this appearance, at such a time of the year, he desisted from his amusement, that he might more attend to the motions of these birds, which had been brought out of their winter quarters by the fineness of the weather, the sun at that time shining strong on the rocks. They continued to flit backwards and forwards for almost half an hour, keeping very near together, and never flying in a direct line, nor when at the far-

thest above a hundred yards distance from the rocks, closer to which they now (as the sun lowered) began to gather very fast. Their numbers were then lessened considerably, and in a very short time they all returned to the fissures of the rocks, from whence they had been induced to venture out by the warmth of the evening. Mr. Cornish concludes this account by asserting very positively, that there was not one swallow amongst these martins.

The same ingenious naturalist afterwards mentions, that he hath seen martins at Totness in the months of December and January, though he never observed a swallow at that season; in which fact he is confirmed by a person whose name is Didham, and who saw two martins on the 26th of December at a place called Syfferton.

I shall here subjoin other facts of the same kind, which I have received from the same good authority.

Mr. Manning, a surgeon of reputation in Kingsbridge, when a boy, and in search of sparrows nests, on a headland, called the Hope, pulled out from under the thatch of an uninhabited house great numbers of swallows (or martins) which he considered as dead, but they afterwards revived; and their number amounted to more than 40. Mr. Manning recollects the fact at present as if it had been more recent, and likewise remembers, that the plumage was in perfect order; which was the case also with some martins, which I received myself during the winter, from Camerton



in Somersetshire, in which there was not the least mark of putrefaction.

Another person drew out a great number of martins from the wall of an old castle in Wales during winter, and the heat of his hands recovered some of them so as to fly.

Again, a plumber in Mr. Cornish's neighbourhood hath made a solemn deposition, that being at work on the leads of Forabys-house, (situated on the sea-coast in Torbay) early in the spring, he found in some of the cisterns several martins: that he at first believed them to be dead; but as they looked not at all decayed, he began to suppose they might be only asleep, and that in consequence of this idea, curiosity tempting to hold one of them in in his hand for a few minutes, the bird became strong enough to fly two or three yards.

Kyrcher speaks of a deep cavern high up the Teverone, which the mountaineers told him was never left by the swallows in winter.

The Rev. Dr. Bosworth observed five swallows (or martins) creep out of the wall of Merton College, of Oxford, during the month of January, which returned again to their dormitories on the weather becoming colder.

Mr. Hooper, F. R. S. hath informed me, that martins were seen at Christchurch in Hampshire so late as Christmas, in 1772, when the flies also began to be troublesome. I shall here subjoin the words of a letter on this subject from an eye-witness, "As my neighbours and self were standing in the churchyard, we told fourteen on the wing at one time,

near the East end of the church, and could see others flying about over my house, and different parts of the town." Mr. Rickman went home, and immediately wrote the following memorandum in his Almanack: "Dec. 9, 1772. This day a considerable number of martins or swallows were seen round the church, they were in indefinite numbers (as during the summer) and flew with as much velocity as at that time of the year. They decreased daily till the 23d of December, after which I have not heard of one being seen."

I have also received an account of two swallows or martins appearing on the 21st of December, in this same year, viz. 1772, at or near the town of Pool, in Dorsetshire.

I am lastly informed, by an intelligent servant of the Right Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, that being with his master at Lord Strafford's in Yorkshire, seven or eight years ago, the latter end of October, a conversation began with the game-keeper about swallows crossing the seas, which the game-keeper disbelieved, because he said he could then carry any one to some neighbouring coalworks, where he was sure of finding them by that time. On this many of the servants attended him to the coalpits, where several martins were observed in a torpid state, but shewed motions of life upon their being brought near to the fire.

Most of these instances are so well attested, that I conceive it cannot be disputed by any one, that martins at least appear occasionally throughout the winter, whenever the weather is remarkably



ably mild, and which agrees with what Sir William Hamilton hath informed me, in relation to his scarcely ever passing between Naples and Puzzuoli without seeing some of these birds, when the season at that time of the year was temperate.

With regard to the third species of swallows, the sand martin, I have never been able to collect a decisive instance of their being observed at all during the winter, though possibly sometimes not distinguished from the more common martin; I will not therefore pretend to conjecture what may be their peculiar lurking places, though I conceive that they undoubtedly have such. I have however been negatively informed that they are not found in the holes where they make their nests. This bird is commonly so distant from the habitation of man, and is so much in the dark, that its habits are not easily attended to.

As for the fourth species, called the *swift*, which is well known by its superior size, and being almost entirely black, Linnæus asserts, that it winters in the holes of churches.

I have however the following instance of their sometimes choosing other places of concealment.

The Rev. Mr. Williams of Bishop's Waltham in Hampshire found three swifts in the battlements of an old flint tower belonging to that town during the winter, which being brought into a warm room shewed signs of life, but afterwards hanging them up in a paper bag close to the kitchen fire they were either stifled by the closeness of the bag, or killed by the too great heat. See also an

instance of three swifts being found in an old oak during the winter, which, on being laid before the fire, soon recovered strength enough to fly about the room, though they died soon after. Aristotle indeed asserts, that in Greece the swift never disappears, *Φαλκρας δὲ μὲν ἀπὸς πάντων ὥραν.*

I shall now endeavour to corroborate these facts with regard to most of the species of swallows being observed during the winter either in a torpid state, or on the wing, by some other proofs, which seem to make strongly against the periodical migration of such birds across oceans.

They who maintain this opinion, always suppose that these birds pass to the northward upon the approach of spring, in great flocks; of which however I have not been able to find any instance in what hath been printed on this subject, except what is stated in the philosophical Transactions, of a number having lighted upon the sails of Sir Charles Wager's fleet in the Channel. I flatter myself also, that I have (in a previous essay) fully answered any inferences to be drawn from this relation in support of migration; and must likewise repeat, that such instances must happen as regularly as the return of the seasons, did swallows then pass to the northward.

But this is not all, as, if I can depend upon my own observations, as well as those of others, swallows should, according to this supposition, always first appear in flocks on the Southern coast of this island; whereas they are seen but in small numbers, dispersed



almost equally over all parts of it, and if any cold weather happens they then immediately disappear, being observed in the same numbers again when the mild weather is more confirmed, and are afterwards joined by myriads from every lurking place and retreat.

All animals are endowed with a providential instinct to avoid what may be prejudicial to them, and therefore it should seem that the swallow tribe would never leave the coast of Africa in their spring migration to the Northward till a month later than they generally appear, as then there would be no occasion for a sudden retreat on the frosts, which are so frequently experienced in the early parts of our spring. Lying however in their torpid state they cannot resist the mild influence of the first genial weather, but know where to secure themselves when it becomes severe.

That the swallow-tribe are concealed during the winter, not far from the place where they have been hatched, may be inferred from the following facts.

Mr. Stephens, F. S. A. hath informed me that martins continued to have a nest for 16 years together in the hall of an old house which belongs to him at Camerton, in Somersetshire, tho' the door was constantly shut during the night, and sometimes for a few hours during day light, when the parent birds must have been not a little impatient to feed their nestlings.

The same fact hath been attested to me by Mr. Sanxay, with regard to the porch of a gentleman's house in Derbyshire, though

the birds did not continue to build for so many years as in the preceding instance.

The following fact relates to a swallow which built for two years together on the handles of a pair of garden sheers, that were stuck up against the boards in an out-house; and what is stranger still, another bird of the same species made its nest on the wings and body of an owl that happened by accident to hang dead, and dry, from the rafter of a barn. This owl, with the nest on its wings and eggs, was brought to Sir Atholton Lever, who desired the person that furnished him with this curiosity to fix a large shell where the body of the owl had hung. The person did as he was ordered, and the following year a nest was made and eggs laid in the shell by a pair of swallows.

Now it is clear from these well-attested instances, that both martins and swallows choose to build, for a succession of years, in the same place, though an inconvenient one; and is it to be supposed that they constantly return to the same spot from the coast of Africa, rather than they should be torpid during the winter, in no very distant place of concealment.

But they who maintain that swallows periodically leave Europe and proceed to Africa, rely much upon their being seen to congregate not long before they disappear, which happens however with regard to many other birds, and the assemblage consists of the first brood, who are left by their parents to shift for themselves, swallows and martins uniting.

This therefore seems to arise from



from such birds considering themselves as rather in a defenceless state, unless

*Defendit numerus.*

That this is the fact, particularly with the swallow tribe, appears by the repeated observations of that attentive and ingenious naturalist, the Rev. Mr. White.

It is well known that the swallow and martin have two broods every year and consequently that their first nestlings must be abandoned by the parents: how therefore are the produce of the first nest to be conducted over the Atlantic from Great Britain and Ireland, to Africa?

How also can it be expected, that the second brood, which I have known myself to be hatched in October, should be equal to such a passage, in which they have no insects to feed upon, and in which they never seem to have been observed by any ship at a considerable distance from land; or by any person on shore, who can properly assert that they were bent on such periodical migration?

I will here add an observation which relates to the swift only. This bird, by the length of its wings, is certainly better calculated for a long flight than any of the swallow-tribe, and yet it is the latest comer, and disappears the earliest of this whole genus, long before the insects on which it feeds are wanting.

But this is not all. When this bird is first seen in the spring it is all over of a glossy dark foot colour (except their chins, which

are white); but by being for a considerable time in the sun and air, they become weatherbeaten and bleached before they disappear.

Now would not this alteration in the colour be occasioned by their passage over the Atlantic, and do we not know that the quicker the motion is, and the longer continued without intermission, the more our own skins and hair are changed; and are we not to suppose that the same effects will be produced on the feathers and hairs of other animals?

I will now beg leave to state another objection to the migration of swallows from Europe to Africa, which is, that if this conjecture is true, the same thing must hold with regard to the Northern and Southern parts of Asia. On the contrary, I am informed, that swallows hide themselves in the banks of the Ganges during what are called the winter months in that part of the world. Du Tertre likewise mentions, that the few swallows seen in the Caribbee Islands are only observed in the summer, as in France.

Now we are assured by Dr. Pallas, that they have not only swallows in Russia and Siberia, but that on the banks of the Okka, which empties itself into the Wolga, in N. Lat. 57, on frost taking place about the 4th of August, they disappeared for that year.

These birds therefore should, according to the hypothesis of migration, have been passing to the more Southern parts of Asia, but I do not find it observed by any Asiatic traveller that they have  
the



the same species of hirundines with us, or that they are only seen in those parts during our winter.

Between what hath been advanced in the preceding and present dissertations, the arguments against the periodical migration of swallows have filled many pages, and it may be right to bring them to a conclusion, by answering an objection which is much relied upon by those who maintain the contrary opinion.

It is frequently asked by these, where and when the swallow moults, if this does not happen in parts of the globe to the Southward of Europe.

To this I do not pretend to answer by informing them where or when these birds change their feathers; but I may equally ask the question with regard to nine of the birds out of ten which have been described by naturalists, because we are entirely uninformed about this matter, except in relation to those which we usually eat, or keep in cages.

It is true, that most, if not all of these, commonly moult with great regularity; but it is also known that there are often exceptions to every general observation or rule; nor do I see why it is more necessary that every bird should moult, than that every wish should not have wings, which would have been most confidently maintained by the old naturalists who were unacquainted with the flying fish.

Again, it is part of the known definition of a bird to be an animal covered with feathers, and yet those of the cassowary and the silky fowl of the East Indies rather resemble hairs than plu-

mage; and this is the case so strongly with the latter, that it hath given occasion to the imposition at Brussels, where they are shewn as the mixed breed of a fowl and rabbit.

I therefore do not conceive it to be absolutely necessary that this tribe of birds should change their feathers at all, or perhaps they may do so only the second or third year, and at a time different from that in which other birds moult.

But I will now ask the direct question of the partisans of migration, whether the feathers are renewed whilst the swallow-tribe are in Africa during the winter?

Now in all the birds which we are well acquainted with, moulting begins in the autumn; and therefore if swallows drop their plumage in Africa during the winter, it is nearly as much contrary to what happens in relation to the change of feathers in other birds, as the not being liable to any change at all.

It is not also absolutely impossible that these birds may moult during the time of their concealment, to which the fact already mentioned of the swift's plumage being most bright and glossy, when it first appears in the spring, seems to give some countenance; and Aristotle asserts, that this happens to the *τρυγών* (commonly rendered the turtle dove) whilst it is hid.

How little do we know, with accuracy, in relation to the renewal of our own hair; which I rather believe to be brought about by such degrees as to be almost imperceptible; nor are the hair-cutters, or friseurs, perhaps capable of



of giving us any material information on this head.

Whatever weight, however, these answers may be thought to carry with them, it is as much incumbent upon those who maintain the migration of swallows from Europe to Africa, to inform us where and when they moult, as it is upon those who deny that they pass from one continent to another.

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*An account of the Island of Corsica; from the Appendix to the private Life of Lewis XV. Translated from the French by J. O. Justamond, F. R. S.*

THE island of Corsica is situated in the Mediterranean, between 39 and 42 degrees latitude, lying between the island of Sardinia to the south, and the coasts of Italy to the north. Its greatest length is from *Capo Bonifacio* to the south, as far as *Capo Corso* to the north; this makes 160 Italian leagues. Its breadth comprehends 75 of the same leagues, from *Capo Galien* to the West, as far as the lake Urbino to the East; its whole circumference is reckoned to amount to 225 Italian leagues.

This island is divided into ten jurisdictions, and four fiefs, composing 68 *pieves*.

By *pieves* we are to understand a certain number of leagues included under the same administration, although they are dependent on several parishes which compose each jurisdiction.

Of these ten jurisdictions, six are on this side the mountains; these are *Capo Corso*, *Balagna*, *Calvi*, *Bastia*, *Corto*, *Alleria*; and

three fiefs, namely, *Nouza*, *Brand*, and *Canary*.

The other four jurisdictions are situated beyond the mountains; they are *Vico*, *Ajaccio*, *Sartene*, *Bonifacio*, and the fief of *Istria*.

There are five bishopricks in this island, *Mariana*, *Nebbio*, *Alleria*, *Ajaccio*, and *Sagorne*.

The interior part of the lands is covered with mountains, several of which are planted with olive and chesnut trees, and furnish pasture for the flocks; between these heights there are many fertile plains; they abound in vines, orange, bergamot, citron, olive, and several other fruit trees. Upon the highest of these mountains, which is called *Gradanio*, are the lake of *Cremo* and of *Dino*, at no great distance from each other. From the first, issue the rivers of *Liamono* and *Tarignano*, one of which flows towards the West, and the other in a contrary direction; that of *Gaulo*, issues from the lake *Dino*, and discharges itself into the sea near *Mariana*. Beside these three rivers, the most considerable in the island, and which, with some expence, might be rendered navigable, there are several others; these are only small streams, intersecting almost all the plains, and which would render them still more fertile, if their channels were multiplied.

The little province of *Balagna* is in every respect the most abundant of Corsica; that of *Capo Corso*, although the most exposed, is very near as good; and all, or almost all of them, require only the labour of the cultivator.

As for the productions, besides the vines I have mentioned, which yield a white and red wine, that might



might with care be made comparable to the wines of *Candia*, *Cyprus*, *Syracuse*, and *Malaga*; corn might also be produced there in great plenty, if the territory were fertilized in a small degree; and, notwithstanding the idleness of the inhabitants, nature, in some measure too luxuriant, sometimes deceives their indolence, and presents them with a very abundant harvest. There is no want of cattle; birds of all kinds are to be seen here, and quantities of game, especially the red legged partridge. During the winter a sufficient quantity of them are caught with a net, to furnish several towns in Italy. This season likewise produces a quantity of black-birds, which are in no estimation any where else, but are here very delicate, and much sought after.

There is therefore nothing wanting in Corsica with respect to eatables, except good cooks to dress all these provisions. But, independent of the articles of primary necessity, the arts and commerce would also find opportunities to exert themselves.

There are in this country several baths, as well hot as cold; mineral waters, serviceable in all kinds of diseases; olive-trees, which would furnish a considerable oil trade, and fit to supply France; mulberry trees and silk worms, which, with industry and activity, would enable us to do without the silks of Italy; timber for masts, and ship building, which would indemnify us for the loss of that of Canada; gold, silver, copper, and iron mines; quarries of marble and porphyry; a crystal of the greatest beauty, by the diversity of its colours, and which

is formed in the mountain of *Borgnano*.

In general, the climate of the island is the finest in the world. The sky is never darkened two days together. There is scarce any winter: the heats of the summer are moderated in the mountains by the North winds; they are more violent in the towns of *Bastia*, *St. Fiorenzo*, *la Gagliola*, *Calvi*, and *Ajaccio*. The illnesses to which the troops are subject, are attributed to the heat of the air; and I believe they proceed rather from want of good water, which those places are very deficient in during the summer, but which might be easily brought down from the mountains.

From this short account, Sir, you will readily judge of the truth of my speculations. I will not dissemble, that these advantages are counterbalanced by the enormous expences which must be incurred in that island, to secure it from the insults, not only of the natural inhabitants, whom I suppose to be subdued, but of foreigners. The extent of its coast, and the facility of landing in several places, would require labours, the calculation of which is alarming. Most of the towns are dismantled, or very imperfectly fortified; the ports either filled up or in bad condition. *Corte*, formerly the capital of the island, and which stands almost in the centre of it, at present resembles more a village than a city. *Bastia* is the most remarkable town; several works have already begun to be erected there; but the port, in which frigates and armed barks cannot enter, ought to be cleared. On returning to the Western coast, we



we find *Fiorenzo*, a town in the most ruinous condition. Its gulph is immense, and might contain a prodigious number of ships; it is more than a league over, and runs three leagues deep into the lands. It is bordered with high mountains, which shelter it from all kinds of winds except the North-East. The harbour is filled with rocks near the surface of the water, which only admit boats to land. We meet next with *la Gagliola*, which has a bad road, where none but tartans and feluccas can land: after this comes *Calvi*, the port of which, though very large, can only receive frigates of a moderate size: the port of *Ajaccio* is more convenient, and deeper; ships may cast anchor there in the midst of the basin. *Bonifacio* terminates the point of the Western coast, where there is a little port, good and secure. At the Eastern coast we find *Porto Vecchio*, the most beautiful port of the Mediterranean; the largest ships can enter it; but an unwholesome air prevails in the city, which has occasioned it to be quite deserted, since which it has not been possible to repeople it. Along this coast, as far as *Bastia*, which terminates it, we find nothing more than *Alleria*, almost destroyed.

You may conceive, Sir, how much money it would absorb to render so many towns and ports, all essential ones, of any use; and at which, with more or less danger, a foreign enemy might land, and convey succours to the revolted natives.

The villages are infinitely more valuable than the towns; they are almost all built upon little moun-

tains, and in situations fortified by nature; all the houses are furnished with battlements, arched ways, and terraces, and, being contiguous, flank and defend each other; so that each of these places would seem to require a siege, of which we have had a small specimen in the villages of *Barbagio* and of *Patrimonio*.

Another unavoidable expence, which would likewise be enormous, is that of the roads; which it would be necessary to open throughout the whole island: in a word, our engineers, upon a gross calculation, reckon that two hundred millions must be sacrificed to put the island of Corsica in the most flourishing situation. There is no doubt but that it would one day repay the expences with interest; but are we able to form such projects at this period? This is a matter that must be referred to our good and wise ministers; it is certain that every thing announces the design of preserving this country, by the troops which arrive here every day, and by the establishments of all kinds that are forming, as well maritime, as military, and municipal.

The magistracy will find employment enough here. In 1739, at the time of the first reduction of this island by the late Marshal Maillebois, there were already reckoned 28000 assassinations committed with impunity. You may judge how many have happened since that period. It is true that Paoli has established a kind of judicature among his people, but he is not powerful enough to be able to exert it with all the rigour which the ferocity of this people would require. Accordingly, population



pulation diminishes here daily. At that time the number of inhabitants amounted to 116,000 men; but at present we should not certainly find an equal number there. It would be necessary to re-establish harmony in all the orders of the state, confounded together. The right of nobility has been taken away by the Genoese from the most ancient families, so that there is now scarce any difference between those who have formerly been gentlemen, and the peasants. There were no more offices, no kind of education for children; and the republic would not admit them to any ecclesiastical or military dignities. Their new chief has repaired all these disorders as well as he was able, that is to say, he has prevented them from increasing as much as they otherwise would. His precarious authority, ever tottering—his life even every instant in danger—have not permitted him to do all the good he wished, and of which his genius and wisdom rendered him capable.

As for the rest, you may easily conceive, Sir, by this account, from whence arises the invincible hatred of the Corsicans against the republic: the latter seems to have exerted every effort to destroy these people; they had even forbidden them every kind of trade: annually seized upon their oils and other commodities at a very low price, and made them pay very dear for salt, iron, copper, and the other articles they might want. In a word, they were treated more like savages, whom it was intended to exterminate, than like subjects who were to be protected. It is to be

hoped that our character of mildness, the wisdom of our government, and the goodness of our laws, will repair so many evils, and will make the new kingdom of Corsica sensible of the happiness of living under the dominion of *Lewis the well-beloved*.

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*The Prefatory Introduction to Scheel's Chemical Observations and Experiments on Air and Fire. Written by Sir Torbern Bergman (Knight of the Order of Wasa, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Upsal, F. R. S. &c. &c.).*

THE science of nature seems to have three degrees. The first fixes our attention to the *out-sides*, and teaches us to collect external characters, in order to enable us to distinguish various natural bodies; and this is the proper object of natural history. If we penetrate still deeper by our contemplation, and examine the *general qualities* of matter (its extension, impenetrability and *vis inertiae*) in regard to its peculiar relations; it is that which is commonly called natural philosophy (*Physica*). But chemistry is the *innermost part*, since it examines the material elements, their mixtures and proportions to one another. The first teaches us the elementary rudiments, the alphabet of the great book of nature; the second instructs in spelling; and the third to read distinctly. The two first therefore are no more than subsidiary sciences, which conduct us to the last, as the proper great object.

Since all single qualities of bodies



bodies depend upon their structure and composition; it follows necessarily, that all our occupations with material and corporeal substances, never can obtain any degree of perfection, without the assistance of natural philosophy. And since commonly the proper intention of our occupations is directed either to our health, the necessities of life, or our comfort, three different classes of practical sciences are from thence derived, medicine, husbandry, and the arts. We shall in the most concise manner consider the connection of chemistry with each of them.

In the times when chemistry was chiefly founded on various nonsensical hypotheses, and was nevertheless applied with a blind zeal and the most perfect confidence not only to the cure of all infirmities and diseases, but even to the obtaining of immortality itself; then it could be productive of nothing but detriment and mischief in the science of physic.

We have no knowledge of bodies *a priori*: every intelligence about them, must be acquired by proper observations and experiments. But to discover and pursue such experiments as really illustrate the point we are in search of, requires not only skill, and a peculiar application, but also the most impartial love of truth; in order not to be ensnared by the pleasing desire of drawing general conclusions from a few *data* of precarious certainty. It lessens no doubt our trouble, and flatters our vanity, to be able to disclose in a moment the whole course of nature. Man is besides naturally indolent, and much inclined to

be captivated by imagination more than by reality. The confession therefore, that we really know no more than what we know, is even in our days, when the experimental method is considered as the only right and true method, very difficult and humiliating: but since all sciences have their roads of error, their abuses and follies (which unfortunately always seduce the greater part of mankind) it is chiefly owing to this precipitation and fancy, that such monsters are produced.

Every thing going forward in our body, is done either in a *mechanical* or in a *chemical* way; since the operations of the immaterial soul have nothing to do with it. Our food is dissolved and changed on its road in passing from the mouth, through the stomach, entrails and other intestines, by means of the *saliva*, the *liquor gastricus*, the gall, the chyle, &c. so that in several places various matters are prepared, all of which are necessary for the increase and support of the machine! The lungs moreover add by their constant motion, various subtle particles by means of the absorbing vessels, and again by the *exhaling vessels*, carry off others. The least irregularity in all these natural functions, lays of course the foundation for many infirmities and diseases. These ought to be prevented or cured by such medicines as have nothing noxious in other respects capable of obstructing the main tendency, and which contain nothing superfluous; for if they were even in themselves harmless, they might however become hurtful by their quantity. It is therefore no doubt



doubt a great advantage, to be able to concentrate the powers of several ounces into a few grains.

Did we exactly know, after chemical principles, the natural functions going forward in the body, the causes of diseases, and the effects of medicines; chemistry would most certainly operate miracles.

But I foresee already what may be objected to this assertion with some reason, viz. "Though such knowledge would be a most excellent thing, it would however be rather the object of wishes than such as might be supposed or hoped for: in the human body every operation goes forward very secretly; nor is there any glass window to admit the researches of the inquisitive: it is by no means right to play with the lives of men, and it would be highly unjustifiable to endanger them by uncertain experiments, &c." I reply this is perfectly right; at the same time it by no means justifies us in neglecting the right means of obtaining information; and still less in treating them with contempt. Whatsoever is difficult, is not therefore impossible always. The more investigation and trouble an invention costs, the more honour may be obtained by it; especially if it has for its object, health, the most precious enjoyment a man can be blessed with. If a man be only possessed of a truly fundamental knowledge, many things may be discovered without the least danger. Higher chemistry has discovered many and various new manipulations, and by recalling to our minds one or the other instance, we shall be enabled to

judge what more may with reason be expected.

Several kinds of diseases spread devastation over extensive countries, over people of all ranks and denominations; without being however infectious in themselves. These cannot, properly speaking, be derived from the mode of living; which in those who are attacked with the evil, is widely different; there must therefore exist a general cause, which affects equally the richer and the poorer. The *atmosphere* is the same for all; during several years its weight and temperature have been observed; and this has furnished several explications, which however are not satisfactory for the explanation of all its phænomena. Its constituent parts therefore ought to be better known. The vapours and heterogeneous particles, are different in regard to quantity as well as to quality. Besides chemistry teaches us, that this elastic fluid surrounding our globe, is at all times, and every where, a compound of three very different substances, viz. of good air, foul air, and aerial acid. The *first* is called by Dr. Priestley, if not wrongly, however somewhat improperly, *phlogisticated air*. Mr. Scheele calls it with more reason *empyreal air*, (fire air) since this alone gives life to fire, when the other two kinds of air extinguish the flame of a candle or fire. The last kind is commonly called *fixed air*: but I flatter myself to have satisfactorily proved by experiments, that it is a peculiar acid. The nature of the *first* kind, has as yet been very little investigated; however by analogy it seems to be hardly any thing but



but good air, which is corrupted either by a superfluity of inflammable substance, or perhaps by a want of it. It will however be still difficult to decide which of the two above propositions is the true one. Of these three divisions, the aërial acid always bears the least proportion, and scarcely makes the fifteenth part of the bulk of the atmosphere, at least on the surface of our globe: the foul air is always in the greatest proportion; and by far more, than the pure or good air.

The various effects of each of these three substances upon animal bodies are still involved in impenetrable darkness.--The good air fit for respiration, ought however to be excellent in its operations, since without it, it is impossible to live. It has been believed, that it contained an indispensable necessary vivifying food, which never has been proved, at least it seems not to be of an *electric* nature. It might perhaps soon be possible to decide by experiments, whether this good air carries off noxious, especially phlogistic particles; since the air which has been expired from the lungs, is unfit for respiration, and is similar to that which has been phlogisticated.—We shall then likewise be informed, whether that which makes the greater part of the atmosphere, if it be inspired by itself, becomes fatal, for the reason that it has been previously saturated with heterogeneous bodies, and is thence incapacitated for carrying off any particles from the lungs.—Perhaps the aërial acid becomes an unfit vehicle for these articles, and is itself originally formed without

them; however it is not yet ascertained in what manner this air acts; but thus much is certain, that it destroys all irritability. I have, from animals killed by it, before they were grown cold extracted the heart, in which it was impossible to raise the least irritability, either with the most powerful *menstrua*, or the fire; or scalpels. If muscular fibres were the chief cause of the motion of the lungs, it would not be difficult to find out the ultimate-cause of death; but since its structure is formed of quite different substances, the greatest difficulties present themselves. By experiments however it might be easy to ascertain, whether the aërial acid and foul air act in the same manner. It would therefore be necessary to investigate, whether irritability (by all appearance so very necessary for the whole œconomy of animal bodies) is not likewise destroyed in such animals as have been suffocated and killed instantaneously by that air, which had been corrupted by respiration, fire, or other means. Since the air returning from the lungs, by expiration, is always blended with aërial acid; it would be necessary, in order to avoid all ambiguity, entirely to free the foul air of the aërial acid by means of lime-water, before any experiments were made with it. I hope soon to have an opportunity of making them. If then, contrary to expectation, the result shews, that they both act in the same manner, it would seemingly follow from thence, that these two fluids, so very distinct in their nature, act however by the same common unfitness either



for carrying off from the lungs the noxious particles, or introducing into them a vivifying *pabulum*.—But however noxious aërial acid is for sound lungs, it is nevertheless of great utility in the *primæ viæ*. Purulent lungs not only bear aërial acid, but they are even cured by it: and no sooner is the cure performed, than its inhalation becomes again dangerous.—But though there be ever so much left for investigation we may apply that for use which has already been discovered. It is for instance well known, that the air of the atmosphere may be examined in regard to its fitness for respiration; a discovery which bids fair to yield, in a very short time, the most important illustrations. If such observations were made at the same time in dwelling-rooms, infirmaries, and the open air, and were continued with some degree of accuracy, we should certainly discover the causes of many phænomena, which hitherto have remained inexplicable. Thus much we know already, that wounds and ulcers are with difficulty kept from going into mortification in corrupted, foul air; whereas on the other side, the immensely acute pains accompanying the cancer (that dreadful ailment) are in a few days not only mitigated and assuaged by the external use of aërial acid, but the loathsome aperture is also considerably diminished. — The compass of a preface not only prevents me from entering into a fuller discussion of this important subject, but also from producing more instances of its utility; I cannot however help mentioning in a few words only, that the ob-

servations on aërial acid have already spread a new light on the method of essaying and imitating, by art, medicated waters; and on their application and use in the cure of the scurvy, and other internal putrid diseases.—The true analysis of the calculi from the kidneys and bladder, has enabled us to judge with precision of the best remedies against the gravel. The discovery of the inner constitution of arsenic, made us better acquainted with the manner by which its dreadful effects are produced; and thereby the best means were pointed out, both to extinguish its poisonous quality, and likewise to mitigate and direct its effect for better purposes. How simplified are at present many compounded remedies; and how safe and little perilous, are many preparations of the most acrid and corrosive substances? How many absurd mixtures, decomposing and counteracting themselves, have not of late been rejected? How many false theories of diseases, and their causes, are there not daily exposed, and shewn to be without any foundation, by means of chemistry? Sugar was said to contain lime, in order to account for certain effects ascribed to sugar; though it contains not an atom of it. The calculi of the kidneys and the bladder were said to be calcareous; though they contain at the most only one half of calcareous substance. And so in many more instances, which it would be too tedious to enumerate. Lastly, how would it be possible to discover and to subject to controul the various *nosirums*, quack medicines, cheats, neglects, and other monsters of the



the medical science without the application of a chemical analysis? The muses were not without reason, thought to be sisters; and they are a most excellent emblem of that harmonic union, by which all the sciences mutually assist one another; and without which they never can attain any degree of perfection.

Next to health, there is nothing more pressing and necessary than *common food*. In order to convince us of the utility produced by chemistry in regard to the necessities of life, we shall only take a view of *agriculture*, that most antient and noble occupation. If we consult *Columella*, and many of the most antient writers on husbandry, we find to our humiliation and shame, that they were as well instructed as us, if not better, though in later times so much pains have been taken, so many encouragements have been given, and so many rewards have been distributed.--This ought to be considered in the following manner. The great Lord of nature has so bountifully taken care of us, that corn grows without any great care and knowledge. The improvements which this art in general is capable of from experience and collected experiments, are likewise soon enough acquired; and in this state it remains till the science of nature throws a new light upon it. They are two very distinct things, to raise corn on a certain piece of ground, and to raise as much corn as will possibly grow there:—The last desideratum is not always obtained by ploughing, ditching and manuring; for besides these mechanical operations,

there are two things more required: such a mixture as will afford to the vegetables not only proper nourishment; but also such a one as keeps humidity as long as the usual drought makes it requisite; for nothing grows, even in the most exquisite soil, without water. The best compound, therefore, ought to be adapted to the nature of the soil, the exposure, the climate, and the common temperature of the weather; as I have proved more at large in another place.—In the mean time it will be easily found, that chemistry is of the same importance to agriculture and all the more particular branches of rural œconomy, that astronomy is to navigation.

The arts and mechanical trades, are occupied with the melioration of raw materials. One part of them, from beginning to end, is a series of chemical operations; others are more mechanical; however there is hardly one of them which contains not one or more problems whose more perfect solution depends upon chemistry only. What a number of years must have elapsed before they arrived by chance only, or by unpremeditated experiments, to their present perfection; or before they learned to avoid all occurring inconveniencies. A perfect knowledge of the raw materials, often furnishes the best instructions, in a direct way. And it has been hitherto a great misfortune, that the practical part of the arts has been kept very secret: but since the French Academy of Sciences has begun to remove this obstacle, we have the most certain expectations of their



quick and amazing progress, by the assistance of the science of nature. Without the knowledge of the true causes and their connections, it is impossible either to obviate or to remove all the obstacles arising from chance or accidental circumstances.

From what has been said in a few words, it must evidently appear, that chemistry in a peculiar manner, throws a great light on all mechanical trades, concerned with corporeal substances.--However the property of the subject itself seems to prescribe limits to this science. The quality of our senses, even when assisted and improved by art, will not let us penetrate farther than to a certain point. The subtleness of our instruments is insufficient, and the best becomes at last useless. All these difficulties are still more increased, from the most subtle particles which cannot well fall under the examination of our bare senses, having not only the greatest adhesion and consequently exercising the greatest resistance to the attempts of dividing them, but also affording the most effectual and active means for this end. How imperfect therefore, must be our most perfect knowledge of the mysteries of nature?

This is all perfectly right; and the pretension is supremely silly, to be able at a future period to investigate the first powers, which the creator has established at the creation and for the preservation of the material world. Such a science is too abstruse, and reaches beyond our attainment; it is reserved for the power of the Creator, and not for that of a creature.—But it by no means fol-

lows, that chemistry should not be able to disclose to our eyes many a scene of wonders. Could we only discover with certainty, the elementary principles of bodies (*principia proxima*) together with their connections and proportions, chemistry would be able to do great things.

From the most early periods, certain substances were thought to be so simple, that art gave up all hopes of analysing them any further, and these were therefore considered as the *stamina prima*. Such are more especially the four Aristotelic elements, earth, water, air and fire: to discover the composition of which is the business of higher and more refined chemistry. Let us therefore examine, whether all hopes are entirely lost of discovering any thing here.—Earth is the fixed principle, which remains after the fire has exerted its destroying power against a body, and which is not soluble in water in the common way. This is the coarsest of all the four common elements, and makes but a small part of the bodies. Whatever analysis has hitherto been able to establish with certainty, may be reduced to this; that earth (which after all proves to be of different substances) is by no means the same matter, nor homogeneous, but a compound of several; and is found to be more or less of a saline nature, at least it is so on the surface of our globe, in its more pure state. There have been found six different species; having all quite different properties, and which hitherto have neither been decomposed into more simple, nor been changed into another: viz. The earth  
of



of the ponderous spar; 2. calcareous earth; 3. magnesia; 4. clay; 5. siliceous earth; and 6. earth of gems. I have in another place mentioned the characteristics of them.—Whether these, which till a further investigation may be called *primitive earths*, are really different, or only varieties of the same, I cannot tell; the last opinion seems to be the most simple. I have however before observed the dangerous error of limiting the order of nature to our confined ideas. The conclusion ought not to be formed before the premises are ascertained by experiments. Patience and assiduous application may perhaps in future times make discoveries; since we have at least some considerable number of notions about their properties, by which a great deal is already gained.—But since the acid of fluor and water, meeting one another in the form of vapours, coagulate into siliceous earth; and acid of arsenic with phlogiston coagulate into solid white arsenic; there is some indication that terreous substances, as well as metallic calxes, may be considered in their first principles as acids; which in the first case are become fixed by water, and in the last by phlogiston. Thus much at least is certain, that nature has indicated itself to be possessed of an abundance and variety of acids; and that it particularly employs them in its various operations.

Water is still more subtle, and with more difficulty decomposed.—Upon more accurate examination we find, that the experiments according to which it was imagined, that water could be changed into earth, do by no

means prove that which in the beginning had been suspected of them. It is generally known, that heat causes peculiar changes in water. The particles of water strongly attract the particles of heat; and after they have been charged with, or enveloped by a certain quantity of them, this compounded matter becomes so easily moveable, that its surface endeavours constantly to form a horizontal line; it has a great similarity with a subtle earth melted by fire. If you diminish the heat, by which operation the surface of the particles either come in contact and by their friction hinder this reciprocal motion, or the elasticity and power of repulsion is sufficiently diminished by the separation of one of these elementary principles, then the mass becomes indurated and ice is formed. It is not yet determined, which of these causes is here prevalent. If ice is to be melted, a quantity of the employed heat is lost, amounting to very near 72° of our thermometers, and forms a kind of saturation; so that its effect is concealed by its union with the ice, almost in the same manner as if an acid were hindered from exercising its characteristic properties by a saturation with alkalis. The same takes place with quicklime: it contains heat, which is inactive till a stronger elective attraction sets free and expels it. By the absorption of 72° of heat, ice is made fluid; that which it receives beyond it is superfluous; which may be easily observed, in the same manner as in adding an acid to a neutral salt: the water expands, grows warmer, more subtle,



tle, more penetrating, moveable, and light. If the quantity of heat is accumulated till it becomes equal to 100°, it is dissolved into elastic vapours; some of which are already generated before the degree of heat is equal to 100°; but so much the less, the less the quantity of heat exceeds the above mentioned degree of saturation.—In the very moment they are separated from the mass it cools; for all evaporation generates cold. Does this cold arise because the increased volume requires more to its saturation, and can in consequence of its effect, fix more heat than before? Or is the heat, (which was united to the water and was increased to a certain degree) now enabled to consolidate itself closer and in greater abundance, and to carry off in consequence that part of the water which is nearest at hand? —This is what experiments have taught us of the composition of water; plainly demonstrating that it by no means ought to be considered as a simple substance.

I have before mentioned something about air, and proved, that the substance commonly called by that name, is by no means a simple and homogeneous body. I need not likewise be prolix on this, and the thus called fourth element or fire; since these two are the objects of the following performance;—whose author, Mr. Scheele, has great merit in chemistry by several important discoveries; all his inquiries shewing not only his reflection and reasoning, but also a peculiar skill and perseverance in investigating truth, both by analysis and by synthesis. *Newton's* discovery to

divide light (the infinitely subtle light) into colours, has opened the way to many very curious mysteries of nature, though it was no more than a mechanical division. Mr. Scheele discloses a more subtle, because a chemical analysis; which instructs us not only about light, but also about fire, whose explication has hitherto been the *crux philosophia*. I have, with several alterations, repeated his principal experiments on which he grounds his doctrine on this subject, and found them perfectly accurate. Though in some less material circumstances a nearer confirmation might become necessary; it does however no injury to the main subject; which is grounded on several corresponding experiments.—Heat, fire, and light are in regard to the elementary principle, the same with good air and phlogiston; but their proportion, and perhaps the manner of their composition, cause the great difference. Phlogiston seems to be a real elementary principle, which enters the chief part of substances, and adheres to them most obstinately. There are several means to separate it more or less perfectly: of those known substances, good air is most active; for which reason, I put its sign at the very top of the column of phlogiston in my new table of attractions; what it cannot do suddenly, is however done gradually by the intervention of favourable circumstances.

How interesting the more refined chemistry is, will not be necessary to prove more circumstantially on the present occasion. It requires a great deal of prejudice, or the greatest ignorance, to treat it



it with contempt under the specious pretence of unnecessary refinement and subtleties. Earth, water, air, heat, light, and many more such subtle substances are every where to be met with; and as long as their properties remain unknown, the effects both of nature and art, must remain involved in the most perfect ob-

scurity. In Chemistry, there are none of the *veritates otiosæ*; the least phænomenon, when examined in all its causes, is always connected with others of the greatest importance; in such a manner, that every thing is shewn connected in the great œconomy of nature.



## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*Observations on the Dysentery of the West-Indies, by B. Moseley, Surgeon at Kingston in Jamaica; with his new and successful Manner of treating it.*

THE causes of all diseases, well understood and properly considered, point to their cure.—It is an observation of the great Sydenham, that, “he never was at a loss to prescribe for a disease, when he knew the cause of it;” and that he always prescribed with caution until he had found it.

The disorder in question has been, I believe, more considered from its effects, its remote, and concurring causes, than from its immediate cause;—hence we may account for the inefficacy of the various attempts to cure it.

The pen of writers has done little more in the bloody-flux, than record the times and places when and where it proved most fatal; the appearance it put on; its symptoms; its devastation; variety of modes of treatment that had no certain success; now and then a remarkable case, and the phænomena discovered on dissecting the dead.

The great author above-mentioned, following nature as an unerring guide, never stopped at effects, but proceeded on to the causes of diseases; and assisted the means employed by nature to remove them, or substitute a safer and better method;—to which principle the world is indebted for that inestimable work that can only perish with it; a work founded in nature, on a basis applicable to all climes; that stands as the *Palladium* of physic against the superstitious errors of the middle ages, and the ingenious chimeras of later times:—he discovered the dysentery to be, “*a fever of the season, or of its own kind, turned inwards upon the intestines;*” and yet his successors have made but little farther use of this excellent aphorism, than quoting it, as their rules laid down for treating the disease sufficiently prove.

In the course of twelve years experience in this island, and from every account I have been able to procure from all parts of the West-Indies, I have invariably found the truth of Sydenham’s opinion; and have remarked that as the flux distinguishes, by the number



ber of stools, the quantity, so it does the state of the fever of the season, when it prevails, or of the subject diseased; the stools being more frequent at those hours when fevers are in their exacerbation, and the reverse when in their remission; besides, their alternate succession is frequently observed,—nor can it be doubted that this *fever*, like most others, is caused by *obstructed perspiration*; not confined to cold, hot, wet, or dry seasons, particular food, water, liquors, or fruit; but chiefly depending on sudden transitions, and such other causes, as expose people to have this discharge hastily stopped.

I know that writers lay great stress on exciting, and internal pre-disposing causes; heat and moisture; putrid ferments; infection, &c. &c.—but, upon a strict examination, we shall find, that there has been too much attention employed on these imaginary circumstances, whilst the *immediate cause*, or *primum mobile* remains unnoticed. It is not to be doubted, that a conjunct cause is necessary, otherwise obstructed perspiration, the parent of so many, would always produce the same disease.

The skin being the great outlet for insensible perspiration, which is said by *Sanctorius* to amount, in the temperate clime of Italy, to five eighths of what is taken into the body, we cannot be surprised at the violent efforts nature immediately makes, on the sudden suppression of a habit of such extent: and if we attend to the stools of some patients, after the common contents of the bowels are discharged, before the

blood-vessels are broken, and at intervals when there is no mixture of blood or mucus, we shall find, they are nothing but a serous, acrid fluid.

As I have constantly practised in the opinion, that a flux is a *certain fever* of the intestines, and that this fever is caused by the *obstructed perspiration* being thrown there—so I have ever found it relieved, by turning back that discharge to its natural channel; nor have I often found difficulty in removing it speedily, when taken in the beginning.

The common and fatal practice, of attacking the disorder in the bowels, with opiates and astringents, is but aggravating the effect, whilst the cause is entirely neglected.

Among the multitude of *formulae* proposed for the flux, we find *snake-root*, *Dover's powder*, and other diaphoretic medicines; but exhibited in such a manner, that they must often have produced more harm than good:—however, it plainly demonstrates that the skin has not been really looked to for relief,—much less has the process of sweating been considered as the only one to be relied on.

Sir John Pringle recommends *ipecacuanha* in small doses, united with *philonium* and *opium*;—Dr. Huxley, and many others, a course of *ipecacuanha* in stages of the disease when the inflammatory symptoms are over; the good effects are attributed to astringency:—but with the greatest deference possible to such authority, I believe *ipecacuanha* increases the tendency of the humours to the skin, and therein consists its use in fluxes. I apprehend that no astringent,



gent, simply as such, will often be found proper in fluxes :—this is daily evinced by gangrenes, obstinate instructions, and swellings, which arise when a flux has been injudiciously stopped by them ; a flux being in its first stages “ *a fever of the intestines.*” and in every stage an increase of one discharge, from the diminution of another.

Monsieur De Senac gave *emetic tartar* in small doses ; but he expressly says, he gave it as a *laxative*, to keep up a free passage from the stomach to the *rectum*.—It is a common practice to give the *glass*, and other preparations of *antimony*, in casual doses, and uncertain periods ; but the operation is always intended for the first passages. In this practice, though the *primæ viæ* are so necessary to be cleansed, I attribute the principal success to the effects which *antimonials* produce in opening the obstructed capillaries, and preventing a reflux of humours to the bowels : for often in fluxes, when, from carelessness and cold, antimonials have had their whole force and action turned upon the bowels, they have increased the determination of the fluids there, and brought on sudden death ; and in fevers also, the stomach is sometimes destroyed by them.—When emetic tartar is injudiciously given to young, irritable, plethoric people, in the beginning of a fever, and previous to proper evacuations, instead of exciting a diaphoresis, a spasm is produced in the stomach ; incessant vomiting ; inflammation, the vessels of the thorax and head are stifled with blood, and the patient vomits away his life.

The activity of emetic tartar, makes the direction of it difficult : it is in many respects a dangerous medicine in hot climates, the nervous system being so irritable except merely as an emetic :—it has done much mischief when employed in fevers, the reguline virulence of the antimony being combined with acid, makes its operation, as a sudorific, very precarious ; and it often proves fatal to the stomach.

Such preparations of antimony as, from the effects, I should suppose *James's powder* to be, that have its phlogiston mitigated, and the reguline part capable of action, from acidity, are best in fevers, being most certainly sudorific ; their operation on the stomach or bowels considerably depends on the state of the humours contained there, and they principally become active when nature requires it.

Dr. Cullen objects, that the doses of these preparations of antimony cannot be so well ascertained, as its solution by the vegetable acid ; for which reason he prefers the emetic tartar for use. It must be admitted, that emetic tartar is a certain vomit, and when given for that purpose the dose is easily ascertained ;—but as it acts immediately on the stomach, it is frequently impossible to produce any other effect by it, dose it how you will.—This learned physician has greatly contributed to the general use of emetic tartar ;—the abuse of it has arisen from our respect to his character.

When we observe with what circumspection and prudence the most enlightened and scientific introduce



produce their reflections, we should learn that they apprehend more from exceeding, than rejecting their doctrine.

Dr. Cullen supposes, that the application of cold air, as a sedative, by abating the reaction of the vascular system, may be useful in some circumstances of fever; but does not venture to pronounce in what;—yet we see the extravagant practice of exposing patients indiscriminately in fevers, and other diseases almost *sub dio*, not attended to, nor the mischief it produces.

A moderately cool, temperate air, is proper and necessary in every species of fever; but if any thing beyond that degree is meant, it cannot be supported by any reasoning that applies to the small-pox,—though this, gave rise to the speculation, and many experiments on it, in the southern parts of Europe.

The small-pox fever is *sui generis*, and terminates in phlegmons; it requires a treatment of its own.—For example, cooler air than is required in a state of health is necessary; raising a sweat is prejudicial, and often changes the distinct into the confluent sort;—on the contrary, in fevers, their solution is commonly by sweat;—cold air applied, as in the small-pox, impedes that solution, and changes an intermittent into a remittent, or both into a continued fever.

The preceding paragraph will not be deemed digressive, as it is necessary, to elucidate my subject.

It is not my intention to dispute the auxiliary aid that may occasionally be drawn from aro-

matics, wax, suet, soap, lime-water, calomel, various purgatives, and even various astringents, in certain conditions of a dysentery, diarrhœa, or tenesmus; or from rhubarb, absorbents and correctors, in unimportant complaints of the bowels, originating there from acrimony or crudities; but to recommend a practice for removing the dysentery, by means adequate to, and that correspond with, its general cause.

It will occur to every practitioner, as my intention here is the use of sudorifics, that I mean, *a careful, continued course of them, to keep up a sweat, in extent proportioned to the violence of the disease*; and not the trifling way of giving small doses, whilst the patient is exposed, and their operation disregarded.—It will occur also, that *the sudorific employed must be suitable to the nature of the flux,—the stage of it,—the constitution of the season,—and the habit of the patient.*

When I propose a method, for the cure of this disease by a course of sudorifics, I am aware of no objection that can possibly attend the novelty of the doctrine—except that it wants the sanction of the fathers of physic, to oppose the errors and prejudices of custom:—but that must yield to facts; and the important consideration, that the success of the war, and the safety of the colonies, depend on the preservation of the troops; among whom the flux has ever been found to make the most dreadful havoc.

As much depends on a convenient and proper hospital, the situation and construction of it require consideration.—An hospital



tal should not only be situated on a healthful spot, but in the vicinity of a market; where good water, wood, and every necessary, can be supplied without fatigue, delay, or trouble.—The evils arising from the reverse of this, require no animadversion: let us consider the evils of its improper construction; instead of being lofty and spacious, we find the contrary mode is adopted; and it is generally thought sufficient to have plenty of doors and windows, in all places appropriated for the sick; these doors and windows are kept constantly open to make the hospital what is called *'airy*.

The cost of a good hospital is nothing in the scale of expence; it is a solecism in œconomy to have a bad one.—A bad hospital may deprive the state, in a few months, of as many men as would amount, in political calculation, to a sum sufficient to build ten good ones.

It cannot have escaped the notice of any person that has resided in the West-Indies, that sitting long in the confined direction of a breeze, brings on a feverish, disagreeable sensation,—and sometimes pains in the face, neck, joints, and a great degree of fever:—How then must it be with a patient, who, in the little huts of hospitals, is placed at a doorway to prevent suffocation, or raised on a platform to the level of an open window, if he should break out in a critical sweat? The sweat is suddenly stopped; and if death does not ensue, the disease (which, under the kind operation of nature, would be finished in a day or two) is lengthened out into months.

Hospitals and sick-rooms ought to be well ventilated; but as the sick should not be stifled with heat, so they should not have currents of wind imprudently directed on their bodies:—in this case, no disease can possibly be thrown off, or complete a crisis by the emunctories of the skin.—How then can soldiers recover from fevers, chiefly from obstructed perspiration exposed to a still encroaching cause?—To this source we may principally attribute the multitude of what are generally called convalescents; which in truth, for the most part, are people labouring under chronic complaints from the imperfect solution of acute diseases.

Though I have continually opportunities in my private practice, to prove the extent of the doctrine I advance, it is my intention to have the application of these observations understood to belong to the military, and that degree of dysentery which is now where to be seen but in their camps and garrisons:—for which reason I shall illustrate the subject with a short account of the bloody-flux, as it now rages amongst the troops in this island, and particularly in the camp at *Fort Castile*, with the method I have happily found successful, in the treatment of those committed to my care.

This flux will appear to want almost all the supposed remote causes of a dysentery, but it will be found with the immediate one common to all.

The state of the human frame, during some months past, has undergone a multitude of diurnal transitions, from the absence or presence



presence of a violent sea breeze:—the weather has been remarkably dry and hot, and at times sultry:—it was impossible to use the least exercise, without being heated; and it was almost impossible to get heated, without being immediately chilled by the breeze.

It is the soldier's life to be much exposed, and it is his custom to be careless of himself:—when he is fatigued or heated he hastens to cool himself in the breeze or night air; and perhaps throws off his cloaths, and often lies down and sleeps in that condition:—if he is wet, he dries his cloaths, linen, and skin together:—by these means, perspiration, the great fountain of health in hot climates, is suddenly stopped, and febrile strictures occupy the whole surface of the body.

A flux following these *data*, will distinguish itself by an inflammatory diathesis; and its progress will consequently be rapid.

The general symptoms are, a chillness in the beginning, succeeded by feverish heats; gripings and frequent small motions; sickness of the stomach, and sometimes retchings; copious purging soon follows, with green, brown, or yellow watery stools; these are now mixed with, or succeeded by, great discharges of blood; the stools vary in factor and appearance, according to the periods of the disease, or as they are more or less retained: a considerable degree of fever brings on the disease, and accompanies it, with some; with others but little;—small, bloody, slimy stools, continually harass the patient in the last stages, particularly at nights;

the tongue is greatly furred, and sometimes of a brown or black colour; apthæ appear but seldom.—This is the general account of those who experience the violence of the disease, and survive the first week; but many who were seized at the setting in of the flux this spring, perished within that time.

The curative indications are—*to cause a revulsion to the surface of the body, and to cleanse the intestines*:—The disease being rapid, the cure depends on performing these things as speedily as possible.

Experience having shewn, that the common methods and medicines hitherto used, fall far short of obtaining the important point of revulsion in proper time, and supporting it, the practice will still be deficient, if we cannot find means adequate to that purpose.

The inductive considerations are, to bleed whenever it can be done with safety; cleanse the *primæ viæ*; to check the *impetus* with which the circulation is determined on the intestines, distending and bursting the coats of the vessels; to remove the spasm from the vessels of the surface of the body, and to cause a diversion there: all these must be done immediately, that the revulsion may be effectual.

Bleeding being an operation of great consequence in the flux, the cure is generally begun with it, repeating it as the symptoms authorize:—there are but few instances where it may not safely be done in the beginning of the disease; the necessity is obvious where the patient is young, plethoric, with fever and full pulse.

After bleeding, a vomit of *ipe-*  
*cacuanha*



*cacuanha* is to be given, which commonly relieves the stomach from a load of acid, poraceous, bilious impurities:—but our great expectation from vomiting is, that its action on the muscular fibres of the stomach, forces upon the extreme arterial capillaries, forwards the circulation to the surface of the body, and induces to sweat.—An opiate after its operation is necessary.

After the vomit and opiate, it is proper to empty the bowels; but with caution in case the patient is weak; and in such a manner as not to increase the determination of the blood there, and divert it from the surface; for then we should lose the ground gained by the vomit, and counteract our principal design.—An antimonial that acts much upon the skin, and purges at the same time, is what I always use.

The *primæ viæ* being cleansed, and the revulsion begun, it must be completed by sudorifics, that the disease may be thrown off by sweat. This will be effected by uniting an opiate with a diaphoretic, and administering it as occasion requires. Laudanum and antimonial wine combined, is a medicine that causes little or no irritation, and is a pleasant and certain diaphoretic: it is always necessary in the flux, when a sweat is intended by antimonial or other emetic medicines in small doses, to add laudanum, to take off their irritation; by which means, their doses and effects may be greatly extended.

James's powder is admirably well calculated to answer the first intentions in this disease; it possesses this great advantage, that

though it shall effectually cleanse the *primæ viæ* properly given, it never fails to excite a plentiful sweat, and terminates on the skin.—This double operation (if I may so call it) perhaps has made it so decisive in obstinate fevers.

When the *diaphoresis* is begun, I cover my patient with his blanket, (which no soldier should be without) and take care that the wind is not admitted directly upon him. I do not suffer him to uncover himself, but order whatever he wants to be brought to him, and supply him copiously with warm mint, sage, balm, or oatmeal tea; and now and then given him a basin of gruel, or thin flour pap, with a spoonful or two of good sound white wine, as free as possible from acidity.

When the sudorific process has been successfully continued, all the symptoms grow milder; and if the patient breaks out in a rash, or efflorescent eruptions, or boils, the disease will soon vanish.

In case the flux continues obstinate, and the sweats do not go on kindly, it will not only be requisite to carry off the morbid humours, by a dose of the antimonial purgative; but repeated vomits of *ipeacacuanha* are to be given.—In this case, the circulation has not been enough diverted from the intestines, to produce a full and sufficient diaphoresis; it is therefore necessary to give a fresh impulse to the fibres, by the action of vomiting; for in vomiting, the action of the stomach, and the contraction of the abdominal viscera, forces the blood to the surface, and upper parts of the body.

Another cause of obstinacy in  
the



the flux, is indurated fæces lodged in the intestines;—and though the patient shall have been repeatedly purged, and taken nothing but fluids during his illness, it is amazing what lumps of excrement will sometimes be brought away by a repetition of the antimonial purgative, after an interval of several days;—for which reason, when the sweats have been plentiful, the pulse moderate, and the flux till continues obstinate, we may suspect this to be the case.—The extraordinary appearance these balls of excrement sometimes acquire, from a long retention amongst diseased secretions, have induced some to whimsical suppositions concerning their cause, and component principles.

I pursue this method, regulating it as occasion may require, or particular occurrences suggest, until the patient is in a condition for bark, and other tonics and corroborants.

The flux will continue troublesome in some subjects, from mere weakness and relaxation of the vessels, without any material gripings or feverish symptoms:—here I never hesitate to give bark with snake-root and wine.

In all complaints of the bowels, particularly in the dysentery, the bark should never be given in substance; it causes irritation, and gripings; and either brings back the disease or fills the patient with obstructions:—a strong decoction therefore is ever to be preferred.

As the flux is always increased at the approach of night; so, for some time after it has abated, the pulse quickens, and the patient grows feverish in the evening.—

This is an admonition, that we should desist from the bark, and give a gentle diaphoretic at night.

The remaining acrimony, which sometimes keeps up a small irritation after every other symptom is removed, may be corrected with absorbents, and carried off before the use of the bark; or at any subsequent period, if it should recur, with rhubarb and magnesia, or any mild cathartic.

During the convalescent state of those who have been much reduced, and to prevent a relapse, a flannel shirt or jacket, worn next the skin, is of singular benefit.—When the bowels have suffered considerably by the flux, and cannot recover their tone, but from weakness are subject to returns of that complaint, or to diarrhœa or tenesmus, on the least exposition to cold; a flannel jacket worn next the skin will be found almost a certain remedy, and preventative. — Such occasional cloathing is very useful to officers and soldiers on service in hot climates, exposed to rains, dews, or night air; or to put on after having been wet, fatigued, or heated, that perspiration may not be suddenly checked, and that the body may cool gradually.

It is to be observed, when the attack is sudden and violent, it will be necessary to overtake the disease with opiates and cordials, before any recourse to its principles can be adopted; otherwise the patient may be exhausted and sunk beyond the recovery of medicine.

Here I cannot help expressing my concern, that the aggravated symptoms which return in the morning, have not put an end to the



the custom of giving pills of *opium* at night.—When *opium* is given alone, and continued for any time, after its cordial effects are over, it weakens the vessels, injures the nerves, causes a strangury, and lowers the powers of life;—the humours, instead of being dissipated, accumulate in the diseased parts, that when the constipation is off, the blood rushes forth with increased violence, and accelerates the patient's end.

In the far advanced state of the disease, we find the mesenteric vessels and glands enlarged, and obstructed; the glandulæ peyerianæ of the intestines thickened, their coats tumified, relaxed, abraded, and hastening into a state of sphacelation:—*opium* in this situation must increase and multiply every evil.

The real use of *opium* is, to arrest the hurry of the disease; to procure time to put some rational means of cure into execution; to give other medicines their intended effect, and to ease those *tormina* which sometimes are intolerable.—Here the matchless power of *opium* raises our admiration.

In the preceding history it will appear, that the flux is not confined to particular seasons and situations;—that, what have been commonly considered as universal remote causes, only give the type to the disease;—and that its general cause, producible various ways, is obstructed perspiration.

The flux that prevailed last autumn, was attended with many of those causes that are called remote:—August, September, October, and the beginning of November were remarkably close,

and sultry, with frequent rains;—the great discharge of perspiration, from the rarefaction of the blood, in such a season, relaxes the extremities of the perspirable vessels, and subjects them to sudden spasm, and collapſion.

The camp dysentery, in low, damp, marshy countries, in the autumnal season, has all the concomitants and type of a flux in hot climates after heavy rains;—there will be less disposition to inflammation, and the fluids will tend more to a state of dissolution—yet it is a *fever turned upon the intestines*, for want of a free and regular perspiration, from the thickness and moisture of the atmosphere.

The irritation thus produced on the bowels, soon causes a violent determination of blood there; and as the circulation is diminished in the vessels of the surface of the body, it is increased in those of the intestines.

By this increased action of the arteries, the progress of the blood is impeded, in the minute ramifications of the vessels;—hence hæmorrhage, and extravasation;—an immediate revulsion is therefore necessary:—it must be extensive, but suitable, that there may be no mischief done by increasing the debility incident to the disease.

Bleeding cannot be performed in every subject, nor in every stage or condition of a flux;—cathartics only cleanse the affected parts; emetics are limited to answer certain purposes; diaphoretics have never been used, in a manner nor extent sufficient to produce an effect; and the custom of exposing patients



patients to partial currents of cold air, prevents nature from doing any thing towards the cure.

The type of the disease, being duly attended to, will indicate the quantity, and nature of the evacuations necessary to facilitate revulsion; and it is safely and effectually completed, by a careful continued course of sudorifics, kept up in extent proportioned to the disease.

Thus have I communicated what I conceive to be the general *cause* of the dysentery of the West-Indies, which has been so destructive to the troops—and entered into a short disquisition of its nature,—and explained the method I have followed in its cure.—I have avoided the detail of minute descriptions, circumstances, and particular cases, as not coming within my design; which is, to explain my method of cure, applicable to the cause I have assigned of this disease, and comprised in the following considerations;—that the dysentery is *a fever of the intestines*; that the cause is *obstructed perspiration*; and that the cure is in calling back the circulation to the surface of the body, and increasing the sensible perspiration by the most active sudorifics.

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*Description of a newly invented Machine for Raking Summer Corn Stubbles, by Mr. George Boswell, of Piddletown, Dorset. From the Letters of the Bath Agriculture Society.*

Gentlemen,

ABOUT three years since I found some difficulty in pro-

curing hands to take up my lent or summer corn in the method usuall practised in this county, that is, by forking the swarths into cocks, and raking the ground with hand-rakes by women. Men are generally employed in forking it. It therefore occurred to me that an instrument might be made to answer the purpose of raking it by hand. I knew the Norfolk method of doing it by drag-rakes, (as they are called) drawn by men; but the men were wanting elsewhere. I had often seen a horse-rake, made for gathering the *gramen canine* or couch-grass together upon fallow lands, and knew a farmer who had used it for his mown wheat stubbles; but this rake being drawn from the end of the beam by the horse, dragging the ends of the teeth upon the ground, collected such quantities of weeds, grass, earth, and stones with it, as nearly to render the corn of no value; besides, it could not be used for close-mown stubbles at all. Having for many years used the Norfolk ploughs here, I thought a rake might be so construed as to go on the breast-work of one of these ploughs in the same manner as the plough itself is used.

I therefore had one made nine feet and a half long, and the teeth six inches asunder. Upon applying it in the place of the plough on the breast-work, I found it answered extremely well, except that when it met with any considerable obstruction at one end, it drew the other end aslant. To remedy this inconvenience, I took away the pillar (the part of the breast-work that the beam rests upon, and which is raised higher,

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or



or let down lower, to sink or raise the plough) and had another made to extend about a foot or rather more beyond the outsidcs of the standards, and from each end of the chain, made to let out or take up at pleasure, to each end of the pillar: this kept the rake even and steady. To my great satisfaction, I found it succeed even beyond my expectation; for by means of this breast-work, it could, like the Norfolk plough, be instantly set up or let down to the greatest degree of nicety; so that any stubble, whether cut high or low, whether very full of grass or clover, or quite clean, might be raked by it with equal facility; for the teeth being made very much curved, the lower part of the back of the teeth rests upon the ground, and the points stand out of it. The weight of the rake presses the teeth close to the ground, and the corn is gathered into the throat of the rake, without digging up the weeds or the soil. The teeth are made sufficiently strong to prevent their bending. I have found a rake of the length above-mentioned very manageable; whether it would do better if made longer must be left to future experiments. I was determined to this length by the breadth of our gate-ways, being just enough to admit it through them without taking it to pieces.

For persons who want to remove it to a distant part, two small wheels might be added, to put on occasionally at the ends, to raise the teeth from the ground as it is drawn along the road.

I am sensible, that if a low wheel were fixed at each end, even when in its work, it would greatly less-

sen the friction, and the horse would draw it the easier; but it would render it more complex, and, perhaps, occasion it not to turn so easily at the ends of the land. I have, however, had it in idea, to fix some kind of standard on the head of the rake for a line, like the Norfolk plough-lines, to come back to, that the man might guide the horse himself, and save the expence of a boy to lead him; but to this there seem to arise some objections.

One horse, and a boy to lead him, with a man to clear the rake, will easily rake twelve acres of stubble in a day; and if two horses are taken into the field, to be used alternately, twenty acres might be raked in the same time; but this would be hard work for the man.

The manner of using it is as follows:

The rake being put on the breast-work of the Norfolk plough, in the same manner as the ploughs are, the horse draws it with the same traces, &c. (only in the plough two horses are used, and here but one) and being set into its work to a proper height, according as the stubble is long or short, the boy leads the horse across the ridges, the corn being previously put in cocks by the forkers; the man follows the rake, and when it is filled, he speaks to the boy, who stops the horse, and puts him back a step or two. This is done that the man by drawing the rake back a little, may the more easily and speedily free it from the corn; then lifting it up, and the horse instantly going on, he



he drops the rake just beyond the ridge thus gathered together. This he repeats as often as it is full, till he reaches the end of the land. Then he turns, and, coming back by the side of the part raked, empties the rake adjoining to the other. By this means the raked corn lies in straight rows across the field, and, when dry, is turned if necessary, gathered up, and carried away.

I am satisfied it might also be advantageously employed in raking upland hay-ground, and all sorts of seed clover-land.

It may not be amiss to mention, that in the first rake I made, the teeth were only three inches asunder. I soon found they were too close. Taking, therefore, every other one out, I made another six inches asunder—the holes in the first not being filled up, the teeth might, if necessary, be replaced, and then would be thick enough to rake any gentleman's lawn which is kept frequently mown.

I make no apology for this trouble—my intention shall plead my excuse; and therefore only add, that I am, your obedient humble servant,

GEORGE BOSWELL.

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*Instructions for the Prevention and Cure of the Epizooty or contagious Distemper among Horned Cattle. Translated from the French of Monsr. de Saive, Apothecary to the Prince Bishop of Liege, by Mr. Moreau, of Bath. From the same.*

**F**ARMERS have no need to be informed, how important a matter the preservation of their

cattle is. The considerable advantages they reap from them when free from accidents, and the losses they suffer when distempers spread among their herds, are sufficient motives to make them feel the interest they have in preserving their cow-houses, stables, &c. from the infection, and in using all possible means to prevent its progress. But as fatal experience has proved that the use of medicines, with the powers of which they were not well acquainted, has been frequently more prejudicial than salutary in the Epizooty; and that country people, by placing an unlimited confidence in pretended specifics, purchased at a very high price, have very often been drawn into a double loss, by the death of their cattle, as well as the expence of such drugs; it is thought the communication of an efficacious and cheap manner of treating cattle when attacked by this distemper, and of the means to prevent their being so, will be rendering an essential service to the public.

The moment they perceive any symptoms of the distemper, they should immediately take about a pint and a half of blood from the beast, except he has been ill a day or two, in which case he must not be let blood; but in both cases let the following draught be given:

No. 1. An ounce of the best theriac (Venice treacle) dissolved in a pint of vinegar, after which the back bone and the whole hide must be well rubbed with a dry hair-cloth to heat the hide and promote perspiration. No drink should be given him but a white drink, composed of



No. 2. A handful or two of rye-meal in a pailful of clear water; and, should the beast seem to want food, mix up some crumbs of rye-bread with some of the said white drink, and give it him. The animal's mouth must be washed twice a day with a cloth dipped in a mixture of

No. 3. Vinegar and water, (equal quantity of each) with a spoonful of honey to a pint of it.

If on the second day the beast has not dunged, a clyster, composed of

No. 4. A pint of water in which bran has been boiled, two spoonfuls of salt, and a small glass of vinegar, must be given and repeated every day till the evacuations are natural and regular.

Besides the above remedies, the following cordial mixture:

No. 5. A pint of clear water, the same quantity of vinegar, four spoonfuls of honey or syrup, and two glasses of brandy,—must be given four times a day to facilitate and keep up perspiration; taking particular care to repeat the friction as directed above.

Should the beast still continue low and heavy, the draught No. 1. must be repeated, unless he should be found to be hot and thirsty, in which case, use only the drink No. 2. On the fourth day, if he seems more lively and free from heat purge him with,

No. 6. Two ounces of salts, and one ounce of common salt, dissolved in a pint of lukewarm water, with two spoonfuls of honey. If this does not procure four or five evacuations, repeat the clyster the same day.

This mode of treatment must be continued without intermission till

the beast begins to eat, then you must only give him the white drink No. 2, and a little good fodder, or, some rye-bread dipped in stale beer, moderately sweetened with honey or syrup.

The exterior treatment consists in the application of setons in the beginning of the distemper, at the bottom of the dew-lap, and of cauteries towards the horns, between which some weight must be fixed, such as, stone of a pound weight or more, wrapt up in a cloth, to keep it steady. This is necessary to keep the head warm. But above all the friction must be closely attended to, in order to determine the critical efforts of nature.

It would be well also to evaporate vinegar in the cow-house, &c. and if it could be done without risque, blowing off a few grains of gun-powder twice a day in them, would be a very useful fumigation.

If, notwithstanding these aids, the beast be not perfectly cured in ten or twelve days, they must be continued without bleeding, unless the inflammation be very considerable; but if, after all, the distemper does not give way, the beast must be killed, and then too much care cannot be taken to bury it very deep; cover it over with the earth which came out of the hole, and a turf over all, in order to prevent the putrid vapours, which exhale from such carrion, corrupting the air and spreading the infection.

As to the preservatives from infection, the principal, after having taken every precaution possible to prevent its communication from other herds, consists in washing



ing the racks, troughs, &c. and the hide of the beast every day, with plenty of water; and, as the generality of people seem to place great confidence in strong aromatic fumigations, they are advised, instead of the expensive drugs of which such fumigations are composed, to use fires made with the branches of green wood, throwing pitch on it to quicken the flames and perfume the air; these fires must be lighted at some distance from the houses, for fear of accidents.

Common salt, given in small quantities every day to horned cattle, is reckoned an excellent preservative, particularly in a learned dissertation on the contagious distempers among horned cattle, by Monf. De Limbourg, M. D. and F. R. S. of London. It should be observed, that though the report of an Epizooty is often spread, yet all the disorders to which cattle are liable should not be attributed to this epidemical distemper, since they are not exempted from this even when no contagious distemper reigns. Therefore, when a beast is taken ill, enquiry should be made if the infection is in the neighbourhood, as in such case, a suspicion of its being the Epizooty would be well grounded, and immediate recourse should be had to the remedies above-mentioned.

But, as it often happens that cattle fall sick after having eaten bad fodder, or having grazed in frosty weather on the tops of herbs, &c. when covered with ice and snow, (to prevent their doing which, all possible care should be taken) to these accidents only are frequently to be attri-

buted the sickness and death of many beasts which fall victims to them.

There is another accident no less dangerous, to which cattle are liable, which is, the washing them with waters prepared with different sorts of poisons, especially with arsenic to kill the vermin; these waters occasion an itching of the skin, which obliges the animal to lick himself; in doing which he sucks in the poison. It is evident, that such pernicious practices may occasion as fatal disasters and unhappy losses to farmers, as even the Epizooty itself; it cannot, therefore, be too much recommended to them, to forbear the use of such things, which never fail doing the mischief above described.

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*Thoughts on the Rot in Sheep. From the same.*

THE cause of the rot in sheep, says Mr. Boswell, in his late useful and ingenious publication, is unknown.—Mr. Arthur Young, in recapitulating all the information he could get, in his Eastern tour, observes, that “the accounts are so amazingly contradictory, that nothing can be gathered from them,” but concludes, that “every one knows that moisture is the cause.”

In differing from an author of Mr. Young’s acknowledged merit, supported by the general opinion of mankind, I am led to examine my own sentiments with caution and distrust;—but, unless it is only meant, that moisture is generally the remote cause, it will be difficult to account for the rot be-



ing taken on fallows in a single day, and in water meadows sometimes in half an hour, when in grounds of a different sort, although excessively wet and slabby, sheep will remain for many weeks together uninjured.

Another opinion, which has many adherents, is, that the rot is owing to the quick growth of grafs or herbs that grow in wet places.

Without premising, that all-bounteous Providence has given to every animal its peculiar taste, by which it distinguishes the food proper for its preservation and support, (if not vitiated by fortuitous circumstances), it seems very difficult to discover on philosophical principles, why the quick growth of grafs should render it noxious,—or why any herb should at one season produce fatal effects, by the admission of pure water only into its component parts, which at other times is perfectly innocent, although brought to its utmost strength and maturity by the genial influence of the sun. So far from agreeing with those who attribute the rot to quick-growing grafs, which they call flashy, insipid, and destitute of salts, to me the quickness of growth is a proof of its being endued with the most active principles of vegetation, and is *one* of the criterions of its superior excellence.—Besides, the constant practice of most farmers in the kingdom, who, with the greatest security, feed their meadows in the spring, when the grafs shoots quick and is full of juices, militates directly against this opinion.

Let us now consider whether

another cause may not be assigned more reconcilable with the various accounts we receive of this disorder. If our arguments, however specious, are contradictory to known facts, instead of conducting us in the plain paths of truth, they leave us in the mazes of error and uncertainty.

Each species of vegetables and animals has its peculiar soil, situation, and food, assigned to it. Taught by unerring instinct “the sparrow findeth her a house, the swallow a nest, and the stork in the heavens knoweth her appointed time.” The whole feathered tribe, indeed, display a wonderful sagacity and variety in the choice and structure of their habitations. Nor can it be doubted that the minutest reptile has its fixed laws, appointed by him whose “tender mercies are over all his works.”

The numerous inhabitants of the air, earth, and waters, are strongly influenced by the seasons, and by the state of the atmosphere; and the same causes, perhaps, that rapidly call myriads of one species into being, may frequently prove the destruction of another. Is it then improbable that some insect finds its food, and lays its eggs, on the tender succulent grafs found on particular soils, (especially wet ones) which it most delights in;—Or, that this insect should, after a redundancy of moisture, by an instinctive impulse, quit its dank and dreary habitation, and its fecundity be greatly increased by such seasons, in conjunction with the prolific warmth of the sun?

The flesh-fly lays her eggs upon her food, which also serves to support



support her future offspring; and the common earth-worm propagates its species above ground, when the weather is mild and moist, or the earth dewy.

The eggs, deposited on the tender germ, are conveyed with the food into the stomach and intestines of the animals, whence they are received into the lacteal vessels, carried off in the chyle, and pass into the blood; nor do they meet with any obstruction until they arrive at the capillary vessels of the liver.—Here, as the blood filtrates through the extreme branches, answering to those of the Vena Porta in the human body, the secreting vessels are too minute to admit the impregnated ova, which, adhering to the membrane, produce those animalculæ that feed upon the liver and destroy the sheep. They much resemble the flat fish called plaice, are sometimes as large as a silver two-pence, and are found both in the liver and in the pipe, (answering to that of the vena cava) which conveys the blood from the liver to the heart.

If the form of this animal is unlike any thing we meet with among the insect tribe, we should consider that it may be so small in its natural state as to escape our observation.—Or might not its form have changed with its situation?—"The caterpillar undergoes several changes before it produces a butterfly."

The various accounts which every diligent enquirer must have met with, (as well as the indefatigable Mr. Young) seem very consistent with the theory of this disorder.

If dry, limed land in Derby-

shire will rot in common with water - meadows, and stagnant marshes;—if some springy lands rot when others are perfectly safe;—is it owing to the circumstance of water, or that of producing the proper food or nidus of the insect? Those who find their aftergrasses rot till the autumnal watering, and safe afterwards, might probably be of opinion, that the embryo laid there in the summer, is then washed away or destroyed.

With regard to those lands that are accounted never safe, if there is not something peculiar in the soil or situation, which allures or forces the insect to quit its abode at unusual seasons, it may be well worth enquiring, whether from the coarseness of their nature, or for want of being sufficiently fed, there is not some grass in these lands always left of a sufficient length to secure the eggs of the insect above the reach of the water.

Such who assert that *flowing* water alone is the cause of the rot, can have but little acquaintance with the Somersetshire clays, and are diametrically opposite to those who find their worst land for rotting cured by watering. Yet, may not the water which produces this effect, be impregnated with particles destructive to the insect, or to the tender germ which serves for its food or nidus?

For solving another difficulty, that "no ewe ever rots while she has a lamb by her side," the gentlemen of the faculty can best inform us, whether it is not probable, that the impregnated ovum passes into the milk, and never arrives at the liver. The same



learned gentlemen may think the following question also not unworthy their consideration :

Why is the rot fatal to sheep, hares, and rabbits, (and sometimes to calves), when cattle of greater bulk, which probably take the same food, escape uninjured?

Is the digestive matter in the stomach of *these* different from that of the others, and such as will turn the ova into a state of corruption; or rather, are not the secretory ducts in the liver large enough to let them pass through, and be carried on in the usual current of the blood?

It seems to be an acknowledged fact, that salt marshes never rot. Salt is pernicious to most insects. They never infest gardens where sea weed is laid. Common salt and water is a powerful expellent of worms bred in the human body.

I could wish the intelligent farmer would consider these truths with attention, and not neglect a remedy which is cheap and always at hand.

Lisle, in his book of husbandry, informs us of a farmer who cured his whole flock of the rot, by giving each sheep a handful of Spanish salt, for five or six mornings successively. The hint was probably taken from the Spaniards, who frequently give their sheep salt to keep them healthy.

On some farms, perhaps, the utmost caution cannot always prevent the disorder. In wet and warm seasons, the prudent farmer will remove his sheep from the lands liable to rot. Those who have it not in their power to do this, I would advise to give each sheep a spoonful of common salt, with the same quantity of flour,

in a quarter of a pint of water, once or twice a week. When the rot is recently taken, the same remedy given four or five mornings successively, will in all probability effect a cure. The addition of the flour and water will, in the opinion of the writer of this, not only abate the pungency of the salt, but dispose it to mix with the chyle in a more friendly and efficacious manner.

Were it in my power to communicate to the society the result of actual experiment, it would doubtless be more satisfactory. They will, however, I am persuaded, accept of these hints, at least as an earnest of my desire to be serviceable. Should they only tend to awaken the attention of the industrious husbandman, or to excite the curiosity of some other enquirer, who has more leisure and greater abilities, I shall have the satisfaction of thinking that my speculations, however imperfect, are not entirely useless.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

BENJAMIN PRICE.

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*An Extract from a Proposal for the Improvement of Agriculture. From the same.*

“THE difficulty of instituting schools for husbandry, is now trifling, since so many societies have been established and are supported with so much liberality; especially since the *Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce*, is annually offering such vast sums of money for the encouragement of experiments; and none of the other societies, I should apprehend,



hend, are formed on so small a scale as to preclude the practicability of taking into their hands a few fields, (and a few would be sufficient) and of appointing some person or persons to cultivate them, and instruct the pupils, either according to the idea of Lord Moleworth, which points to the education of poor men's children; or, according to the ideas of Cowley and Sir William Petty, which respect the education of gentlemen's sons as well as others.

At present, however, let us attend to the *advantages* accruing from each of the above plans; premising only, that lectures on the theory of husbandry must, *by all means*, be accompanied with a close attention to the practical part of it in such a manner as may tend to correct the mistakes of speculation, to open and enlarge the mind, and to give a clearer insight into the nature of vegetation, and the very fundamental principles of agriculture.

Were schools established in different parts of the kingdom for the education of farmer's sons who might be but in low circumstances, gentlemen would never want sensible and rational improvers of their estates, who would likewise be the most proper persons to instruct parish apprentices and inferior servants. This the old experienced Varro reckoned to be of principal importance. 'The bailiffs,' says he, 'should be men of some erudition and some degree of refinement.' But more especially ought a bailiff to be *well skilled* in rural œconomics: he should not only give orders, but also work himself; that the labourers might imitate him, and be convinced it is with propriety

he presides over them, because he excels them in the practical part, as well as the scientific.

Were this the case with us, local and established customs would be regarded no farther than they are founded in propriety; younger servants would be accustomed to a variation in their methods of culture as *circumstances* varied; new modes will not be despised, because they *are* new; the effects of experiments would be modestly expected; the advantages and disadvantages attending them, would be accurately discerned; and a continual progress would be made in the science and practice of agriculture. Were some smart boys selected by each society, and educated on the above plan, they would hereafter convey knowledge wherever they went; and their observations would be better attended to by inferior servants, than if they came from persons of high rank. In short, *they* would effect what even the superior knowledge of noblemen and gentlemen could not perform, who have more important objects in view than to cultivate the neglected understanding of every rustic labourer they may have occasion to employ. Like smaller rivulets, branching from the main stream, they would water and fertilize those lands where a larger river cannot with propriety expand itself.

While under tuition they will learn the expediency of a clean and spirited system of husbandry; as it is supposed that their tutor's fields will be cultivated on these principles. On comparing his crops with those of many others, the truth of Hesiod's maxim would be apparent, that *half may be more than*



*than the whole.* For should they think of becoming tenants, they will view an estate with this ruling principle, that one of an hundred pounds per annum, well cultivated, will produce at the end of the term more clear profit than another of two hundred a year, treated in a negligent and slovenly manner.

An injudicious course of cropping, imperfect tillage, partial and improper manures, are not always to be attributed to ignorance, but sometimes to the estates being too large for the farmer's capital; he does not command the estate, but the estate him, too frequently to the great injury of both; his hands are bound at his first setting out; and it is much if they regain their freedom unless eventually through his landlord's distraining him for rent and ejecting him from the premises. But what is the farmer to do, if he cannot find a farm in his own neighbourhood suitable to his capital? shall he remove into another country, an entire stranger; or commence day-labourer, or starve?

The modern practice of throwing several small farms into one, is much to be lamented as a national evil in every view; and calls loudly for the regulation of the legislature.

But to return to our young farmer, transplanted from the nursery, where his mind received its first cultivation, unto the spot where he is supposed to fix his residence.

While under instruction, he was taught to form a pretty good judgment of the qualities, such as the tenacity, dryness, or moisture, of different fields, from the herbage

they spontaneously produce; he will, therefore immediately perceive which are most proper to be *first* under tillage, in order that *the estate may not be impoverished.* The want of attention to this circumstance has kept many a man poor all his days, under a notion that the best ground will carry one or two good crops of exhausting corn at first, and so far prove of immediate great gain; not considering, that it generally proves a future heavy loss, from the necessity he will be under of letting it lie fallow, and of applying much expensive labour in order to extirpate weeds and much more expensive manure in order to recover its lost strength. Yet still, there is a certain vigour in those fields, which have been under a judicious course of meliorating crops, though but moderately manured, which even a fallow and a complete stercoration cannot bestow on any soil which hath been once impoverished; as may be more easily perceived by a discerning eye, than described.

Our farmer hath been taught, that the good ground (on which his chief dependence is for paying his rent) if preserved in good heart, will often mend the bad; but the impoverishing of one or two of the best fields will frequently affect the whole estate in the decrease of its pasture, in lessening the quantity of manure, and increasing the expence of tillage.

It hath frequently been inculcated on him—that his future success depends much on his first course of crops,—that at first, especially, meliorating crops are to be preferred, as far as circumstances will admit, to exhausting ones;—



ones;—that the latter, whenever they are sworn, should be succeeded by the former;—that those manures which are most apt to produce *weeds*, should either be laid on pasture, or ploughed in for such crops as can be best hoed or have the best tendency to destroy them, viz. beans, peas, turnips, cabbages, &c. — that, although some of these crops may require rather more expence, and not return that expence in money quite so soon as some of the exhausting ones (part of them being appropriated to the fattening of cattle, by which means, the best of manure is raised and in the largest quantity) yet like those bees which travel farthest, and stay out longest, they generally return home most deeply laden;—that the dung-heap be most sedulously regarded as the foundation of his future wealth;—but that no manure should be laid on wet springy lands before they have been drained, unless he chuses to sink the profits of all his other fields.

He hath been taught to venture on some few experiments, on general fixed principles; which, though they might not all of them perfectly answer his expectations, may, nevertheless, throw additional light on the subject of agriculture. In a word, he will become fit company for a gentleman; he will receive and communicate information; and, at the same time, on account of that close attention which he finds requisite, in order that he may pay his rent, he will be continually increasing that important knowledge which an uninstructed mind cannot possibly attain.

Such an institution as is here

recommended may possibly be of service to those farmers who have no particular connection with our agricultural societies; whose fields, however, lying open to the continual view of their neighbours, will be a constant lesson to those who must need instruction, speaking much more intelligibly to *them*, than accounts of experiments stated on paper; against which they will be frequently starting that particular kind of doubt, which I have found to be generally expressed in some such language as this, *it may be so, but I don't know*:—a doubt arising from a cloud enveloping their minds, which the powers of reasoning are very ineffectual to dispel. But they will sometimes learn that lesson from the plants of the field which they might not chuse to learn from the tongues of their fellow-creatures, because they will not avowedly acknowledge others to be their superiors in this art and science.

The advantages of such an academy for the education of gentlemen's sons, will be no less evident with regard to themselves, their posterity, and the nation in general.

On this part of our subject, my learned master thus expresses himself:—"according to the best observations, the proper time to infuse that useful part of natural philosophy called husbandry, is in the earlier stage of life, when there is curiosity and a thirst for knowledge. And if practice here could be joined with theory, enjoying the open air, exercise, and activity, agree well with the turn and cast of young people, not to mention a revolution of



perpetual variety which is very engaging at their age.

“It is one point gained without doubt, to be enabled to read the husbandry works of Cato, Varro, Virgil, and Columella, with taste and knowledge. It may open a new walk on classical ground; and, in all probability, give young men certain predispositions in favour of agriculture. Yet still, the whole combined together will produce but slight effects, unless we call in the assistance of facts and experience.

“Something of this kind ought certainly to be done, and the complaint of Columella, when he says with some degree of warmth, “*Agricolationis doctores qui se profiterentur neque discipulos cognovi.*” should if possible be removed.

The former part of this quotation evidently intimates, that the improvement of young gentlemen in classical learning, would not be impeded, but rather promoted, by attending to agriculture; and the experience of every one who has led a studious life will testify, that the open air invigorates the mind, and prepares it for receiving instruction, because it can bear application only to a certain degree, and stands in need of being frequently re-invigorated by amusements and lighter studies.

Time is precious, and might be virtually lengthened by a proper disposal of it. When the mind is fatigued with close application, exercise in the open air will renew its strength and activity. Additional to their being taught the value of the different fields over which they may walk with their tutor, from the various

plants each field naturally produces, botany may be attended to as a pleasing and instructive science; neither should planting and gardening, by any means, be neglected; nor the art of surveying and delineating estates be considered as beneath their notice.

In bad weather they may be occasionally amused with experiments on various branches of natural philosophy;—the effects of the air with regard to vegetation, and the nature of different earths and manures, after the manner of the Doctors Home, Fordyce, Ainslie, Priestley, &c. They should also be instructed in the principles of mechanics, especially that part which relates to hydraulics; it being of principal utility in draining and other modes of improving estates.

These are circumstances from which many of the capital improvements lately made, in a great measure, originated. They were indeed considered of principal importance by Sir William Petty, ‘one of the greatest men of that or any other age,’ who recommends them with earnestness, for reasons highly worthy of himself, and which will be mentioned hereafter.

Having gained some knowledge of agriculture, they will read the works of the ancient agricultural writers with improvement and pleasure; a circumstance which will much expedite the knowledge of the languages. For without excluding other prose authors, may I not venture to assert, that the ancient writers on husbandry are, from the nature of their subject and their classical style, as proper



proper for young persons, and as suitable to their dispositions and capacities, as any they generally read. Indeed I have always been apt to suspect, that putting the works of Homer, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, or in fact, any other *poet*, into the hands of boys before their minds are properly furnished, and their taste and judgment sufficiently advanced, to enter into the spirit of those excellent writers, has been only rendering learning irksome to them, and proved the means of their bidding a final adieu not only to those authors, but to all classical literature, when they have left their grammar-schools; not to mention that *prose* writers seem in themselves, best calculated to teach any language by, as well as to convey the most useful information to the minds of youth.

Poetry and painting are sister arts, they alike receive advantages from rural scenes, witness the six pastorals of Mr. Smith, than whom, as a landscape-painter, and as a poet, this age hath not, perhaps, produced a greater.

The following is one instance, among many others, to prove how favourable an intimate acquaintance with rural images is to poetical description.

“ The night was still—the silver moon  
on high

“ Dappled the mountains from a clouded  
sky :

“ Silent as fleecy clouds thro’ æther sail,

“ Before the gentle-breathing Summer’s  
gale ;

“ So thro’ the misty vale in twilight grey,

“ The st-epy waters gently passed a-  
way.”——

Engaging in rural concerns will  
strengthen the whole human frame,

the powers of the mind, as well as the members of the body ; will give a manly turn to thought, duly regulated and refined by polite literature. A person thus educated will never want a variety of entertainment in the country to fill up his time in a manner equally innocent, rational, and useful. He will be continually increasing in valuable knowledge, and preserve himself from that dissipation which enervates the mind, renders retirement burthensome, and the more public and momentous concerns of life too arduous to be executed with propriety and decorum. He will enjoy his *otium cum dignitate*, and, at the same time, his private amusements will give a certain dignity and polish to his sentiments, which on all occasions he will be the better enabled to express in public, with a truly British Spirit, Roman firmness, and Attic elegance. There will appear in his whole manner and address that *simplex munditiis* which is equally removed from empty affected foppishness and mere clownish rusticity. He will be fitted for such department in the government of the state as may best suit the natural bent of his genius, whenever his assistance may be thought necessary ; and may rank hereafter among those worthies who had acted the same part before him, and whose eulogium may be delivered in the words of the Roman orator, “ Ab aratro arcescebantur qui consules fierent—Suos enim agros studiose colebant, non alienos cupide appetebant, quibus rebus, et agris et urbibus et nationibus rempublicam, atque hoc imperium et populi Romano nomen auxerunt.”

But



But to return into the more humble walk of cultivation and emolument.

When your young pupil shall come to the possession of his paternal estate, he will immediately perceive what is to be done to the best advantage; he will be able to *direct* his servants, rather than be *imposed* upon by them, which must ever be the case when the master is unacquainted with the business he superintends. This is a matter of high importance. For, if in any other profession he should spend his fortune, it is possible he may be the *only* sufferer; but it is not so in agriculture. Every field is, in some respect, public property; and, if his crops fail through unskilful management, whatever is lost by the owner, is, in some degree, a loss to the community at large.

When I reflect on this, and consider how much the crops are diminished, through the mistaken notions and obstinacy of the common farmers, especially when they rent larger estates than they have strength to manage; and when I view the almost immeasurable quantity of improveable land which yet remains waste and next to barren; I cannot but agree to the supposition of Mr. Harte, that the lands of England may be made to produce one-sixth part more than they do: a point this of great national importance, amounting to near four millions of money annually!

Whatever advantages may accrue to gentlemen from committing their estates to the management of such a skilful and well educated bailiff, as hath been above recommended, yet they

should not be left *wholly* to him; for experience hath too often shewn, that the integrity of a man's heart does not always keep pace with his understanding. Indolence, self-interest, pleasure, and other temptations, may cause him to neglect his master's interest, at a critical time; the evils of which neglect may not be remedied for years together. Every one who hath attended to works of husbandry, must be sensible, that in all their several parts, they are only links of one chain; either of which being broken, the whole work is frequently thrown into confusion, particularly with regard to the most proper seasons for the different labours of the field; a circumstance of no small moment in our varying climate.

This sentiment should be impressed with all possible energy; and it cannot be done in more forcible and comprehensive terms than those of Cato, "*Res rustica sic est, si unam rem serò feceris, omnia opera serò facies.*"

It is likewise to be observed that, although the gentleman's crops may, in many instances, be larger than those of other men; yet, by trusting too much to his servants, he is often put to needless expence, which the common farmers avoid, and on account of which they object to the propriety of his method; so that hereby the public spirited gentleman sometimes hurts the cause he intends to serve.

However, the well educated bailiffs are more likely to do their masters strict justice than the illiterate; those little meannesses which the latter hardly think any thing of, though frequently attended with considerable disadvantages,



tages, the former are in general above committing, because they know better.

Indeed I cannot consider the study and profession of agriculture as any way unbecoming the character of a clergyman: he may hereafter prove of great service to his country parishioners as his advice and method of proceeding would be readily attended to by the younger part of his parishioners, and he will have frequent opportunities of conveying just ideas of improving their modes of cultivation. Thus the knowledge of agriculture may be diffused in every part of the country, where such a gentleman fixes his residence. Should his cure be but small, he will have a fair opportunity of preserving himself from that dependance, which might too often lessen the weight and energy which should always accompany his religious instructions.

It was thought proper to reserve Sir William Petty's *Advice for the advancement of Learning* for this place; because his plan is in itself highly judicious, and includes the ideas of Cowley and Lord Moleworth.

Sir William proposes, "that there be instituted literary work-houses, where children may be taught as well to do something towards their living as to read and write.

"That the business of education be seriously studied and practised by the best and ablest persons.

"That all children, above seven years old, may be presented to this kind of education; none being excluded by reason of the poverty and inability of their parents; for hereby it hath come to

pass, that many are now holding the plough, who might be made fit to steer the state.

"That all children, though of the highest rank, be taught some genteel manufacture, in their minority, or turning of curious figures, &c. limning and painting on glass or in oil colours, botanics and gardening, chymistry, &c. &c.

"And all for these reasons:—they shall be less subject to be imposed upon by artificers; they will become more industrious in general; they will certainly bring to pass most excellent works, being as gentlemen, ambitious to excel ordinary workmen. They being able to make experiments themselves, may do it with less charge and more care than others will do it for them. It may engage them to be Mæcenas's and patrons of arts. It will keep them from worse occasions of spending their time and estates; as it will be a great ornament in prosperity, so it will be a great refuge and stay in adversity and common calamity.

After these observations, need any thing be added to shew the advantages of such an education, except attempting to obviate an objection which may possibly arise with regard to the difficulty of procuring proper tutors?

This, however, seems to be a difficulty, which, in this enlightened age, may be soon surmounted. I imagine there are many persons in the kingdom well skilled in scientific and practical knowledge, who would, were they encouraged, readily step forward, and reduce agriculture (both in theory and practice with all its connec-



connections and dependencies on botany, chemistry, and other branches of natural philosophy) into a system of education as regular, plain, and introductory to right conduct, as in any other art or profession in life. Let it but have a beginning, and instructors would, no doubt, soon abound."

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*Additional Observations to a Treatise, entitled, the present Method of Inoculation for the Small-Pox, &c. published by the author some Years ago. From Baron Dimf-dale's Tracts on Inoculation.*

SINCE the publication of the above mentioned treatise, I have continued the practice of inoculation, and attended to every part of the process, with the utmost circumspection, in order, as much as possible, to reduce the preparatory regimen, and subsequent management of the patients, to a greater degree of certainty.

In this addition therefore, I shall make such observations as appear to be of the most importance, and to render them as connected as possible, I shall follow the order observed in that essay.

I do not find much reason to alter my sentiments, delivered in the first chapter, with respect to the age, constitution, and season of the year, proper for inoculation.

Although I am still of opinion that the inoculation of children under two years of age, is liable to objection, I have nevertheless had repeated occasion to inoculate many under that age, without a single instance of any fatal conse-

quence; if, therefore, from situation, or other circumstances, there is danger of taking the disease by natural infection, it may be very advisable to inoculate during this early period.

In addition to this, I would just drop this cautionary remark, that children with heads remarkably large, in proportion to their bodies, appear to me exceptionable subjects; I particularly refer to such children as may have been suspected of having had water in the ventricles of the brain, in early infancy. I have seen two of these, where the eruptive fever was accompanied with a very alarming stupor, which did not abate, although the eruption was of a distinct kind, and the pustules very few in number; and one of them who had been suspected to have had the hydrocephalus when very young, and was inoculated when four years old, died during the disease, without recovering from the stupor, having, at the same time, a very mild and moderate eruption of pustules, in which the progress of maturation did not seem interrupted.

With respect to the chapter on preparation, I have expressed a doubt, "whether much, if not the whole of the preparation, may not be dispensed with, except in full habits, or where other particular circumstances may require it." Repeated experience has fully confirmed this opinion, so that, for some years past, I have not enjoined any restriction in respect to diet; nor directed any medicines to be taken before the time of the operation, by such as have appeared to be in a proper state of health. On the evening of



of the day in which the operation is performed I have for some time given a few grains of the following powder, which is somewhat different from the composition I had before prescribed, tho' not materially.

℞ Merc. dulc. sublim. 3ss  
Pulv. é Chel. Canc. c. ʒiijss  
Sulph. Aurat. Antimon. gr. 24.  
Tart. Emet. gr. 6. Misce accuratissimè.

Three or four grains of this powder is a sufficient dose for children: I seldom give more than six grains to adults.

After the inoculation is performed, the rules laid down concerning diet are to be observed; and a proper attention being paid to prevent costiveness, no more medicines are usually given till the fifth or sixth evening after the operation; on one of which, according to the greater or less apparent inflammation of the infected arms, I repeat the same quantity of the powder as before. As this quantity commonly produces in children two or three stools on the following day, no further medicine is necessary for them. But to adults I usually prescribe a gentle purgative the morning after the exhibition of the powder, and the repetition, or omission, of the powder, in all cases, is to be regulated according to the symptoms. Sometimes a third dose is ordered about the time of the eruption.

There are however persons of robust and plethoric constitutions, to whom, not only a very moderate diet, but some evacuations are necessary, previous to the operation.

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I am also clearly persuaded, that several tender and delicate persons have suffered greatly, from the want of skill in those who indiscriminately prescribe the rules laid down for preparation, for all constitutions alike; enjoining a strict abstemious diet, and injudiciously exhibiting mercurials, and other active medicines; by these means reducing the strength of the patient too low, and exposing him to unnecessary sufferings, and sometimes to great danger.

Convinced of this truth by many instances which have fallen within my own observation, I have been cautious in giving mercurials, or repeated purgations, or of refusing the use of common diet to such constitutions; but have allowed light animal food at dinner, with a glass or two of wine, as custom may have occasionally made necessary, during the whole time preceding the eruptive fever.

By these means, persons of very delicate habits have not only been conducted through this disease, without any unfavourable symptom, but, instead of being subjected to a variety of disorders, have even enjoyed a better state of health after, than before; but here likewise it is impossible to fix any general rule. The management of every one must be submitted to the judgment of the operator, who should neither neglect to give proper medicines when the occasion requires, nor by a multiplicity of directions interrupt nature in her efforts.

At the end of this chapter I have mentioned an instance under my own observation, "of a child born nine weeks after inoculation, at the full time, with distinct



ting marks of the disease, though the mother had very few eruptions." I have since seen instances in a general inoculation of a village near Hertford, in which two women with child were inoculated, and each had a plentiful eruption of small pox: three or four years afterwards I inoculated the children, and both had the disease with a tolerable number of pustules. I will just add, that although of many pregnant women that I have inoculated, not one miscarried during the disease; yet I have known miscarriages to happen in a short time after their recovery: I therefore think it unadvisable to inoculate women in that state, unless the necessity of the case requires it.

To the third chapter concerning *infection*, it seems not improper to add, that the method I now generally use in performing the inoculation, as believing it to be the best, is simply this. The point of a lancet slightly dipped in the recent variolous matter, which I prefer taking during the eruptive fever, is introduced obliquely between the cuticula and cutis, so as to make the smallest puncture possible, rarely producing a drop of blood. The finger is then gently pressed on the lancet while introduced, which being turned, is withdrawn.

The precaution of turning the lancet is, that the matter may be more certainly wiped off and inserted. This operation is free from pain.

This mode of practice I formerly did not entirely approve of, but from further experience, I find it the best, and it always succeeds when properly conducted.

I formerly made it a point to inoculate with fluid matter, as has been described; but it being hardly possible at all times to find patients in a proper state; and some persons objecting to this intercourse, from an apprehension of danger, I have for a considerable time found the following method equally successful. A lancet well infected, or matter placed, when in a fluid state, on a plate of glass or gold, and afterwards suffered to dry, is held over the steam of boiling water, or a small quantity of water, barely sufficient for dilution, is added to it, and the matter, thus moistened or diluted, is used for the purpose of inoculation; as I know of no difference as to the success, where there is an opportunity of advising with a patient, I consent to the choice of either method.

In the next chapter, on *the progress of infection*, extensive experience has abundantly convinced me that at the commencement of the eruptive state, when a high degree of fever, and other alarming symptoms, threaten a large or unfavourable eruption, the going out in the fresh cool air, and taking evacuants, are absolutely necessary, and productive of the happiest effects.

But the same treatment is not required where the complaints are moderate, and the constitution of the patient is delicate. I have therefore, in such cases, relaxed considerably in this particular, and it is now my practice with such patients, to dispense with these injunctions.

The eruption being completed, and the complaints much abated, or entirely removed, a strict adherence



herence to the very cold regimen is by no means requisite, but on some occasions may be attended with danger. Where the irruption is abundant (which whatever may be asserted by some practitioners, will sometimes happen, notwithstanding every precaution is used) I recommend confinement to the chamber, that the ease of the patient, which is now become a necessary object, may be fully consulted. For though the pustules may be quite distinct, and without any apparent danger, yet as each of these is like a little boil, all taken together must necessarily occasion much uneasiness and pain, especially when the patient is in motion.

Under these circumstances, the room should be kept moderately cool, of such a temperature as to be agreeably warm to those who are sitting in it: for the sudden transition from a warm close room, to a cool airy one, may prove very dangerous to the patient, and is therefore not to be used, but with great discretion, as will evidently appear from the following instance.

I was desired to visit a woman who had a good sort of natural small-pox, though very full. Through the excessive officiousness of those about her, who had seen the good effects, in some cases, of exposing the sick to the cold air, she was, near the time of maturation, forced out of bed, dressed, and removed into a cool room. Here she fainted away, the pustules all sunk, and she seemed expiring; but by being immediately put into bed, and taking some cordial medicines, the pustules rose again, and she soon be-

came better. It must however be acknowledged, that her life was exposed to the most imminent danger. Extremes therefore should be cautiously avoided.

I have also been called on to visit other patients, ill of the natural small-pox, who from a prevailing idea that the cold regimen was proper in every stage of the disease, have evidently been exposed to danger by having been injudiciously carried out at the time the pustules were far advanced in maturation; and I have even known this improper treatment practised in the middle of winter.

If the quantity of pustules be large; if the fever, after the eruption, remains in any considerable degree, and the skin feels stretched and painful, but more especially if the throat be sore, so as to render swallowing very difficult (which in a few instances has happened) in such cases I apply a blister plaster upon the very place of the arm where the incision was made. For in such cases it frequently happens, that the inoculated part is the principal seat of pain, occasioned by a cluster of confluent pustules formed about the incision, which seems to point out the propriety of diminishing the tension and inflammation of the part, and discharging the acrid variolous matter, as it were from the fountain, whence the whole mischief had its source. The blister plaster I use is about the size of an English crown piece, and consists of,

Pulv. Cantharid.

Unguent. Basilic. flav. (Pharm. Lond.) ana. q. s.

I 2

This



This is spread pretty thick on a soft linen rag, whose edges are covered with some sticking plaister, in order the better to fix the blister plaister on the part.

Let it be gently pressed till it sticks a little, putting a small piece of lint between it and the inoculated pustule, and suffer it to remain on about twelve hours. It will almost infallibly produce both speedy and considerable relief.

The blister plaister being removed, the part is to be dressed with a little Unguent. Basilic flav. on a pledget of lint, and the whole covered with a little cerate epulotic of the same dispensatory, spread on a soft linen cloth; and this cerate, I think, is always preferable to any other application that has been, or is now in common use for dressing blister plaisters.

I do not know that any person has ever practised this method of applying blister plaisters on the inoculated parts, except myself, and those who have received this information from me; but its effects are so speedy and salutary, as to render it worthy of general use on such occasions. It likewise gives much less trouble than the application of large blister plaisters, upon other parts of the body, which are not only more painful, but less efficacious. It is indeed attended with so little uneasiness, that even children seldom complain of it.

It may perhaps be imagined, that from this application the fore may afterwards become troublesome to the patient; but experience is against this supposition; for when I have inoculated in

both arms, and blistered only one, the blistered incision has most commonly healed sooner than the other.

Under this head I have also to add, that in some cases, particularly of young children, it happens that the inoculated part, even early in the disease, inflames considerably, so as to occasion great restlessness and fever, although the pustules on other parts are very few, and of a good kind; in this state I apply a common cataplasm of bread and milk to the part, which, with certainty, gives relief.

Some respectable practitioners having expressed their satisfaction with that part of the chapter of anomalous symptoms, &c. where the erysipelatous rash that had sometimes been mistaken for a confluent small-pox, was shewn to be inoffensive; I am encouraged to mention another complaint that has several times distressed me greatly, and I make no doubt has also occurred to others in the course of their practice, with what I esteem to be the cause, and best manner of treating it.

Sometimes a patient who has passed through the eruptive fever, in the usual manner, with moderate symptoms, and been relieved from every complaint by the eruption of a few pustules, has, after all apprehensions of future illness ceased, been unexpectedly attacked with a smart, and even alarming degree of fever, accompanied with great restlessness, and very frequently in children with uncommon fits of crying. Not being able to account for this complaint from any circumstances belonging to this disease,



disease, I for a time, attributed it to some unknown cause, independent of the small pox; but observing that seizures of the same kind happened in several instances, my attention was excited to investigate its true cause, which I am now convinced originates from pustules situated on the internal part of the mouth, or on the membranous parts of the nose or œsophagus. I have always treated this complaint successfully, by moderate cordials, sufficient to produce a slight perspiration, by which means, the whole disturbance has generally been over in twenty-four hours, and no further inconvenience has been suffered from it; this arises from the abatement of the tension; for it is observed, that the pustules on those parts, which are constantly hot and moist, come to maturity much earlier than those on the skin.

In the last paragraph of the chapter, on the *consequences of this method of inoculation*, it is observed, that “I firmly believe no one has ever had, or can have, the distemper a second time, either in the natural way, or from inoculation.” Although I am supported in this opinion by the most eminent English physicians, yet I have found many persons in Russia, who affirm, they have had the small-pox twice, some even thrice. This however does not induce me to change my opinion, as it is probable, nay, more than probable, that those who have been entrusted with the care of

persons under eruptive disorders, have been themselves deceived, as to the nature and quality of such eruptions.

It is not my intention to dispute this point at present; if however we suppose some to have had the natural small-pox twice, this circumstance, instead of making against inoculation, is an argument in its favour, as I can with the utmost truth declare, that of the very great number of those I have inoculated (several of whom have passed through the disease in a very slight manner) I never heard that a single person has had, or even been suspected to have had, the small-pox a second time. The inoculated therefore seem to be more secure than those who have had the disease naturally. That instances have happened, though not in my own practice, where inoculated persons have afterwards taken the natural small-pox, I have heard, and believe; but so far as I have been able to discover by my enquiries, it has constantly happened that the operator has been deceived; indeed, there was much greater ambiguity and hazard of its failing in the former method, by large incisions and the use of plaisters, than in the present practice, where the whole progress of infection is so plain, that an experienced practitioner can hardly be mistaken. This, added to the certainty of infecting, are strong recommendations of the present practice.



# ANTIQUITIES.

*History and Antiquities of the Fortresses and Castles in the Isle of Wight. From Sir Richard Worley's History of that Island.*

OF the fortresses on this island, the castle of Carisbrooke claims the first notice; not only from its antiquity, but because all lands were held of the lord, as of the castle of Carisbrooke, by the service of defending it against an enemy, whence it was called the Honour of Carisbrooke. It appears by Doomsday-book to have been built by William Fitz-Osborne, Earl of Hereford, and the first lord of the island, soon after the Norman conquest, and most probably at the same time that he founded the Priory. The land on which the castle stands was part of the Manor of Avington.

This castle stands on a small hill, about a mile south-west of the town of Newport, and overlooking the village of Carisbrooke; the walls of the original fortress include about an acre and an half of ground, and are nearly in fi-

gure a rectangular parallelogram, having the angles rounded \*. The greatest length is from east to west. The old castle is surrounded by a more modern fortification, faced with stone, of an irregular pentagonal form, defended by five bastions; these out-works, which are in circuit about three quarters of a mile, and encompassed by a deep ditch, circumscribe in the whole about twenty acres: they were added in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and are said to have been constructed on the same plan as those of Antwerp †. On a small projecting stone, on the north-east corner, is carved the date one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight. The entrance is on the west side in the curtain, between two bastions, through a small stone gate-way; on the arch of which is the date one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight, with the initial letters E. R.

This gate leads to a second, of much greater antiquity, machicolated and flanked by two large round towers. It is supposed to

\* These angles were taken down and rebuilt by Queen Elizabeth, as appears by the date one thousand six hundred and one on the south-east angle.

† By an Italian engineer, named Genebella, who had likewise been employed in the fortifications of that city. Oglander's MS.



have been built by Lord Woodville, in the time of Edward the Fourth, his arms being carved on a stone at the top, and the roses of York on each side. The old gate, with its wicket of strong lattice-work, fastened with large nails at every crossing, is still remaining, and opens into the Castle-yard. Entering the area, on the right hand stands the chapel of St. Nicholas, with its enclosed cœmety, but no service is now performed in it; the present building was erected on the ruins of an ancient chapel, endowed when Domesday-book was compiled. Over the former chapel was an armory, containing breast, back, and head-pieces for two or three troops of horse; but defensive armour being out of use, they were sold by order of Lord Cadogan, when governor. Over the door is carved G. II. 1738; and by a stone tablet at the east end, we are informed that it was rebuilt during the government of Lord Lymington. Farther towards the left hand are the ruins of some buildings, said to be those in which King Charles the First was confined; and a window is shewn for that through which he attempted to escape; beyond these are the barracks and governor's house; the latter contains several good rooms, with coved cieling. It has, occasionally, been used for a military hospital; and certainly a more proper place, with respect to both air and situation, could not have been found.

In the north-east angle of the base court, on a mount raised considerably above the other buildings, stands the Keep, or Dun-

geon; its figure is an irregular polygon; the ascent to it is by seventy-two steps up the side of the mount, and there are more within; each step is about nine inches. This montangular tower bears evident marks of great antiquity: some of the angles are strengthened by walling of hewn stone, which were probably added under Edward the Fourth, when the great gate was rebuilt. There is a well here said to be three hundred feet deep, but it has been partly filled up as useless and dangerous: the Keep commands a most extensive and beautiful prospect, which is not confined to the island only, but takes in the new Forest and Portsdown, with the sea intervening at different points.

At the south-east angle stands the remains of another tower, called Montjoy's Tower; the walls in some places were eighteen feet thick; the view from it not so extensive as that from the Keep. The rampart between these towers is about twenty feet high, and eight feet thick, including a parapet of two feet and a half, which was carried quite round the castle.

Under a small building in the castle yard is another well, more than two hundred feet deep, whence the water for the use of the garrison was drawn by means of a large wheel, turned by an ass: this duty was forty years performed by the same animal, not long since dead, who, on account of his long services, became one of the curiosities of the place. Down this well it is usual to drop a pin, which, after a lapse of about three seconds of time



produces a greater sound than can well be conceived by those who have not heard it.

The castle was probably repaired by Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who held the lordship of this island in the ninth year of Richard the second, the three lozenges, the arms of that family, being placed on a buttress at the corner of part of the governor's lodgings; but much the greater portion of the buildings now standing, particularly the governor's apartments; the offices and outworks, were built in the time of Queen Elizabeth, who, at the solicitation of Sir George Carey, when England was threatened with the famous Spanish Armada, gave four thousand pounds towards the expences. Sir George also procured four hundred pounds from the gentlemen of the island, and the commonalty contributed their personal labour, by digging the outward ditch gratis. The governor was assisted in the direction of these works by Thomas Worsley, Esq; and the whole amount, including the repairs of Yarmouth Castle and Sharpnore fort, is still extant in a long parchment roll, signed with the acquittance of the Lord Treasurer Burghley. This roll contains many curious particulars of the prices of labour and materials at that time: a copy of it is given in the Appendix. An armourer and fletcher paid by the queen, were resident here in that reign, as appears by the appointment in Sir Richard Worsley's patent.

The lords of the island, and the governors since their time, have made this castle their place of residence. The first charter of the Countess Isabella de Fortibus to

the town of Newport is dated from hence; and the will of Philippa, Duchess of York, was published here the ninth year of Henry the Sixth, wherein she styles herself Duchess of York, and Lady of the Isle of Wight.

Carisbrooke castle has been rendered remarkable by the confinement of Charles the First, who, taking refuge here, was detained a prisoner from November one thousand six hundred and forty-seven to September one thousand six hundred and forty-eight, when he was suffered to remove to Newport, and to renew his treaty with the parliament. The particulars of his treatment will be mentioned in the account given of the government of Colonel Hammond. On the king's death, it was converted into a prison for his children, wherein died the Lady Elizabeth, whom the levelling rulers of that time are said to have intended to apprentice to a button-maker. She was buried at Newport. It was likewise made a prison by Cromwell and Charles the Second.

There are several other forts in this island, which were all erected about the thirty-sixth year of Henry the Eighth, when many other forts and blockhouses were built in different parts of the coast of England.

Sandown fort commands a bay on the south-east side of the island, where there is a good landing-place. It is a very low square building, flanked by four bastions, and encompassed by a ditch. Being esteemed of the greatest consequence of any fort in the island, it had an establishment, consisting of a master gunner, and  
thirty



thirty soldiers ; but this has since been reduced, and the pay of twenty-two of the soldiers applied to encreasing the salaries of the master gunners of the other forts. It had been much neglected, but lately has been put into repair at a very considerable expence to the crown, and the apartments made fit for the reception of the captain, who resides here in the summer.

Yarmouth castle was built for the defence of the entry into Freshwater, on Yar river : it is situated on the north-east part of the island, and at the west end of the town : part of it stands on the wall of the church, demolished by the French in the thirty-fifth of Henry the Eighth. It is much of the same construction with those built in that reign, and was erected under the direction of Richard Worsley, captain of the island, together with another fort, called Worsley's Tower.

Carey's Sconce, or Sharpnore fort, about a mile to the west of Yarmouth, was afterwards built by Sir George Carey, in the room of Worsley's Tower, which stood at a very small distance westward of the Sconce, opposite Hurst Castle, but was then fallen to decay.

West Cowes castle stands on the west side of the river Medina : it is a small stone building, with a semi-circular battery. Opposite, on the east side of the river, was another fort of the same kind ; when entire, they jointly protected the harbour. This is now so totally demolished, that there is not the least vestige of it remaining.

*History and Antiquities of Carisbrooke Priory, in the Isle of Wight. From the same.*

THE charters, grants, and confirmations of the Priory of Carisbrooke are registered in the Chartulary ; they consist of between two and three hundred, of which very few are of consequence, being chiefly grants of inconsiderable parcels of land : the most important are,

The Charter of Earl Baldwin, in the Reign of King Stephen.

Baldwin, Earl of Devon, and lord of the island, confirms to the Abbot and Convent of Lyra, all tithes, lands, rents, and benefices, which they hold in the Isle of Wight ; to hold as freely as they held the same in the time of William Fitz Osborne, or Richard de Redvers, father of the said Baldwin. But under this condition, that Geoffrey, the clerk, shall enjoy one moiety, and Stephen, the clerk, the other moiety, during their lives ; paying thirty shillings each yearly to the Abbey of Lyra, in acknowledgment of its being the mother church ; and after their deaths the church of Carisbrook shall remain to the Abbot and Convent of Lyra, to be freely by them enjoyed, either as demesne, or they may send Monks to the said church. *Testibus Pagano vice comite, Brieno de Insula, Gervasia Abbate de Quad-raria, et aliis.*

The Charter of William de Ver-nun, in the Reign of K. John.

He grants and confirms to the church of Carisbrook, *two marks per*



*per annum*, devised by his nephew, Richard de Redvers, Earl of Devon, to be received out of the toll of the island, by the bayliff of his New Borough (Newport;) and the Monks of Carisbrook, delivered into the hands of the said earl, in the presence of his barons, the charter of the said Richard: by the terms of this grant, the Monks of Carisbrook are bound to perform daily service in the chapel of Newport; yet the burgesses, both men and women, are to go to the mother church of Carisbrook on the great festivals, according to custom. *Testibus Mabilia Comitissa, Waltero Abbate, Wille fil. Stuij, Roberto fil. Brieni, cum multis aliis.*

General Charter of Confirmation  
by William de Vernun.

This charter confirms to the Abbot and Convent of Lyra all former grants; namely the church of Carisbrook, with the chapels of Northwood, Shorewell, the chapel of the Infirm, and of the New Borough; the churches of Arreton, Whippingham, Newchurch, Godshill, Niton, and Freshwater, also the tithes of all his demesne lands in the island, viz. the tithes of Freshwater, Afeton, Compton, Brook, of Nine-wood, held by the Prior of Christchurch, and two parts of the tithes of Shalfleet, and Cheshle, the tithes of the demesnes of Robert of Shorewell, there and at Ulwar-ton; of the demesnes of Niton, Stenbury, Week, and Appuldurcombe, and other the demesne lands of Montsburg, and Apse, belonging to the Canons of Christ-

church; the tithes of the demesnes of Ralph de Glamorgan, at Yaverland, also of Nunwell, and Whippingham: the tithes of the demesnes of Herbert Fitz-Turbert, and Hugh de Clerkenhull, and from Shide, of the demesnes of William de Argenton, and the moiety of the church of Chale, with forty shillings annual rent, paid by the Monks of Quarr to the Monks of Lyra, for the tithes of Arreton, Hasely, Boucombe, and Shalcombe, twenty shillings rent paid out of Boucombe, one yardland in Boucombe, and another in Wroxall, four shillings from Week, and three shillings from the two Nitons; in Freshwater, two men with a yardland; and in Compton and Brook, two men and two yardlands; and in Witcombe, one free tenement with its land; in the hamlet of Caldlands in the New Forest, one man with his lands; two marks from the New Borough, of the toll of the island, according to the will of Richard de Redvers; with lands near Carisbrook, given by Paverell de Argenton, and his brother William, and the lands exchanged with Robert Cross.

From the charter of Earl Baldwin it appears that he asserts a right of nominating the Monks to the Priory of Carisbrook, probably as heir to the founder; and many years afterwards, Isabella de Fortibus claimed a right of approbation of the Prior. It being entered in the Chartulary, that Richard de Perans, appointed Prior of Carisbrook, by the Abbot and Convent of Lyra, complained that Isabella pretended that



that the house was in her hands on the vacancy of the prior, and that the advowson of the Priory belonged to her; that she took occasion on these pleas to disturb and vex the prior, had cited him to appear and answer in her courts, and had amerced him: on which the prior obtained an injunction, the seventh year of Edward the First. This dispute seems to have been afterwards accommodated, as there are releases between the countess and the prior, wherein she reserves to herself the right of advowson and lordship over the priory; these releases bear date the ninth year of Edward the First.

The claim of a right in the patron, or representative of the founder to the temporalities of a religious house, in case of a vacancy, is by no means unprecedented; and in some instances seems allowed in the decrees of the synod convened by Ottoboni, in the fourth year of Henry the Third, where patrons were forbid, by the sixth canon, to retain the profits of vacant benefices, excepting they are entitled to them by ancient usage. It is to be observed, that at this time the nobility of England, who were heirs to the founders of religious houses, and to those who had given the advowsons of churches to monasteries, had generally taken great offence at the Monks; who, by procuring the approbation of their churches, and taking the profits to themselves, had, as they conceived, abused the trust reposed in them: the churches being conferred on them, not as sinecures, but under the supposition of their being the best judges

what persons were most fit to be presented to the livings; whereas by these appropriations, the churches were neglected, and the intention of the donors defeated. The English nobility presented a remonstrance on this subject to Pope Alexander the Fourth, stating, "That they and their predecessors, out of respect [1259. to the appearing sanctity of the religious societies in England, had liberally conferred on them their right of patronage; that by such means they might have the opportunity of chusing fit persons, and presenting them to the bishops, as a most effectual provision for the cure of souls, and relief of the poor: whereas they found this pious intention frustrated not only by papal provisions, that interrupted the right course of presentation, but chiefly because the religious, by clandestine and indirect ways, with the neglect, or contempt of their own bishops, had obtained those churches to their properties, by concessions from the apostolic see; on which account they thought themselves obliged to resume the patronage of such converted churches, and reunite the advowsons to their own demenses; because they saw the good intentions of themselves and their predecessors intirely defeated." All this his holiness excused in his answer, by protesting "a pure and sincere design in so appropriating some churches to religious places, with the affectionate bowels of piety and mercy; firmly hoping and believing, that such concessions of charity might relieve the wants of the religious, and promote the worship of God with-  
in



in the respective churches: and therefore, if their complaints were true, he was sorry the apostolical judgment should be deceived, and the sacred intention of the see of Rome be so perversely disappointed: but far be it from them, obedient sons, for this cause of appropriations and provisions, to revoke and take into their hands the right of patronage, bestowed on such religious houses, since they had no authority to dispose of ecclesiastical affairs, and must not presume to touch any sacred thing. However, with the assistance of the bishops, he would so effectually labour to redress all abuses, as to leave no just matter of complaint or scandal."

The same pope, in an epistle, two years afterwards, complained, "that the covetous desire of the religious, had by false pretences obtained from the see of Rome, the appropriation of many parochial churches within the kingdom of England, and had by that poison infected the whole nation: while, by these means, the worship of God was lost, hospitality was intermitted, episcopal rights were detained, the doors of charity were shut against the poor, the encouragement of studious scholars was abated, with many other scandals and offences.

This practice of convents procuring the appropriations of churches became so scandalous, that even the Monks were ashamed of it. Bishop Kennet, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, mentions an instance, when Hugh de Levon, Abbot of Meux, in Yorkshire, would have bestowed the appropriation of the church of

Effington on that abbey: the Monks themselves obstructed his intention for the space of five years, protesting against the enormous injuries which would arise, to be lamented by persons yet unborn. Nor was the discontent on this subject confined to the laity, but even the bishops sought to have the evil redressed, and many canons were enacted in the synods for that purpose, to which the Monks refused obedience, and much violence was used by them in opposition to the canons; nor did they submit till they were reduced by force. The monasteries, possessed of churches, not only appropriated the rents to their own use, but frequently farmed them out; by which means the good intentions of the donors were frustrated.

In the synod assembled at Oxford by Archbishop [1222, Langton, the thirteenth canon forbids the vicarage of any church to be given to a vicar who shall not serve the church: the fourteenth obliges those who have benefices to reside: the fifteenth appoints a sufficient portion of the benefice to be allowed for the maintenance of the vicar: and the fortieth forbids the letting to farm, excepting it be done for some cause, which shall be approved by the bishop.

These canons were also ordained by the synod convened at London, by Otho, the pope's legate; and again by another synod held by Otoboni, both of which require churches to be supplied by a resident vicar. [1237, [1268,

A neglect in the observation of these canons, [1307, occasioned



occasioned the bishop to collate to those churches which fell to him by lapse: as fully appears by the register of William of Wykeham, who collated to the vicarage of Carisbrook, void, as he expressly says, through neglect of the constitutions of Otho and Ottobini. There had been great commotions in the island on this occasion, and to what a height they rose at Godshill, are seen in Bishop Woodlock's Register, wherein the Monks, with their friends, are recorded to have held the church by force. The bishop also ordered the dean of the island, to put the clerk, collated by him, in possession of the church of Godshill, devolved to him, by virtue of the canon of the general council.

1308]. In the year following, the same opposition arose at the church of Arreton, when the bishop directed the dean of the island to induct the clerk by him collated, *contra omnes et singulos cantradiectores et rebelles*, "against all opposers." After which the bishop excommunicated nine persons for obstructing his clerk, with all those officiating in the said church, commanding the dean of the island to denounce this excommunication in all the churches of his deanery, at the time of high mass, in which ceremony the cross was to be elevated, the bell rung, the candles first lighted and then extinguished, with every other circumstance that could give solemnity to the act. This was followed by a sequestration of the churches of Freshwater and Godshill, for contempt of the canons; and the bishop excommunicated

those who had violated the sequestration.

When King Edward the Third asserted his pretensions to the crown of France, Carisbrook, as an alien priory, was, with all its churches, seized by the crown, the king then presenting to them; and the priory was granted to the Abbey of Mount Grace, in Yorkshire, founded by Thomas Holland, Duke of Surry: but Henry the Fourth, in the first year of his reign, probably to remove all causes of discontent between the courts of England and France, restored it, with others which had also been seized.

In the reign of Henry the Fifth it was again resumed, and given to the Monastery of Shene, in Surry, founded by the king, where it continued till the time of its dissolution. In the reign of Henry the Eighth, that abbey leased it, together with the tithes of Godshill and Freshwater, to Sir James Worsley, at the annual rent of two hundred marks, which lease was renewed by his son Richard, whose widow marrying Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, it came into his possession. It was afterwards purchased by Sir Thomas Fleming, from whose family it came to the present possessors; the vicarage remained in the crown, until Charles the First gave it to Queen's College Oxford. To the church of Carisbrook belongs to the chapels of Northwood, West Cowes, and Newport. At the time of Cardinal Beaufort's taxation, this church was valued at twenty marks per annum, the vicarage at sixteen marks, and the



the Procuracy of Lyra at forty marks. This priory having been founded when there were not more than nine or ten churches in the island, the Monks enjoyed a larger jurisdiction than those of later institution, when most lords of great possessions, having built new churches, had appropriated the tithes of their lands to them.

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*History and Antiquities of the Oratory of Burton in the Isle of Wight. From the same.*

THE Convent, or Oratory of Burton, or Barton, having been dissolved long before the general suppression of monastic foundations, escaped the notice of Dugdale, Speed, Tanner, and other writers on religious houses, so that its existence had nearly sunk into total oblivion. Sir John Oglander indeed mentions it in his manuscript Memoirs, but his information appears to have been merely traditional: its history is however preserved in the register of John de Pontifferra, Bishop of Winchester, wherein the statutes of the house are confirmed by an instrument, in which the bishop affirms he had seen the charters of John de Insula, Rector of Shalfleet, and of Thomas de Winton, Rector of Godshill, founders of the Oratory of the Holy Trinity of Burton, for the ordering and governing the said Oratory made, and in full  
1282.] force, under the seals of the founders, as follows:

I. That there shall be six chaplains and one clerk to officiate both

for the living and dead, under the rules of St. Augustin.

II. That one of these shall be presented to the Bishop of Winchester, to be the archpriest; to whom the rest shall take an oath of obedience.

III. That the archpriest shall be chosen by the chaplains there residing, who shall present him to the bishop within twenty days after any vacancy shall happen.

IV. They shall be subject to the immediate authority of the bishop.

V. When any chaplain shall die, his goods shall remain to the Oratory.

VI. They shall have only one mess, with a pittance, at a meal, excepting on the greater festivals, when they may have three messes.

VII. They shall be diligent in reading and praying.

VIII. They shall not go beyond the bounds of the Oratory, without licence from the archpriest.

IX. The habit shall be of one colour, either black or blue; they shall be clothed *pallio Hiberniensi, de nigra boneta cum pileo*.

X. The archpriest shall sit at the head of the table, next to him those who have celebrated *magnam missam*; then the Priest of St. Mary; next the Priest of the Holy Trinity; and then the priest who says mass for the dead.

XI. The clerk shall read something edifying to them while they dine.

XII. They shall sleep in one room.

XIII. They shall use a special prayer for their benefactors.

XIV. They shall in all their ceremonies



ceremonies, and in tinkling the bell, follow the use of Sarum.

XV. The archpriest alone shall have charge of the business in the house.

XVI. They shall, all of them, at their admission into the house, swear to the observance of these statutes.

Thomas de Winton, and John de Insula, clerks, grant to John, Bishop of Winchester, and his successors, the patronage of their Oratory of Burton, in the parish of Whippingham, that he might become a protector and a defender of them, the archpriest, and his fellow chaplains.

The bishop, at the instance of John de Insula, the surviving founder, Thomas, being then dead, or that, after a year and a day from their entering into this Oratory, no one shall accept of any other benefice, or shall depart the house. *Actum et datum in dicto Oratorio de Burton. a. 1289. Jordano de Kingsfen et aliis testibus*

1386.] The archpriest being suspended by the bishop, the dean of the island was ordered to take charge of his Oratory in the house at Burton: soon after, 1390.] the archpriest being a captive in France, and the house at Burton in a ruinous condition, the bishop gave orders for the house to be repaired, and other necessary things to be done.

1439.] The Oratory was, in the eighteenth year of Henry the Sixth, surrendered into the hands of the bishop, and, together with its lands, by the procurement of Bishop Wainfleet, granted to the College of Win-

chester: it was endowed with the manor of Whippingham, the demesne lands of Burton, or Barton, and some lands of Chale. The site and demesnes at the Oratory are still held under a lease from the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College; and part of the old building is yet standing.

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*Punic Inscriptions in the Western Boundaries of Canada; from the Gentleman's Magazine for August 1781.*

IN the Journal Encyclop. 1781. Juin, pa. 555, is the following article: "Un Professeur des Langues Orientales à Cambridge en Amerique vient d'envoyer à M. de Gebelen, auteur du "Monde Primitif," trois Inscriptions Puniques, qu'on a trouvées gravées sur des rochers, à l'embouchure d'une riviere qui est à 50 milles du sud de Boston. Elles furent gravées par les Carthaginois qui aborderent sur cette plage meconnue. Elles ont pour objet leur arrivée, & les traités qu'ils firent avec les habitans du pays. M. de Gebelin va donner un memoire sur cette importante decouverte." If this imitation doth not come from M. G. himself, then one must suppose that there is some one in America that can make out a Punic inscription, which is more than we knew before. I know a person of high rank and understanding who is persuaded, that the common Irish is Punic, and that many of them have long known as much. If so, they have little more to do than to learn the Punic



Punic letters, and they all instantly become professors in this most ancient and radical language, which is so little known to the most accomplished linguists. For Inscriptions on Rocks, see Gent. Mag. vol. xxxv. p. 374. 401. and Phil. Transf. vol. lvi. art. viii.

“ In later times there have been found a few marks of antiquity, from which it may be conjectured that N. America was formerly inhabited by a nation more versed in science and more civilised than that which the Europeans found on their arrival there, or that a great military expedition was undertaken to this continent from these known parts of the world. This is confirmed by an account which I received from M. de Veraudrier, who commanded the expedition to the southward in person. I have heard it repeated by others, who have been eye-witnesses of all that happened on that occasion. Some years before I came into Canada, the then Governor-general Chev. de Beauchaminois gave M. de Veraudrier an order to go from Canada with a number of people on an expedition across N. America to the S. Sea, in order to examine how far those two places are distant from each other, and to find out what advantages might accrue to Canada or Louisiana from a communication with that ocean. They set out on horseback from Montreal, and went as far as due W. as they could on account of the lakes, rivers, and mountains, in their way. As they came far into the country beyond many nations, they sometimes met with large tracts of land free from wood, but co-

vered with a kind of very tall grass for the space of some days journey. Many of these fields were every where covered with furrows, as if they had been ploughed and sowed frequently. It is to be observed, that the nations who now inhabit N. America could not cultivate the land in this manner, because they never made use of horses, oxen, ploughs, or any instruments of husbandry, nor had they ever seen a plough before the Europeans came to them. In two or three places, at a considerable distance from each other, our travellers met with impressions of the feet of grown people and children in a rock; but this seems to have been no more than a *Lusus Naturæ*. When they came far to the West, where to the best of their knowledge no Frenchman nor European had ever been, they found in one place in the woods, and again on a larger plain, great pillars of stone leaning upon each other. The pillars consisted of one single stone each, and the French could not but suppose that they had been erected by human hands. Sometimes they have found such stones laid one upon another, and as it were formed into a wall. In some of those places where they found such stones, they could not find any other sort of stones. They were not able to discover any characters or writings upon any of these stones, though they made a very careful search after them. At last they met with a large stone like a pillar, and in it a smaller stone was fixed, which was covered on both sides with unknown characters. This stone, which was about a foot of French measure in



in length, and between four and five inches broad, they broke loose, and carried to Canada with them, from whence it was sent to France, to the Secretary of State, Count de Maurepas. What became of it afterwards they know not, but think it is preserved in his collection. Several of the Jesuits who have seen and handled this stone in Canada unanimously affirm, that the letters on it are the same with those which, in the books containing accounts of Tartaria, are called Tartarian characters; and on comparing both together they found them perfectly alike. Notwithstanding the questions which the French on the S. Sea expedition asked the people there, concerning the time when and by whom these pillars were erected, what their traditions and sentiments concerning them were, who wrote the characters, what was meant by them, what kind of letters they were, in what language they were written, and other circumstances, they could never get the least explication; the Indians being as ignorant of these things as the French themselves. All they could say was, that these stones had been in those places from time immemorial. The places where the pillars stood were 900 French miles westward of Montreal."

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*Account of a singular Custom kept up for many Years, and still prevailing in Picardy; from the Countess De Genlis's Theatre of Education.*

**T**HERE is still a part of the world where simple genuine

virtue receives public honours. It is in a village of Picardy, a place far distant from the politeness and luxury of great cities. There, an affecting ceremony, which draws tears from the spectators, a solemnity, awful from its venerable antiquity and salutary influence, has been preserved, notwithstanding the revolutions of twelve centuries; there the simple lustre of the flowers with which innocence is annually crowned, is at once the reward, the encouragement, and the emblem. Here, indeed, ambition preys upon the young heart, but it is a gentle ambition; the prize is a hat, decorated with roses. The preparations for a public decision, the pomp of the festival, the concourse of people, which it assembles, their attention fixed upon modesty, which does itself honour by its blushes, the simplicity of the reward, an emblem of those virtues by which it is obtained, the affectionate friendship of the rivals who, in heightening the triumph of their queen, conceal in the bottom of their worthy hearts the timid hope of reigning in their turn: all these circumstances united give a pleasing and affecting pomp to this singular ceremony, which causes every heart to palpitate, every eye to sparkle with tears of true delight, and makes wisdom the object of passion. To be irreproachable, is not sufficient; there is a kind of nobleness, of which proofs are required; a nobleness, not of rank and dignity, but of worth and innocence. These proofs must include several generations, both on the father and mother's side; so that a whole family is crowned upon the head of one; the triumph



of one is the glory of the whole ; and the old man with grey hairs, who sheds tears of sensibility on the victory gained by the daughter of his son, placed by her side, receives, in effect, the reward of sixty years spent in a life of virtue.

By this means, emulation becomes general, for the honour of the whole ; every one dreads, by an indelicate action, to dethrone either his sister or his daughter. The crown of roses, promised to the most prudent, is expected with emotion, distributed with justice, and establishes goodness, rectitude, and morality, in every family ; it attaches the best people to the most peaceful residence.

Example, powerful example, acts even at a distance ; there the bud of worthy actions is unfolded, and the traveller on approaching this territory, perceives, before he enters it, that he is not far from Salency. In the course of so many successive ages, all around them has changed ; they alone will transmit to their children the pure inheritance they received from their fathers : an institution truly great, from its simplicity ; powerful, under an appearance of weakness ; such is the almost unknown influence of honours ; such is the strength of that easy spring, by which all men may be governed : sow honour and you will reap virtue.

If we reflect upon the time the Salencians have celebrated this festival, it is the most antient ceremony existing. If we attend to

its object, it is, perhaps, the only one which is dedicated to the service of virtue. If virtue is the most useful and estimable advantage to society in general, this establishment, by which it is encouraged, is a public and national benefit, and belongs to France.

According to a tradition, handed down from age to age, Saint Medard, born at Salency, proprietor, rather than lord, of the territory of Salency (for there were no fiefs at that time), was the institutor of that charming festival, which has made virtue flourish for so many ages. He had himself the pleasing consolation of enjoying the fruit of his wisdom, and his family was honoured with the prize which he had instituted, for his sister obtained the crown of roses.

This affecting and valuable festival has been transmitted from the fifth century to the present day. To this rose is attached a purity of morals, which, from time immemorial has never suffered the slightest blemish ; to this rose are attached the happiness, peace, and glory of the Salencians.

This rose is the portion, frequently the only portion, which virtue brings with it ; this rose forms the amiable and pleasing tie of a happy marriage. Even fortune is anxious to obtain it, and comes with respect to receive it from the hand of honourable indigence. A possession of twelve hundred years, with such splendid advantages, is the fairest title that exists in the world.



*Description and Antiquities of Rhuddlan Castle, Town, &c. from Pennant's Journey to Snowdon.*

**A**BOUT a mile and a half farther stands the small borough of Rhuddlan, seated high on the red clayey banks of the Clwyd, and above Morfa-Rhuddlan, a marsh celebrated for the battle in 795, between the Saxons and Welsh: our monarch Caradoc fell in the conflict, and, I fear, victory declared against us. We do indeed say, that Offa, the famous King of Mercia, was slain here; but the Saxon chronicle places his death the year before that battle. The fine plaintive Welsh tune, so well known by the name of Morfa-Rhuddlan, is supposed to have been composed on this occasion: for victories are not the only subjects for the harp. How beautifully does David lament the blood of the slain on the mountains of Gilboa: how are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!

The castle had been a handsome building, in a square, with two extremes placed at opposite corners, with a double round tower at each; and a single one at the two other corners. The court forms an irregular octagon. The ditch is large, faced on both sides with stone. The steep slope to the river was defended by high walls, and square towers: one is entire, and there are vestiges of two others: the first is called Twyr-y-Silod; another, in the castle, was named Twyr-y-Brenhin, or the King's Tower.

To the south of the castle, at about a furlong distance, is a large artificial mount, the site of another fortress, of very early

date; the whole surrounded by a very deep foss (including also the abbey) which crosses from the margin of the bank, near the ascent of the present road to St. Asaph, to another parallel road; near which it is continued, then turns and falls nearly into the southern part of the walled ditch of the castle: the whole forms a square area, of very great extent. These different works were formed at three several times. The mount, now called Tut-hill, and its superstructure, (whatever it was) is thoroughly British, and is said to have been built by Llewelyn ap Sitfyllt, who reigned from the year 1015 to 1020. It was a residence of our princes from that time: but Gryffyd ap Llewelyn, in 1063, having given offence to Edward the confessor, by receiving Algar, one of his rebellious subjects, was attacked by Harold, who in revenge burned the palace at Rhuddlan. It was soon restored, and as soon lost. Robert, afterwards surnamed of Rhuddlan, a valiant Norman, nephew to Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, conquered it from the Welsh, and, by the command of William the Conqueror, fortified it with new works, and made it his place of residence; from whence he greatly annoyed our countrymen. The square towers are evidently of Norman architecture, and naturally adopted by the new owner. Robert received here a visit from our Prince Gryffydd ap Kynan, who came to solicit aid against his enemies, from the Norman warrior; which he obtained: but on some quarrel attacked him in his castle, took and burnt the bailey, or yard, and killed such a number of his men,



that very few escaped into the towers.

Henry II. in 1157, added new strength to the castle, and left a considerable garrison in it before he quitted the country. Notwithstanding this, Owen Gwynedd, in 1167, took and dismantled it ; but it was afterwards re-fortified by the English ; for it appears that this fortress had, with two others, been bestowed by Henry, with Emma his natural sister, on David ap Owen, son and successor to Owen Gwynedd. Here, in 1187, he entertained, very nobly, Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, in his progress through Wales. Possibly he resigned it again to the English ; for I find that in 1214 it was besieged and taken by Llewelyn ap Iorworth, his successor in the principality.

I must not omit relating, notwithstanding I am unable to give the year of the event, that Randle Blundevile, Earl of Chester, was in this castle surpris'd by a body of Welsh, and lay in the utmost distress, until he was relieved by his lieutenant, Roger Lacy, alias Hell ; who collecting suddenly a rabble of fiddlers and idle people, put the besiegers to flight. In reward, he received from the earl, *Magisterium omnium Leccatorum et meretricum totius Cestreshiré.*

I find it in possession of Edward I. in 1277 ; who was so well convinced of its importance in the conquest of Wales, that he made it the rendezvous of the forces destined for that purpose. It was the *place d'armes*, and the great magazine of provision for the support of his army, in its advance into the country. The reigning

prince, Llewelyn ap Gryffidd, knew the danger of leaving so consequential a place in the hands of his enemy : but it resisted all the most vigorous efforts made on it in 1281, by Llewelyn and his brother David, just reconciled to him by the sense of their common danger. Soon after, it proved the place of confinement to the latter, not long before his ignominious end at Shrewsbury.

In order to secure it from any future attempts, Edward turned all his thoughts towards founding a fortress impregnable by any future attempts of the Welsh. He accordingly began with an act of justice, that of making recompence to Master Richard Bernard, Parson of Rhuddlan, for certain lands taken from him for the purpose of enlarging the castle ; and again, in 1282, made an exchange with the same church, of six acres and a half, for the same uses : and on which he built the castle, whose ruins we now survey. The finishing of it took a considerable time ; for I find an order in 1291, for overlooking the works at the castles of Rhuddlan, Flint and Chester. I cannot but remark here, the strong necessity of curbing the new-conquered country with powerful garrisons ; for notwithstanding all the ravages of long, and barbarous wars, it remained so exceedingly populous that Edward politically drafted out of it not less than fifteen thousand men, in aid of his Scottish expedition. The consequence proved almost fatal to him : for while he lay encamped near Llanlithgow, a national quarrel ensued between the English and Welsh troops ; and after great blood-



bloodshed, the latter separated themselves from his army.

During the civil wars of the last century, it was garrisoned on the part of the king; was taken by General Mytton in July 1646; and in the same year ordered by the parliament (in the phrase of the times) to be slighted, *i. e.* dismantled, with many other Welsh castles.

In respect to the civil history of Rhuddlan, I find, that in the reign of Edward the Confessor, it made part of the great territories of Earl Edwin. It was then, by reason of the inroads of Harold; a waste; and continued so when it was possessed by Hugh Lupus. It then became the capital of the district: and Hugh enjoyed a moiety of the church, the mint, and mines of the iron ore found in the manor; and a moiety of the water of Clwyd, *i. e.* of the mill and fishery on such part which belonged to Earl Edwin; a moiety of the forests on the manor, and of the toll, and of the village called Bren: and there were at this time in Rhuddlan eight burgesses. All this Hugh Lupus granted to Robert of Rhuddlan, with an addition of certain hamlets dependent on the place; and a new borough was erected, with eighteen burgesses, who enjoyed the same privileges with those of Hereford and Bre-tril; and were exempted from all fines exceeding twelve-pence, except in case of manslaughter, theft, and *beinfare*, *i. e.* the depriving a person of his servant.

Edward I. made this town a free borough, appointed the constable of the castle for the time being to be mayor, and the bai-

liffs to be chosen annually by the burgesses on Michaelmas-day, who were to be presented to the constable to be sworn. The town was to have power of imprisoning, except in such cases which affected the life, or loss of limb: when criminals of this nature were to be committed to the castle, burgesses only were permitted to bail. No Jews were to inhabit the town. The burgesses had a forest and free warren; a *gild cum hanse et loth et shoth, soc sak et theam et insangenthest et lib. per totam terram de Theoloniis lestagio, Muragio, Donegeld, Gaywite, &c.*

This charter was given by the king at Flint, September 8th, in the twelfth year of his reign; *Testibus, Rob. Bath & Wells, &c.* and confirmed by Richard II. at Leicester, and again at Westminster.

No constable has been appointed since the days of Oliver Cromwel.

The burgesses contribute towards electing a member for the borough of Flint. Those who are qualified inhabit the place, and that part of the parish called Rhuddlan Franchise, which extends above a mile from the town.

The parliament said to have been held here in 1283, by Edward I. was probably no more than a council assembled by the conqueror, to divide his new conquests into counties, and to give salutary laws to the Welsh; to abolish any antient customs which the wise prince thought detrimental, and to introduce such of the English as would prove of use. This was not done hastily; for in the year preceding, a commission had been appointed, with Tho-



mas Beke, Bishop of St. David, president; who were to consider and report upon oath the different laws of both countries. From their resolutions were framed the famous Statute of Rhuddlan; in which, among many excellent institutions, were introduced sheriffs and coroners, their powers defined, and the principal crimes of the times pointed out: most of which were acts of violence, rapine, and theft; such as might be expected to exist among people: an evil which resulted more from the turbulence of the time, than want of wholesome laws.

A piece of antient building, called the Parliament House, is still to be seen in Rhuddlan; probably the place where the king sat in council. From hence he actually practised the well-known deceit of giving them a prince born among them, who never spoke a word of English, and whose life and conversation no man was able to stain: all which our discontented nobility eagerly accepted, little thinking the person intended, to be the infant Edward, just born at Caernarvon.

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*Historical Account of Denbigh, of its Castle, Church, Charter, &c. from the same.*

A Little farther stands Denbigh, placed, like Sterling, on the slope of a great rock, crowned with a castle. Its antient British name was Castell Kledvryn yn Rhôs, or the Craggy Hill in Rhos, the former name of the tract in which it is seated. The word Dinbech, the present Welsh appellation, signifies, a

small hill, which it is, comparative to the neighbouring mountains. The first time I find any mention of it, is in the beginning of the reign of Edward I. from whom David, in defiance of his brother Llewelyn, chose to hold this lordship, together with the cantred of Dyffryn Clwyd. He made it his residence till the conquest of our country, soon after which, he was taken near the place, and carried, loaden with irons, to the English monarch at Rhuddlan.

The king politically secured his new acquisitions, by bestowing several of the great lordships on his followers. He gave that of Denbigh to Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, who built the castle, and inclosed within a wall the small town he found there. Among other privileges, he gave his vassals liberty of killing and destroying all manner of wild beasts on the lordship, except in certain parts reserved out of the grant; I suppose for the purpose of the particular amusement of the lord; for I find, in the reign of Henry VI. the names of five parks in this lordship, viz. Moylewike, Carefnodooke, Kylford, Bagha, and Posey, of which the king constituted Owen Tudor, ranger. On the death of Lacy, the lordship passed to Thomas Earl of Lancaster, by virtue of his marriage with Alicia, daughter of the last possessor. After the attainder of Thomas, Edward II. bestowed it on Hugh D'Espencer; who proved an oppressive superior, and abridged the inhabitants of the privileges granted to them by Lacy. By the fatal end of that favourite, it fell again to the crown;



crown; and was given by Edward III. to another, equally unfortunate, Roger Mortimer Earl of March; whose death enabled the king to invest with his lordship William Mountacute Earl of Salisbury. He died in 1333: and on the reversal of the attainder of the Earl of March, it was restored to his family, in the person of his grandson Roger: and by the marriage of Anne, sister to another Roger, last Earl of March, with Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge, it came into the house of Yorke, and so into the crown. Queen Elizabeth in 1563, bestowed it, as a most valuable gift, on her unmerited minion, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester; who soon made the country feel the weight of his oppression. Notwithstanding the tenants made him a present of two thousand pounds at his first entrance into the lordship, he remained unsatisfied; he constrained the freeholders to raise the old rents of 250*l.* a year, to 8 or 900*l.* and at his will inclosed the waste lands, to the injury of the tenants; who, offended at his rapacity, arose and levelled his encroachments. This was construed into riot and rebellion: two hopeful young men, of the house of Llewellyn, were taken to Shrewsbury, tried and executed there, for the pretended offence. He had the insolence even to mortgage the manor to some merchants of London; and, I apprehend, tricked them for their credulity. The various disorders which rose from these practices, were so great, that Elizabeth interposed, and by charter confirmed the quiet possession of the tenants, and allayed the discontent. These were again ex-

cited in the reign of King William, by the vast grant made to the Earl of Portland. The same ferments arose, and the same means were used to allay them: at present, this, and the other great manors of Bromesfield and Yale, remain in the crown, and are peacefully superintended by a steward appointed by the king.

The castle and inclosed part of the town, took up a very considerable space, and were defended by strong walls and towers: the last are chiefly square. There are two gates to the outmost precinct: that called the Burgeses Tower, is large, square, and built singularly, with small ashler stones. The other was called the Exchequer Gate, in which the lord's court was kept. Some few houses, with most beautiful views, are at present inhabited in this part. Leland says, that there had been divers rows of streets; but in his time there were scarcely eighty householders within these walls. Here stands the chapel, called St. Hillary's, formerly belonging to the garrison, now the place of worship for the town. In old times, on every Sunday here were masses for the souls of Lacy and Percy. Not far from it are the remains of an unfinished church, a hundred and seventy-five feet long, and seventy-one broad, and designed to have been supported by two rows of pillars. This noble building was begun in 1579, as appears by the date on a foundation-stone. It was to this purpose; for at present it is much defaced:

1mo Martii 1579

Et Regni Re: Elizabethæ 22.

W.

K 4

On



On the other side appeared,

*Veritas, vita, via. Duo sunt templa Dei.*

*Unū mūdus i. ein : est Pontifex primogenties ejus verbu Dei : Alterum rationalia anima : cujus sacerdos est verus homo.*

G. A.

This church was begun under the auspices of Leicester : but it is said that he left off his buildings in Wales, by reason of the public hatred he had incurred on account of his tyranny. A sum was afterwards collected, in order to complete the work ; but it is said, that when the Earl of Essex passed through Denbigh, on his Irish expedition, he borrowed the money destined for the purpose, which was never repayed ; and by that means, the church was left unfinished.

The castle crowns the summit of the hill, one side of which is quite precipitous. The entrance is very magnificent, beneath a gothic arch, over which is the statue of Henry Lacy, sitting in stately flowing robes. On each side of the gate-way stood a large octagonal tower. The breaches in it are vast and awful : they serve to discover the antient manner of building : a double wall appears to have been built, with a great vacancy between, into which was poured all sorts of rubbish, stone, and hot mortar, which time consolidated to a stony hardness. This part, as Leland says, was never completed, the work having been deserted by the earl, on the loss of his eldest son, who was accidentally drowned in the well, whose opening is still to be seen in the castle-yard.

Charles I. lay here on the 23<sup>d</sup> of September, 1645, after his retreat from Chester, in a tower still called *Siamber y Brenhin*, or the King's tower.

The prospect through the broken arches is extremely fine, extending in parts over the whole vale, and all its eastern hills, from *Moel Venlli* to *Diferth* rock ; a rich view, but deficient in water : the river *Clwyd* being too small to be seen ; and in great rains so furious, as to overflow a great space of the meadowy tract.

Leland relates a particular of this fortress, which I do not discover in any other historian : he says, that Edward IV. was besieged in it ; and that he was permitted to retire, on condition that he should quit the kingdom for ever. The only time in which that prince was constrained to abdicate his dominions, was in 1470, when he took shipping at *Lynn* ; not by reason of any capitulation with his enemies, but through the desperate situation of his affairs at that period.

*Jasper Tudor*, Earl of *Pembroke*, had, in the year 1459, possessed this place, and several others in the principality, in behalf of his weak half-brother, *Henry VI.* but they were wrested from him by the *Yorkists* in the following year. In 1468 he returned, was joined by two thousand *Welsh*, and burnt the town ; meditating rather revenge than conquest.

In the beginning of November 1645, the parliament army obtained, near this town, a most important victory over the royalists. The latter, under the command of *Sir William Vaughan*, had formed a considerable body of forces,



forces, 'Welsh and Irish, with a design of marching to the relief of Chester, then besieged: Sir William Brereton had notice of the design, and immediately detached that able officer Mytton, and under him Colonel Jones and Colonel Louthian, with one thousand four hundred horse, and a thousand foot, to frustrate the plan. Mytton did his duty, attacked the royalists with vigor, and in several hot engagements, totally routed them, took five hundred horse and four hundred foot, killed one hundred, and so entirely dispersed them, as not to leave a hundred together in one place.

In 1646, we find the castle garrisoned by the loyalists: its governor was Colonel William Salusbury, of Bachymbyd, commonly called Salusbury Honfianau Gleisfian, or Blue Stockings. The siege was begun under the conduct of Major-general Mytton, about the 16th of July; but such was the gallant defence of the besieged, that it was not surrendered till the 3d of November, and then only on the most honourable conditions. It is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the orders of fallen majesty, in June, for the general surrender of every garrison in England and Wales, on fair and honourable terms, yet the first which yielded in North Wales, held out above two months longer than the last English castle.

The priory of Carmelites, or White Friars, stood at the bottom of the town. It was founded by John Salusbury, of Lleweni, who died, as appeared from a mutilated brass, found in the conventual church, on the 7th of March,

1289. Speed ascribes the building to one John de Sunimore, in 1399; but the inscription fixes the honour on Salusbury. On the dissolution, this house was granted to Richard Andreas and William L'Isle. The church, now converted into a barn, is the only remaining building: it was the burying-place of the family of the founder, till the reformation; and some of their tombs were to be seen here within memory of man.

The present town covers great part of the slope of the hill; and some streets extend along the plain. Its manufactures in shoes and gloves are very considerable; and great quantities are annually sent to London, to the great warehouses of the capital, and for the purposes of exportation.

The constitution of this borough, and its origin, will be fully explained by the following transcript, communicated to me by one of its burgesses. It begins with citing the last charter, which is that granted by King Charles II. which recites letters patent granted by Queen Elizabeth, and dated at Westminster the 20th of June, in the thirty-ninth year of her reign; in which the said Queen recites, "That seeing Edward I. by his letters patent, dated at Northampton the 29th of August, in the eighteenth year of his reign, hath granted to Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, that all his men then inhabiting his town of Denbigh, or that should for ever inhabit it, through all his territories, formerly belonging to the King of Wales, and also through the counties of Chester, Salop, Stafford, Gloucester, Worcester,



cester, and Hereford, should be free and acquitted for ever from all toll, stallage, payage, panage, murage, pontage, and passage; and seeing also King Edward III. by his letters patent, dated at York the 27th of October. in the sixth year of his reign, hath, for himself, and his heirs and successors, then inhabiting, and afterward to inhabit, the said town, should, through the kingdom and dominions, be freed and acquitted from all such toll, stallage, payage, murage, pontage, and passage; and seeing also that Richard II. by his letters patent, dated at Westminster the 22d of February, in the second year of his reign, granted to the abovesaid men, that the aforesaid town of Denbigh, and half a mile compass about the town, should be a free borough, and that the men inhabiting, and afterwards to inhabit, should be free burghesses; and seeing also that Richard III. by his letters, dated at Westminster the 10th of December, in the second year of his reign, confirmed the aforesaid grants, and by his said letters patent did grant unto the said burghesses, their heirs and assigns, being Englishmen, common of pasture for all manner of cattle, at all times in the year, in the common pasture of the town and forest of Llewency; and that the burghesses aforesaid, and their heirs and assigns, should be free and acquitted, in all his dominions and territories in England and Ireland, soc, sac, toll, and them, lastage, stallage, payage, pannage, pontage, murage, and other customs whatsoever. And the aforesaid Queen Elizabeth, by her said letters patent, did ordain, consti-

tute, grant, and confirm, that the town and borough of Denbigh may extend, on every side, one mile and a half, according to the common acceptations of that place, from the high cross standing in the market-place of the said town; and that the said town and borough of itself, and the burghesses of the said borough, now and hereafter in being, be, and shall be for ever hereafter, one body corporate and politick, in things, fact, and name, by the name of "The Aldermen, Bailiffs, and Burghesses of the borough of Denbigh;" and it is also ordained, that there be a common seal for transacting of any causes or businesses; and also ordained, that there be two aldermen, two bailiffs, and two coroners, and twenty-five of the better sort and best reputed of the burghesses, to be capital burghesses and counsellors of the said borough.

"The aldermen and bailiffs are elected and nominated upon Michaelmas-day, yearly. There are two other officers, called serjeants at mace (or mace-bearers) for the execution of processes and mandates issuing out of the court of the said borough; they are appointed by the bailiffs of the said borough for the time being.

"There is also a recorder of the said borough, who is appointed by the aldermen, bailiffs, and capital burghesses.

"Constables, leavelookers, and other inferior officers, are likewise appointed by the aldermen, bailiffs, and capital burghesses.

"There is a council chamber, or guild, within the said borough, for the purpose of holding and sitting courts of convocation, before the



the aldermen, bailiffs, and capital burgesſes.

“ There is a court of record, to be held every other Friday through the year, before the bailiffs of the ſaid borough, or one of them; and in that court, by complaint made in it, they may hold all and all manner of pleas, actions, ſuits, demands of all ſorts of tranſgreſſions *vi et armis*, or otherwiſe; and alſo all and all manner of debts, accompts, bargains, frauds, detaining of deeds, writings, muniments, and taking and detaining of beaſts and cattle, or goods; and all contracts whatſoever, ariſing within the ſaid borough; and that ſuch pleas, ſuits, and actions, be heard and terminated before the bailiffs, or one of them.

“ The aldermen are juſtices, and hold quarter ſeſſions, in the ſame manner as county ſeſſions are held by ſtatute, to hear and determine cauſes; but not to proceed in caſe of death, or loſs of life or limb.

“ No country juſtice to intermeddle with any matters or things whatſoever, appertaining to the office of juſtice of the peace, which ſhall ariſe or happen within the borough.

“ Reſiant burgesſes are to ſerve upon jury at the ſeſſions.

“ The aldermen and bailiffs are commissioners of array.

“ The reſiant burgesſes are voters for a member for the borough.”

*Laws relative thereunto; from the ſame.*

THE Welch had ſeveral animals which were the objects of the chace; ſuch as, y Carw, or the ſtag; Kaid Wenyn, a ſwarm of bees; and y Gleifiad, or the ſalmon. Yr Arth, the bear; y Dringheddydd, climbing animals, I ſuppoſe wild cats, martins, and ſquirrels; and Ceiliog Coed, or cock of the wood. And the laſt diviſion was, y Llwynog, the fox; Yſgyfarnog, the hare; and yr Ywrch, the roe. Some of the above come very improperly under our idea of hunting, yet were comprehended in the code of laws relative to the diverſion, formed, as is ſuppoſed, by Gryffyd ap Cynan.

I ſuſpect alſo, that the otter was an object of diverſion; there being a Cylch Dyſrgwn, or an annual payment, by the Welch, for the prince's water dogs.

The three firſt were Helfa Gyfredyn, or the common hunt. The ſtag, becauſe he was the nobleſt animal of chace; and becauſe every body, who came by at his death, before he was ſkinned, might clame a ſhare in him. The next animals were, Helfa Gyfarthfa, or the animals which could be brought to bay, ſuch as the bear, &c. which were hunted with hounds till they aſcended a tree. The bird mentioned here, is the cock of the wood, whoſe nature it is to ſit perched on a bough, where they will gaze till they are ſhot, as they were, in old times, by the bow, or croſs-bow.

The third diviſion was Helfa Ddoleſ, or the ſhouting chace, becauſe

*An account of the Antient manner of Hunting in Wales, and of the*



because attended by the clamour of the sportsmen; and comprehended the fox, the hare, and the roe. The method of hunting was either with hounds or greyhounds, which they let slip at the animals, holding the dogs in leashes. No one was to slip his greyhound when the hounds were in chace, unless he had a hound in the pack, on penalty of having the greyhound ham-strung: neither was it allowed to kill any animal of chace on its form, or at rest, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrow to the lord of the manor. When several greyhounds, the property of different persons, were slipt at any animal, the person whose dog was nearest the beast, when last in sight, claimed the skin. A bitch was excepted, unless it was proved she was pregnant by a dog which had before won a skin.

Every person who carries a horn, must give a scientific account of the nine objects of chace, or else he will be looked on as a pretender, and forfeit his horn. The same penalty attends the Cynllafan, or leash; he is never again to wear it round his middle, on pain of forfeiture; but then he is suffered to wear it round his arm.

The antient Welsh held the flesh of the stag, hare, wild boar, and the bear, to be the greatest delicacies among the beasts of chace.

The prince had his Pencynwidd, or chief huntsman. He was the tenth officer of the court. He had for his own supper one dish of meat; and after it, three horns of mead, one from the king, another from the queen, the third

from the steward of the household. He was never to swear, but by his horn and his leash. He had the third of the fines and heriocs of all the other huntsmen; and likewise the same share of the *amobr*, on the marriage of any of their daughters. At a certain time of the year, he was to hunt for the king only: at other seasons, he was permitted to hunt for himself. His horn was that of an ox, of a pound value. He had in winter an ox's hide, to make leashes; in summer, a cow's to cut into spatterdashes.

The king had liberty of hunting wheresoever he pleased; but if a beast was hunted and killed on any gentleman's estate, and not followed and clamed by the huntsman that night, the owner of the land might convert it to his own use, but was to take good care of the dogs, and preserve the skin.

The penalty of killing a tame stag of the king's, was a pound; and a certain fine, if it was a wild one, if it was killed between a certain day in November and the feast of St. John, the value was sixty-pence; but the fine for killing it, a hundred and eighty pence. A stag was also reckoned equivalent to an ox; a hind to a well grown cow; a roe to a goat; a wild sow to a tame sow; a badger had no value, because in some years it was mellead; wolves and foxes, and other noxious animals, had no value, because every body was allowed to kill them; and there was none set upon a hare, for a very singular reason, because it was believed every other month to change its sex\*.

\* See *Leges Wallicæ*, xxxix. 256 to 260.



# MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*General view and character of the Poetry of Queen Elizabeth's Age ; from Warton's History of English Poetry.*

THE age of Queen Elizabeth is commonly called the golden age of English poetry. It certainly may not improperly be styled the most poetical age of these annals.

Among the great features which strike us in the poetry of this period, are the predominancy of fable, of fiction, and fancy, and a predilection for interesting adventures and pathetic events. I will endeavour to assign and explain the cause of this characteristic distinction, which may chiefly be referred to the following principles, sometimes blended, and sometimes operating singly: The revival and vernacular versions of the classics, the importation and translation of Italian novels, the visionary reveries or refinements of false philosophy, a degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvements of allegoric exhibition in the popular spectacles.

When the corruptions and impostures of Popery were abolish-

ed, the fashion of cultivating the Greek and Roman learning became universal: and the literary character was no longer appropriated to scholars by profession, but assumed by the nobility and gentry. The ecclesiastics had found it their interest to keep the languages of antiquity to themselves, and men were eager to know what had been so long injuriously concealed. Truth propagates truth, and the mantle of mystery was removed not only from religion but from literature. The laity, who had now been taught to assert their natural privileges, became impatient of the old monopoly of knowledge, and demanded admittance to the usurpations of the clergy. The general curiosity for new discoveries, heightened either by just or imaginary ideas of the treasures contained in the Greek and Roman writers, excited all persons of leisure and fortune to study the classics. The pedantry of the present age was the politeness of the last. An accurate comprehension of the phraseology and peculiarities of the ancients poets, historians, and orators, which yet seldom went farther than a kind of technical erudition, was an indispensable and almost the principal



pal object in the circle of a gentleman's education. Every young lady of fashion was carefully instituted in classical letters: and the daughter of a duchess was taught, not only to distil strong waters, but to construe Greek. Among the learned females of high distinction, Queen Elizabeth herself was the most conspicuous. Roger Ascham, her preceptor, speaks with rapture of her astonishing progress in the Greek nouns; and declares with no small degree of triumph, that during a long residence at Windsor-castle, she was accustomed to read more Greek in a day, than "some prebendary of that church did Latin, in one week." And although perhaps a princess looking out words in a lexicon, and writing down hard phrases from Plutarch's Lives, may be thought at present a more incompatible and extraordinary character, than a canon of Windsor understanding no Greek and but little Latin, yet Elizabeth's passion for these acquisitions was then natural; and resulted from the genius and habitudes of her age.

The books of antiquity being thus familiarised to the great, every thing was tinged with ancient history and mythology. The heathen gods, although discountenanced by the Calvinists on a suspicion of their tending to cherish and revive a spirit of idolatry, came into general vogue. When the queen paraded through a country-town, almost every pageant was a pantheon. When she paid a visit at the house of any of her nobility, at entering the hall she was saluted by the Penates, and conducted to her privy-cham-

ber by Mercury. Even the pastry-cooks were expert mythologists. At dinner, select transformations of Ovid's metamorphoses were exhibited in confectionary: and the splendid iceing of an immense historic plumb-cake, was embossed with a delicious basso-relievo of the destruction of Troy. In the afternoon, when she condescended to walk in the garden, the lake was covered with Tritons and Nereids: the pages of the family were converted into Wood-nymphs who peeped from every bower: and the footmen gamboled over the lawns in the figure of Satyrs. I speak it without designing to insinuate any unfavourable suspicions, but it seems difficult to say, why Elizabeth's virginity should have been made the theme of perpetual and excessive panegyric: nor does it immediately appear, that there is less merit or glory in a married than a maiden queen. Yet, the next morning, after sleeping in a room hung with the tapestry of the voyage of Eneas, when her majesty hunted in the park, she was met by Diana, who pronouncing our royal prude to be the brightest paragon of unspotted chastity, invited her to groves free from the intrusions of Acteon. The truth is, she was so profusely flattered for this virtue, because it was esteemed the characteristical ornament of the heroines, as fantastic honour was the chief pride of the champions, of the old barbarous romance. It was in conformity to the sentiments of chivalry, which still continued in vogue, that she was celebrated for chastity: the compliment, however, was paid in a classical allusion.



Queens must be ridiculous when they would appear as women. The softer attractions of sex vanish on the throne. Elizabeth sought all occasions of being extolled for her beauty, of which indeed in the prime of her youth she possessed but a small share, whatever might have been her pretensions to absolute virginity. Notwithstanding her exaggerated habits of dignity and ceremony, and a certain affectation of imperial severity, she did not perceive this ambition of being complimented for beauty, to be an idle and unpardonable levity, totally inconsistent with her high station and character. As she conquered all nations with her arms, it matters not what were the triumphs of her eyes. Of what consequence was the complexion of the mistress of the world? Not less vain of her person than her politics, this stately coquet, the guardian of the Protestant faith, the terror of the sea, the mediatrix of the factions of France, and the scourge of Spain, was infinitely mortified, if an ambassador, at the first audience, did not tell her she was the finest woman in Europe. No negotiation succeeded unless she was addressed as a goddess. Encomiastic harangues drawn from this topic, even on the supposition of youth and beauty, were surely superfluous, unsuitable, and unworthy; and were offered and received with an equal impropriety. Yet when she rode through the streets of the city of Norwich, Cupid, at the command of the mayor and aldermen, advancing from a groupe of gods who had left Olympus to grace the procession, gave her a golden

arrow, the most effective weapon of his well-furnished quiver, which under the influence of such irresistible charms was sure to wound the most obdurate heart. "A gift, says honest Hollinshed, which her majesty, now verging to her fiftieth year, received very thankfully." In one of the fullsome interludes at court, where she was present, the singing-boys of her chapel presented the story of the three rival goddesses on Mount Ida, to which her majesty was ingeniously added as a fourth: and Paris was arraigned in form for adjudging the golden apple to Venus, which was due to the Queen alone.

This inundation of classical pedantry soon infected our poetry. Our writers, already trained in the school of fancy, were suddenly dazzled with these novel imaginations, and the divinities and heroes of pagan antiquity decorated every composition. The perpetual allusions to ancient fable were often introduced without the least regard to propriety. Shakespeare's Mrs. Page, who is not intended in any degree to be a learned or an affected lady, laughing at the cumbersome courtship of her corpulent lover Falstaffe, says, "I had rather be a giantess and lie under mount Pelion." This familiarity with the Pagan story was not, however, so much owing to the prevailing study of the original authors, as to the numerous English versions of them, which were consequently made. The translations of the classics, which now employed every pen, gave a currency and a celebrity to these fancies, and had the effect of diffusing them among the



the people. No sooner were they delivered from the pale of the scholastic languages, than they acquired a general notoriety. Ovid's metamorphoses just translated by Golding, to instance no farther, disclosed a new world of fiction, even to the illiterate. As we had now all the antient fables in English, learned allusions, whether in a poem or a pageant, were no longer obscure and unintelligible to common readers and common spectators. And here we are led to observe, that at this restoration of the classics, we were first struck only with their fabulous inventions. We did not attend to their regularity of design and justness of sentiment. A rude age, beginning to read these writers, imitated their extravagancies, not their natural beauties. And these, like other novelties, were pursued to a blameable excess.

I have before given a sketch of the introduction of classical stories, in the splendid show exhibited at the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn. But that is a rare and a premature instance: and the Pagan fictions are there complicated with the Barbarisms of the Catholic worship, and the doctrines of Scholastic theology. Classical learning was not then so widely spread, either by study or translation, as to bring these learned spectacles into fashion, to frame them with sufficient skill, and to present them with propriety.

Another capital source of the poetry peculiar to this period, consisted in the numerous translations of Italian tales into English. These narratives, not dealing altogether in romantic inventions, but in real life and manners,

and in artful arrangements of fictitious yet probable events, afforded a new gratification to a people which yet retained their antient relish for tale-telling, and became the fashionable amusement of all who professed to read for pleasure. They gave rise to innumerable plays and poems, which would not otherwise have existed; and turned the thoughts of our writers to new inventions of the same kind. Before these books became common, affecting situations, the combination of incident, and the pathos of catastrophe, were almost unknown. Distress, especially that arising from the conflicts of the tender passion, had not yet been shewn in its most interesting forms. It was hence our poets, particularly the dramatic, borrowed ideas of a legitimate plot, and the complication of facts necessary to constitute a story either of the comic or tragic species. In proportion as knowledge increased, genius had wanted subjects and materials. These pieces usurped the place of legends and chronicles. And although the old historical songs of the minstrels contained much bold adventure, heroic enterprise, and strong touches of rude delineation, yet they failed in that multiplication and disposition of circumstances, and in that description of characters and events approaching nearer to truth and reality, which were demanded by a more discerning and curious age. Even the rugged features of the original Gothic romance were softened by this sort of reading: and the Italian pastoral, yet with some mixture of the kind of incident described in Heliodorus's *Ethiopic history*



history now newly translated, was engrafted on the feudal manners in Sydney's *Arcadia*.

But the reformation had not yet destroyed every delusion, nor disenchanted all the strong holds of superstition. A few, dim characters were yet legible in the mouldering creed of tradition. Every goblin of ignorance did not vanish at the first glimmerings of the morning of science. Reason suffered a few demons still to linger, which she chose to retain in her service under the guidance of poetry. Men believed, or were willing to believe, that spirits were yet hovering around, who brought with them *airs from heaven, or blasts from hell*, that the ghost was duely released from his prison of torment at the sound of the curfew, and that fairies imprinted mysterious circles on the turf by moonlight. Much of this credulity was even consecrated by the name of science and profound speculation. Prospero had not yet *broken and buried his staff*, nor *drowned his book deeper than did ever plummet sound*. It was now that the alchymist, and the judicial astrologer, conducted his occult operations by the potent intercourse of some preternatural being, who came obsequious to his call, and was bound to accomplish his severest services, under certain conditions, and for a limited duration of time. It was actually one of the pretended feats of these fantastic philosophers, to evoke the Queen of the Fairies in the solitude of a gloomy grove, who, preceded by sudden rustling of the leaves, appeared in robes of transcendent lustre. The Shakespeare of a more instructed

and polished age, would not have given us a magician darkening the sun at noon, the sabbath of the witches, and the cauldron of incantation.

Undoubtedly most of these notions were credited and entertained in a much higher degree, in the preceding periods. But the arts of composition had not then made a sufficient progress, nor would the poet of those periods have managed them with so much address and judgment. We were now arrived at that point, when the national credulity, chastened by reason, had produced a sort of civilized superstition, and left a set of traditions, fanciful enough for poetic decoration, and yet not too violent and chimerical for common sense. Hobbes, although no friend to this doctrine, observes happily, "In a good poem both judgment and fancy are required: but the fancy must be more eminent, because they please for the *Extravagancy*, but ought not to displease by *Indiscretion*."

In the mean time the Gothic romance, although somewhat shook by the classical fictions, and by the tales of Boccace and Bandello, still maintained its ground; and the daring machineries of giants, dragons, and enchanted castles, borrowed from the magic storehouse of Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, began to be employed by the epic muse. These ornaments have been censured by the bigotry of precise and servile critics, as abounding in whimsical absurdities, and as unwarrantable deviations from the practice of Homer and Virgil. The author of *An Enquiry into the Life and*



Writings of Homer is willing to allow fertility of genius, and a felicity of expression, to Tasso and Ariosto; but at the same time complains, that, "quitting life, they betook themselves to aerial beings and Utopian characters, and filled their works with charms and visions, the modern supplements of the marvellous and sublime. The best poets copy nature, and give it such as they find it. When once they lose sight of this, they write false, be their talents ever so great." But what shall we say of those Utopians, the Cyclopes and the Le-strigons in the *Odyssey*? The hyppogrif of Ariosto may be opposed to the harpies of Virgil. If leaves are turned into ships in the *Orlando*, nymphs are transformed into ships in the *Eneid*. Cacus is a more unnatural savage than Caliban. Nor am I convinced, that the imagery of Ismeno's necromantic forest in the *Gierusalemme Liberata*, guarded by walls and battlements of fire, is less marvellous and sublime, than the leap of Juno's horses in the *Iliad*, celebrated by Longinus for its singular magnificence and dignity. On the principles of this critic, Voltaire's *Henriad* may be placed at the head of the modern epic. But I forbear to anticipate my opinion of a system, which will more properly be considered, when I come to speak of Spenser. I must, however, observe here, that the Gothic and Pagan fictions were now frequently blended and incorporated. The Lady of the Lake floated in the suite of Neptune before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth: Ariel assumes the semblance of a sea-nymph, and

Hecate, by an easy association, conducts the rites of the weird sisters in *Macbeth*.

Allegory had been derived from the religious dramas into our civil spectacles. The masques and pageantries of the age of Elizabeth were not only furnished by the heathen divinities, but often by the virtues and vices impersonated, significantly decorated, accurately distinguished by their proper types, and represented by living actors. The antient symbolical shews of this sort began now to lose their old barbarism and a mixture of religion, and to assume a degree of poetical elegance and precision. Nor was it only in the conformation of particular figures that much fancy was shewn, but in the contexture of some of the fables or devices presented by groupes of ideal personages. These exhibitions quickened creative invention, and reflected back on poetry what poetry had given. From their familiarity and public nature, they formed a national taste for allegory; and the allegorical poets were now writing to the people. Even romance was turned into this channel. In the *Fairy Queen*, allegory is wrought upon chivalry, and the feats and figments of Arthur's round table are moralized. The virtues of magnificence and chastity are here personified: but they are imaged with the forms, and under the agency of romantic knights and damsels. What was an after-thought in Tasso, appears to have been Spenser's premeditated and primary design. In the mean time, we must not confound these moral combatants of the *Fairy Queen* with



with some of its other embodied abstractions, which are purely and professedly allegorical.

It may here be added, that only a few critical treatises, and but one Art of Poetry, were now written. Sentiments and images were not absolutely determined by the canons of composition: nor was genius awed by the consciousness of a future and final arraignment at the tribunal of taste. A certain dignity of inattention to niceties is now visible in our writers. Without too closely consulting a criterion of correctness, every man indulged his own capriciousness of invention. The poet's appeal was chiefly to his own voluntary feelings, his own immediate and peculiar mode of conception. And this freedom of thought was often expressed in an undisguised frankness of diction. A circumstance, by the way, that greatly contributed to give the flowing modulation which now marked the measures of our poets, and which soon degenerated into the opposite extreme of dissonance and asperity. Selection and discrimination were often overlooked. Shakespeare wandered in pursuit of universal nature. The glancings of his eye are from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven. We behold him breaking the barriers of imaginary method. In the same scene, he descends from his meridian of the noblest tragic sublimity, to puns and quibbles, to the meanest merriments of a plebeian farce. In the midst of his dignity, he resembles his own Richard the Second, the *skipping king*, who sometimes discarding the state of a monarch,

Mingled his royalty with carping fools.

He seems not to have seen any impropriety, in the most abrupt transitions, from dukes to buffoons, from senators to sailors, from counsellors to constables, and from kings to clowns. Like Virgil's majestic oak,

—Quantum vertice ad auras  
Ætherias, tantum radice in Tartara  
tendit.

No Satires, properly so called, were written till towards the latter end of the queen's reign, and then but a few. Pictures drawn at large of the vices of the times, did not suit readers who loved to wander in the regions of artificial manners. The Muse, like the people, was too solemn and reserved, too ceremonious and pedantic, to stoop to common life. Satire is the poetry of a nation highly polished.

The importance of the female character was not yet acknowledged, nor were women admitted into the general commerce of society. The effect of that intercourse had not imparted a comic air to poetry, nor softened the severer tone of our versification with the levities of gallantry, and the familiarities of compliment, sometimes perhaps operating on serious subjects, and imperceptibly spreading themselves in the general habits of style and thought. I do not mean to insinuate, that our poetry has suffered from the great change of manners, which this assumption of the gentler sex, or rather the improved state of female education, has produced, by giving elegance and variety to life, by enlarging the sphere of conversation, and by multiplying the topics and enriching the stores



of wit and humour. But I am marking the peculiarities of composition: and my meaning was to suggest, that the absence of so important a circumstance from the modes and constitution of antient life, must have influenced the cotemporary poetry. Of the state of manners among our ancestors respecting this point, many traces remain. Their style of courtship may be collected from the love-dialogues of Hamlet, young Percy, Henry the Fifth, and Master Fenton. Their tragic heroines, their Desdemonas and Ophelias, although of so much consequence in the piece, are degraded to the back-ground. In comedy, their ladies are nothing more than merry wives, plain and chearful matrons, who stand upon *chariness of their honesty*. In the smaller poems, if a lover praises his mistress, she is complimented in strains neither polite nor pathetic, without elegance and without affection: she is described, not in the address of intelligible yet artful panegyric, not in the real colours, and with the genuine accomplishments, of nature, but as an eccentric ideal being of another system, and as inspiring sentiments equally unmeaning, hyperbolical, and unnatural.

All or most of these circumstances, contributed to give a descriptive, a picturesque, and a figurative cast to the poetical language. This effect appears even in the prose compositions of the reign of Elizabeth. In the subsequent age, prose became the language of poetry.

In the mean time, general knowledge was increasing with a wide diffusion and a hasty rapidity.

Books began to be multiplied, and a variety of the most useful and rational topics had been discussed in our own language. But science had not made too great advances. On the whole, we were now arrived at that period, propitious to the operation of original and true poetry, when the coyness of fancy was not always proof against the approaches of reason, when genius was rather directed than governed by judgment, and when taste and learning had so far only disciplined imagination, as to suffer its excesses to pass without censure or controul, for the sake of the beauties to which they were allied.

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*A short Historical Account of Athens, from the time of her Persian Triumphs, to that of her becoming subject to the Turks—Sketch during this long interval, of her Political und Literary State; of her Philosophers; of her Gymnasia; of her good and bad fortune, &c. &c.—Manners of the present Inhabitants—Olives and Honey; from Harris's Philological Inquiries.*

**H**AVING mentioned Athens, I hope that celebrated city will justify a digression, and the more so, as that digression will terminate in events, which belong to the very age, of which we are now writing. But 'tis expedient to reduce matters from a much earlier period.

When the Athenians had delivered themselves from the tyranny of Pisistratus, and after this had defeated the vast efforts of the Persians, and that against two successive invaders, Darius and Xerxes,



xes, they may be considered as at the summit of their national glory. For more than half a century afterwards they maintained, without controul, the sovereignty of Greece.

As their taste was naturally good, arts of every kind soon rose among them and flourished. Valour had given them reputation; reputation gave them an ascendant: and that ascendant produced a security, which left their minds at ease, and gave them leisure to cultivate every thing liberal, or elegant\*.

It was then that Pericles adorned the city with temples, theatres, and other beautiful public building. Phidias, the great sculptor, was employed as his architect, who, when he had erected edifices, adorned them himself, and added statues and Basso-relievo's, the admiration of every beholder. It was then that Polygnotus and Myro painted; that Sophocles and Euripides wrote; and not long after, that they saw the divine Socrates.

Human affairs are by nature prone to change, and states as well as individuals are born to decay. Jealousy and ambition insensibly fomented wars, and success in these wars, as in others, was often various. The military strength of the Athenians was first impaired by the Lacedæmonians; after that, it was again humiliated, under Epaminondas, by the Thebans; and last of all it was wholly crushed by the Macedonian, Philip.

But though their political sovereignty was lost, yet, happily for mankind their love of literature and arts did not sink along with it.

Just at the close of their golden days of empire flourished Xenophon and Plato, the disciples of Socrates, and from Plato descended that race of Philosophers, called the Old Academy.

Aristotle, who was Plato's disciple, may be said, not to have invented a new philosophy, but rather to have tempered the sublime, and rapturous mysteries of his master with method, order, and a stricter mode of reasoning.

Zeno, who was himself also educated in the principles of Platonism, only differed from Plato in the comparative estimate of things, allowing nothing to be intrinsically good but virtue, nothing intrinsically bad but vice, and considering all other things to be in themselves indifferent.

He too and Aristotle accurately cultivated Logic, but in different ways; for Aristotle chiefly dwelt upon the simple syllogism; Zeno upon that which is derived out of it, the compound or hypothetical. Both too, as well as other philosophers, cultivated Rhetoric along with Logic; holding a knowledge in both to be requisite for those, who think of addressing mankind with all the efficacy of persuasion. Zeno elegantly illustrated the force of these two powers by a simile: taken from the hand: the close power of Logic he compared to the fist, or hand compressed; the

\* It was in a similar period of triumph, after a formidable adversary had been crushed, that the Romans began to cultivate a more refined and polished literature.



diffuse power of Logic, to the palm, or hand open.

I shall mention but two sects more, the New Academy, and the Epicurean.

The New Academy, so called from the Old Academy, (the name given to the school of Plato) was founded by Arcefilas, and ably maintained by Carneades. From a mistaken imitation of the great parent of philosophy, Socrates, (particularly as he appears in the dialogues of Plato) because Socrates doubted some things, therefore Arcefilas and Carneades doubted all.

Epicurus drew from another source; Democritus had taught him atoms and a void: by the fortuitous concurrence of atoms he fancied he could form a world, while by a feigned veneration he complimented away his gods, and totally denied their providential care, lest the trouble of it should impair their uninterrupted state of bliss. Virtue he recommended, though not for the sake of virtue, but pleasure; pleasure, according to him, being our chief and sovereign good. It must be confessed however, that, though his principles were erroneous and even bad, never was a man more temperate and humane; never was a man more beloved by his friends, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem.

We have already mentioned the alliance between Philosophy and Rhetoric. This cannot be thought wonderful, if Rhetoric be the art,

by which men are persuaded, and if men cannot be persuaded, without a knowledge of human nature: for what, but Philosophy, can procure us this knowledge?

It was for this reason the ablest Greek philosophers not only taught (as we hinted before) but wrote also treatises upon Rhetoric. They had a farther inducement, and that was the intrinsic beauty of their language, as it was then spoken among the learned and polite. They would have been ashamed to have delivered Philosophy, as it has been too often delivered since, in compositions as clumsy, as the common dialect of the mere vulgar.

The same love of elegance, which made them attend to their stile, made them attend even to the places, where their Philosophy was taught.

Plato delivered his lectures in a place shaded with groves, on the banks of the river Ilissus; and which, as it once belonged to a person called Academus, was called after his name, the Academy. Aristotle chose another spot of a similar character, where there were trees and shade; a spot called the Lycæum. Zeno taught in a portico or colonade, distinguished from other buildings of that sort (of which the Athenians had many) by the name of the Variegated Portico, the walls being decorated with various paintings of Polygnotus and Myro, two capital masters of that transcendent period\*. Epicurus addressed

\* Of these two artists it appears that Myro was paid, and that Polygnotus painted gratis, for which generosity he had the testimony of public honours. Plin. N. Hist. L. XXXV. cap. 9. sect. 35.



dress'd his hearers in those well known gardens, called after his own name, the gardens of Epicurus.

Some of these places gave names to the doctrines, which were taught there. Plato's philosophy took its name of Academic from the Academy; that of Zeno was called the Stoic, from a Greek word, signifying a portico.

The system indeed of Aristotle was not denominated from the place, but was called Peripatetic, from the manner in which he taught; from his walking about, at the time, when he disserted. The term, Epicurean Philosophy, needs no explanation.

Open air, shade, water, and pleasant walks seem above all things to favour that exercise, the best suited to contemplation, I mean gentle walking without inducing fatigue. The many agreeable walks in and about Oxford may teach my own countrymen the truth of this assertion, and best explain how Horace lived, while a student at Athens, employed (as he tells us)

—*inter silvas Academi querere verum.*

These places of public institu-

tion were called among the Greeks by the name of *Gymnasia*, in which, whatever that word might have originally meant, were taught all those exercises, and all those arts, which tended to cultivate not only the body, but the mind. As man was a being consisting of both, the Greeks could not consider that education as complete, in which both were not regarded, and both properly formed. Hence their *Gymnasia*, with reference to this double end, were adorned with two statues, those of Mercury and of Hercules, the corporeal accomplishments being patronized (as they supposed) by the God of strength, the mental accomplishments by the God of ingenuity.

It is to be feared that many places, now called academies, scarce deserve the name upon this extensive plan, if the professors teach no more, than how to dance, fence, and ride upon horses.

It was for the cultivation of every liberal accomplishment that Athens was celebrated (as we have said) during many centuries, long after her political influence was lost, and at an end.

We learn from history that the pictures, which adorned this portico, were four; two on the back part of it (open to the Colonnade) and a picture at each end, upon the right and left.

We learn also the subjects: on one of the sides a picture of the Athenian and Lacedemonian armies at Oenoe (an Argive city) facing each other, and ready to engage: on the back ground, or middle part of the portico, the battle between the Athenians under Theseus, and the Amazons: next to that, on the same middle, the Grecian chiefs, after the taking of Troy, deliberating upon the violence offered by Ajax to Cassandra, Ajax himself being present, together with Cassandra and other captive Trojan women: lastly, on the other side of the portico opposite to the first, the triumphant victory at Marathon, the Barbarians pushed into the morass, or demolished, while they endeavoured to escape to to their ships; Miltiades and the Greek leaders being to be known by their portraits.



When Alexander the Great died, many tyrants, like many Hydras, immediately sprung up. Athens then, though she still maintained the form of her antient government, was perpetually checked and humiliated by their insolence. Antipater destroyed her orators, and she was sacked by Demetrius. At length she became subject to the all-powerful Romans, and found the cruel Sylla her severest enemy.

His face (which perhaps indicated his manners) was of a purple red, intermixed with white. This circumstance could not escape the witty Athenians: they described him in a verse, and ridiculously said,

Sylla's face is a mulberry, sprinkled with meal.

The devastations and carnage, which he caused soon after, gave them too much reason to repent their sarcasm.

The civil war between Cæsar and Pompey soon followed, and their natural love of liberty made them side with Pompey. Here again they were unfortunate, for Cæsar conquered. But Cæsar did not treat them like Sylla. With that clemency, which made so amiable a part of his character, he dismissed them by a fine allusion to their illustrious ancestors, saying, that he spared the living for the sake of the dead.

Another storm followed soon after this, the wars of Brutus and Cassius with Augustus and Antony. Their partiality for liberty did not here forsake them: they took part in the contest with the two patriot Romans, and erected their statues near their own antient de-

liverers, Harmodius and Aristogiton, who had slain Hipparchus. But they were still unhappy, for their enemies triumphed.

They made their peace however with Augustus, and having met afterwards with different treatment under different emperors, sometimes favourable, sometimes harsh, and never more severe than under Vespasian, their oppressions were at length relieved by the virtuous Nerva and Trajan.

Mankind during the interval, which began from Nerva, and which extended to the death of the best of emperors, Marcus Antoninus, felt a respite from those evils, which they had so severely felt before, and which they felt so severely revived under Commodus, and his wretched successors.

Athens, during the above golden period, enjoyed more than all others the general felicity, for she found in Adrian so generous a benefactor, that her citizens could hardly help esteeming him a second founder. He restored their old privileges; gave them new; repaired their antient buildings, and added others of his own. Marcus Antoninus, although he did not do so much, still continued to shew them his benevolent attention.

If from this period we turn our eyes back, we shall find, for centuries before, that Athens was the place of education, not only for Greeks, but for Romans. It was hither, that Horace was sent by his father; it was here that Cicero put his son Marcus under Cratippus, one of the ablest philosophers then belonging to that city.

The



The sects of philosophers, which we have already described, were still existing, when St. Paul came thither. We cannot enough admire the superior eloquence of that apostle, in his manner of addressing so intelligent an audience. We cannot enough admire the sublimity of his exordium; the propriety of his mentioning an altar, which he had found there; and his quotation from Aratus, one of their well-known poets.

Nor was Athens only celebrated for the residence of philosophers, and the institution of youth: men of rank and fortune found pleasure in a retreat, which contributed so much to their liberal enjoyment.

The friend and correspondent of Cicero, T. Pomponius, from his long attachment to this city and country, had attained such a perfection in its arts and language, that he acquired to himself the additional name of Atticus. This great man may be said to have lived during times of the worst and cruelest factions. His youth was spent under Sylla and Marius; the middle of his life during all the sanguinary scenes that followed; and when he was old, he saw the proscriptions of Anthony and Octavius. Yet though Cicero and a multitude more of the best men perished, he had the good fortune to survive every danger. Nor did he seek a safety for himself alone; his virtue so recommended him to the leaders of every side, that he was able to save not himself alone, but the lives and fortunes of many of his friends.

When we look to this amiable

character, we may well suppose, that it was not merely for amusement that he chose to live at Athens; but rather that, by residing there, he might so far realize philosophy, as to employ it for the conduct of life, and not merely for ostentation.

Another person, during a better period, (that I mean between Nerva and Marcus Antoninus) was equally celebrated for his affection to this city. By this person I mean Herodes Atticus, who acquired the last name from the same reasons, for which it had formerly been given to Pomponius.

We have remarked already, that vicissitudes befall both men and cities, and changes too often happen from prosperous to adverse. Such was the state of Athens under the successors of Alexander, and soon from Sylla down to the time of Augustus. It shared the same hard fate with the Roman empire in general upon the accession of Commodus.

At length, after a certain period the Barbarians of the north began to pour into the south. Rome was taken by Alaric, and Athens was besieged by the same. Yet here we are informed (at least we learn so from history) that it was miraculously saved by Minerva and Achilles. The goddess it seems and the hero both of them appeared, compelling the invader to raise the siege.

It was thus we are told, that, many years before Castor, and Pollux had fought for the Romans; and that, many centuries afterwards, St. George, at Iconium, discomfited the Saracens—nay, so late as in the sixteenth century, a gallant Spaniard, Peter de



de Pas, was seen to assist his countrymen, some months after his decease, when they made an assault at the siege of Antwerp.

Instead of giving my own sentiments upon these events, I chuse to give those of an abler man upon a similar subject. After having related some singular stories of equal probability, Lord Bacon concludes with the following observation—

“My judgment (says he) is, that they (he means the stories) ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter-talk by the fire-side. Though when I say despised, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised, for they have done much mischief.”

Synesius who lived in the fifth century, visited Athens, and gives in his epistles an account of his visit. Its lustre appears at that time to have been greatly diminished. Among other things he informs us, that the celebrated Portico or Colonnade, the Greek name of which gave name to the sect of Stoics, had by an oppressive proconsul been despoiled of its fine pictures; and that, on this devastation, it had been forsaken by those philosophers.

In the thirteenth century, when the Grecian empire was cruelly oppressed by the Crusaders, and all things in confusion, Athens was besieged by one Segurus Leo, who was unable to take it; and, after that, by a marquis of Montferrat, to whom it surrendered.

Its fortune after this was various; and it was sometimes un-

der the Venetians, sometimes under the Catalonians, till Mahomet the Great made himself master of Constantinople. This fatal catastrophe (which happened near two thousand years after the time of Pisistratus brought Athens and with it all Greece into the hands of the Turks, under whose despotic yoke it has continued ever since.

The city from this time has been occasionally visited, and descriptions of it published, by different travellers. Wheeler was there along with Spon in the time of our Charles the Second, and both of them have published curious and valuable narratives. Others, as well natives of this island, as foreigners, have been there since, and some have given (as Mons. Le Roy) specious publications of what we are to suppose they saw. None however have equalled the truth, the accuracy and elegance of Mr. Stuart, who after having resided there between three and four years, has given us such plans and elevations of the capital buildings now standing, together with learned comments to elucidate every part, that he seems, as far as was possible for the power of description, to have restored the city to its antient splendor.

He has not only given us the greater outlines and their measures, but separate measures and drawings of the minuter decorations; so that a British artist may (if he please) follow Phidias, and build in Britain, as Phidias did at Athens\*.

Spon, speaking of Attica, says

\* This most curious and valuable book was published at London, in the year 1762.



that the road near Athens was pleasing, and the very peasants polished. Speaking of the Athenians in general, he says of them—*ils ont une politesse d'esprit naturelle, & beaucoup d'adresse dans toutes les affaires, qu'ils entreprennent*\*.

Wheeler, who was Spon's fellow-traveller says as follows, when he and his company approached Athens—"We began now to think ourselves in a more civilized country, than we had yet past; for not a shepherd, that we met, but bid us welcome, and wished us a good journey—Speaking of the Athenians, he adds—This must with great truth be said of them, their bad fortune hath not been able to take from them, what they have by nature, that is, much subtlety or wit. And again—the Athenians, notwithstanding the long possession that barbarism hath had of this place, seem to be much more polished in point of manners and conversation, than any other in these parts; being civil, and of respectful behaviour to all, and highly complimentary in their discourse†."

Stuart says of the present Athenians, what Spon and Wheeler said of their fore-fathers;—he found in them the same address, the same natural acuteness, tho' severely curbed by their despotic masters.

One custom I cannot omit. He tells me, that frequently at their convivial meetings, one of the company takes, what they now call, a lyre, though it is rather a spe-

cies of guitar, and after a short prelude on the instrument, as if he were waiting for inspiration, accompanies his instrumental music with his voice, suddenly chanting some *extempore* verses, which seldom exceed two or three distichs; that he then delivers the lyre to his neighbour, who, after he has done the same, delivers it to another; and that so the lyre circulates, till it has past round the table.

Nor can I forget his informing me, that notwithstanding the various fortune of Athens, as a city, Attica was still famous for olives, and Mount Hymettus for honey. Human institutions perish, but nature is permanent.

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*Concerning Natural Beauty; from the same Work.*

**B**UT let us pass for a moment from the elegant works of art to the more elegant works of nature. The two subjects are so nearly allied, that the same taste usually relishes them both.

Now there is nothing more certain, than that the face of inanimate nature has been at all times captivating. The vulgar, indeed look no farther than to scenes of culture, because all their views merely terminate in utility. They only remark, that 'tis fine barley; that 'tis rich clover; as an ox or an ass, if they could speak would inform us. But the liberal have nobler views, and though they give to culture its due praise, they can be delighted with natural

\* Spon, vol. II. p. 76, 92. edit. 8vo.

† Wheeler, p. 356. edit. fol.  
beauties,



beauties, where culture was never known.

Ages ago they have celebrated with enthusiastic rapture "a deep retired vale, with a river rushing through it; a vale having its sides formed by two immense and opposite mountains, and those sides diversified by woods, precipices, rocks, and romantic caverns." Such was the scene, produced by the river Pēneus, as it ran between the mountains, Olympus and Ossa, in that well known vale, Thesfalian Tempe\*.

Virgil and Horace, the first for taste among the Romans, appear to have been enamoured with beauties of this character. Horace prayed for a villa, where there was a garden, a rivulet, and above these a little grove.

*Hortus ubi, et tecto vicinus jugis aquæ fons,  
Et paulum Silvæ super his foret.*

Sat. VI. 2.

Virgil wished to enjoy rivers, and woods, and to be hid under immense shade in the cool valleys of Mount Hæmus—

—O! qui me gelidis in Vallibus Hæmi  
Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra?  
Georg. II. 486.

The great elements of this species of Beauty, according to these

principles, were water, wood, and uneven ground; to which may be added a fourth, that is to say, lawn. 'Tis the happy mixture of these four, that produces every scene of natural beauty, as 'tis a more mysterious mixture of other elements (perhaps a simple, and not more in number) that produces a world or universe.

Virgil and Horace having been quoted, we may quote, with equal truth, our great countryman, Milton. Speaking of the flowers of Paradise, he calls them flowers,

— which not nice art

In beds and curious knots; but nature boon  
Pours forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain.

P. L. IV. 245

Soon after this he subjoins—

— this was the place,  
A happy rural seat, of various views.

He explains this variety, by recounting the lawns, the flocks, the hillocks, the valleys, the grotts, the waterfalls, the lakes, &c. &c. and in another book, describing the approach of Raphael, he informs us, that this divine messenger past

— Thro' groves of myrrh,  
And flow'ring odors, cassia, nard and balm,  
A wilderness of sweets; for nature here  
Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will

\* *Est nemus Hæmonia prærupta quod undique claudit  
Silva: vocant Tempe. Per quæ Penæus ab imo  
Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis,  
Dejectuque gravi, &c.*

Ovid. Metam. Lib. I. 568.

A fuller and more ample account of this beautiful spot may be found in the first chapter of the third book of Ælian's Various History.

Her



Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more  
sweet,  
Wild above rule or art, enormous bliss.—  
P. L. IV. 292.

The painters in the preceding century seem to have felt the power of these elements, and to have transferred them into their landscapes, with such amazing force, that they appear not so much to have followed, as to have emulated nature. Claude de Lorraine, the Poussins, Salvator Rosa, and a few more, may be called superior artists in this exquisite taste.

Our gardens in the mean time were tasteless and insipid. Those, who made them, thought the farther they wandered from nature, the nearer they approached the sublime. Unfortunately, where they travelled, no sublime was to be found; and the farther they went, the farther they left it behind.

But perfection, alas! was not the work of a day. Many prejudices were to be removed; many gradual ascents to be made; ascents from bad to good, and from good to better, before the delicious Amenities of a Claude or a Poussin could be rivalled in a Stour-head, a Hagley, or a Stow; or the tremendous charms of a Salvator Rosa be equalled in the scenes of a Piercefield, or a Mount Edgecumbe.

Not however to forget the subject of our inquiry.—Though it was not before the present century, that we established a chaster taste; though our neighbours at this instant are but learning it from us; and though to the vulgar every where it is totally in-

comprehensible (be they vulgar in rank, or vulgar in capacity): yet, even in the darkest periods we have been treating, periods, when taste is often thought to have been lost, we shall still discover an enlightened few, who were by no means insensible to the power of these beauties.

How warmly does Leland describe Guy's Cliff; Sannazarius, his Villa of Mergilline; and Petrarch, his favourite Vacluse?

Take Guy's Cliff from Leland in his own old English, mixt with Latin—"It is a place meet for the muses; there is sylvence; a praty wood; *antra in vivo saxo*; (Grottos in the living rock) the river rolling over the stones with a praty noyse." His Latin is more elegant—*Nemusculum ibidem opacum, fontes liquidi et gemmei, prata florida, antra muscosa, rivi levis et per saxa decursus, nec non solitudo et quies Musis amicitissima.*

Mergilline, the villa of Sannazarius near Naples, is thus sketched in the different parts of his poems.

*Exciso in scopulo, fluctus unde aurea canos  
Despiciens, celsæ se culmine Mergilline  
Attollit, nautisque procul venientibus offert.*  
Sannaz. De partu Virgin. I. 25.

*Rupis O! sacræ, pelagique custos  
Villa, Nympharum custos et propinquæ  
Doridos—  
Tu mihi solus nemorum recessus  
Das, et hærenies per opaca lauros  
Saxa: Tu, fontes, Aganippedumque  
Antra recludis.*

Ejusd. Epigr. I. 2.

— *quæque in primis mihi grata ministrat  
Otia, Musarumque cava per saxa latebras  
Margillina; novos fundunt ubi citria flores,  
Citria, Medorum sacros referentia lucos,*  
Ejusd. De partu Virgin. III. sub. fin.

De



De Fonte Mergillino.

*Est mihi rivo vitreus perenni  
Fons, arenosum prope littus, unde  
Sæpe descendes sibi nauta rores  
Haurit amicos, &c.*

Ejusd. Epigr. II. 36.

It would be difficult to translate these elegant morsels—'Tis sufficient to express what they mean, collectively—"that the villa of Margillina had solitary woods; had groves of laurel and citron; had grottos in the rock, with rivulets and springs; and that from its lofty situation it looked down upon the sea, and commanded an extensive prospect."

'Tis no wonder that such a villa should enamour such an owner. So strong was his affection for it, that, when during the subsequent wars in Italy, it was demolished by the imperial troops, this unfortunate event was supposed to have hastened his end.\*

Vaucluse (*Vallis Clausa*) the favourite retreat of Petrarch, was a romantic scene, not far from Avignon.

"It is a valley, having on each hand, as you enter, immense cliffs, but closed up at one of its ends by a semi-circular ridge of them; from which incident it derives its name. One of the most stupendous of these cliffs stands in the front of the semi-circle, and has at its foot an opening into an immense cavern. Within the most retired and gloomy part of this cavern is a large oval basin, the production of nature, filled with pellucid and unfathomable water; and from this reservoir issues a river of respectable

magnitude, dividing, as it runs, the meadows beneath, and winding through the precipices, that impend from above.

This is an imperfect sketch of that spot, where Petrarch spent his time with so much delight, as to say that this alone was life to him, the rest but a state of punishment.

In the two preceding narratives I seem to see an anticipation of that taste for natural beauty, which now appears to flourish through Great Britain in such perfection. It is not to be doubted that the owner of Margillina would have been charmed with Mount Edgecumb; and the owner of Vaucluse have been delighted with Piercefield.

When we read in Xenophon, that the younger Cyrus had with his own hand planted trees for beauty, we are not surprised, tho' pleased with the story, as the age was polished, and Cyrus an accomplished prince. But, when we read that in the beginning of the 14th century, a king of France (Philip le Bel) should make it penal to cut down a tree, *qui a este gardé pour sa beauté*, which had been preserved for its beauty; though we praise the law, we cannot help being surprised, that the prince should at such a period have been so far enlightened.

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*Some Account of Literature in Russia,  
and of its Progress towards being*

\* So we learn from Paulus Jovius, the writer of his life, published with his poems by Grævius, in a small edition of some of the Italian poets, at Amsterdam, in the year 1695.



*civilized; from the Appendix to the same.*

THE vast empire of Russia, extending far to the north, both in Europe and Asia, 'tis no wonder that, in such a country, its inhabitants should have remained so long uncivilized. For culture of the finer arts it is necessary there should be comfortable leisure. But how could such leisure be found in a country, where every one had enough to do, to support his family, and to resist the rigour of an uncomfortable climate? Besides this, to make the finer arts flourish, there must be imagination; and imagination must be enlivened by the contemplation of pleasing objects; and that contemplation must be performed in a manner easy to the contemplator. Now, who can contemplate with ease, where the thermometer is often many degrees below the freezing point? Or what object can he find worth contemplating for those many long months, when all the water is ice, and all the land covered with snow?

If then the difficulties were so great, how great must have been the praise of those princes and legislators, who dared attempt to polish mankind in so unpromising a region, and who have been able, by their perseverance, in some degree to accomplish it?

Those, who on this occasion bestow the highest praises upon Peter the Great, praise him, without doubt, as he justly deserves. But if they would refer the beginning of this work to him, and much more its completion, they are certainly under a mistake.

As long ago as the time of Ed-

ward the Sixth, Ivan Basilowitz adopted principles of commerce, and granted peculiar privileges to the English, on their discovery of a navigation to Archangel.

A sad scene of sanguinary confusion followed from this period to the year 1612. when a deliverer arose, Prince Pajanky. He, by unparalleled fortitude, having routed all the tyrants and impostors of the time, was by the Borsars or Magnates unanimously elected Czar. But this honour he, with a most disinterested magnanimity, declined for himself, and pointed out to them Michael Fædorowitz. of the house of Romanoff, and by his mother's side descended from the antient Czars.

From this period we may date the first appearances of a real civilizing, and a developement of the wealth and power of the Russian empire. Michael reigned thirty-three years. By his wisdom, and the mildness of his character, he restored ease and tranquillity to subjects, who had been long deprived of those inestimable blessings—he encouraged them to industry, and gave them an example of the most laudable behaviour.

His son Alexius Michaelowitz was superior to his father in the art of governing and sound politics. He promoted agriculture; introduced into his empire arts and sciences, of which he was himself a lover; published a code of laws still used in the administration of justice; and greatly improved his army, by mending its discipline. This he effected chiefly by the help of strangers, most of whom were Scotch. Lesley, Gordon, and Ker, are the names of families still existing in this country.

Theodore of Fædor succeeded his father



father in 1677. He was of a gentle disposition, and weak constitution; fond of pomp and magnificence, and in satisfying this passion contributed to polish his subjects by the introduction of foreign manufactures, and articles of elegance, which they soon began to adopt and imitate. His delight was in horses, and he did his country a real service in the beginning and establishing of those fine breeds of them in the Ukraine and elsewhere. He reigned seven years, and having on his death-bed called his Bojars round him, in the presence of his brother and sister Ivan and Sophia, and of his half brother Peter, said to them; "Hear my last sentiments; they are dictated by my love for the state, and by my affection for my people—the bodily infirmities of Ivan necessarily must affect his mental faculties—he is incapable of ruling a dominion like that of Russia—he cannot take it amiss, if I recommend to you to set him aside, and to let your approbation fall on Peter, who to a robust constitution joins great strength of mind, and marks of a superior understanding."

Theodore dying in 1682, Peter became emperor, and his brother Ivan remained contented. But Sophia, Ivan's sister, a woman of great ambition, could not bring herself to submit.

The troubles, which ensued; the imminent dangers, which Peter escaped; his abolition of that turbulent and seditious soldiery, called the Strelitz; the confinement of his half-sister Sophia to a monastery; all these were important events, which left Peter in the year 1689 with no other com-

petitor, than the mild and easy Ivan; who dying not many years after left him sole monarch of all the Russias.

The acts at home and abroad, in peace and in war of this stupendous and elevated genius, are too well known to be repeated by me. Peter adorned his country with arts, and raised its glory by arms; he created a respectable marine; founded St. Petersburg, a new capital, and that from the very ground; rendering it withall one of the first cities in Europe for beauty and elegance.

To encourage letters he formed academies, and invited foreign professors not only to Petersburg (his new city) but to his antient capital Moscow; at both which places these professors were maintained with liberal pensions.

As a few specimens of literature from both these cities have recently come to my hand, I shall endeavour to enumerate them, as I think it relative to my subject.

1. Plutarchus *περὶ Δουρωπίας, καὶ περὶ Τούνης*—Gr. Lat. *cum animadversionibus Reiskii et alior.*—*suas adjecit Christianus Fridericus Matthæi. Typis Universitatis Mosquensis, an. 1777, 8vo.*

2. *Plutarchi libellus de Superstitione, et Demosthenis Oratio funebris*, Gr. Lat. *cum notis integris Reiskii et alior.*—*suas adjecit Christ. Frider. Matthæi—Typis Cæsareæ Mosquensis Universitatis, an. 1778, 8vo.*

3. *Lectiones Mosquenses*, in two volumes, 8vo. bound together, and printed at Leipzig, an. 1779—they contain various readings in different authors, and some entire pieces, all in Greek, collected from the libraries of Moscow, and published



published by the same learned editor.

4. *Isocratis, Demetrii Cyd. et Michael Glycæ aliquot Epistolæ nec non Dion. Chrysostomi Oratio*—Græc. *Typis Universitatis Cæsareæ Mosquensis*—Svo.—By the same learned editor.

5. *Glossaria Græca minora, et alia Anecdota Græca*—a work, consisting of two parts, contained under one volume, in a thin quarto, by the same able professor, printed at Moscow by the University Types, in the years 1774 and 1775. A catalogue of the several pieces in both parts is subjoined to the end of the second part—Among the pieces in the first part are, *Excerpta ex Grammaticâ Niceph. Gregoræ; ex Glossario Cyrilli Alexandrini; Glossarium in Epistolas Pauli; Nomina Mensium*;—those of the 2d part are chiefly theological.

6. *Notitia Codicum Manuscriptorum Græcorum Bibliothecarum Mosquensium, cum variis Anecdotis, Tabulis Æneis, Indicibus locupletissimis*—edidit Christ. Fridericus Matthæi—Mosquæ. *Typis Universitatis*, an. 1776.

This publication, on a large folio paper, is as yet incomplete, only sixty pages being printed off. It ends, *Partis primæ Sectionis primæ Finis*.

7. An ode to the present empress, Catharine, in antient Greek and Russian.

8. An ode on the birth-day of Constantine, second son to the Grand Duke, in antient Greek and Russian—printed at Peterburgh, and as we learn from the title, ἐν τῇ 'Αυτοκρατορικῇ Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῶν Ἐπιστημῶν, in the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

9. An ode to Prince Potempkin,  
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antient Greek and Russian, and printed (as before) an. 1780.

10. An ode, consisting of Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode, antient Greek and Russian, made in 1779, in honour of the Empress, the Great Duke and Duchesse, and Alexander and Constantine, their two sons, grandsons to the Empress.

This ode was sung in the original Greek by a large number of voices, before a numerous and splendid court, in one of the imperial palaces.

As I have a copy of this music, I cannot omit observing, that it is a genuine exemplar of the antient Antiphona, so well known to the church in very remote ages. On this plan two complete choirs (each consisting of trebles, counters, tenors, and bases) sing against each other, and reciprocally answer; then unite all of them; then separate again, returning to the alternate response, till the whole at length concludes in one general chorus. The music of this ode may be called purely vocal, having no other accompaniment but that of an organ.

The composer was no less a man than the celebrated Paesello so well known at present, and so much admired, both in Italy and elsewhere, for music of a very different character, I mean his truly natural, and pleasing burlettas.

Those, who are curious to know more of this species of music, may consult the valuable glossary of Spelman, under the word Antiphona, and the ingenious musical dictionary of Rousseau, under the word *Antienne*.

11. A short copy of Greek elegiac verses, printed at Peterburgh,  
M



burgh, in the year 1780, and addressed to Prince Potemkin, with this singular title,

Επίγραμμα ἐπὶ τῆς παμφαῦς καὶ χαρμοσύνης ΓΟΡΓΕΙΟΦΟΡΙΑΣ, τῆς κοιντέρας ΜΑΣΚΑΡΑΔΟΣ καλεμένης, ἦν κ. τ. λ.

Thus Englished—A Poem, on the splendid and delightful Festivity, where they wear Gorgonian Vifors; more commonly called a Masquerade; which Prince Potemkin celebrated, &c. &c.

A better word to denote a masquerade could hardly have been invented, than the word here employed, Γοργειοφορία. In attempting to translate it, that I might express one word, I have been compelled to use many.

12. A translation of Virgil's Georgics from the Latin Hexameters into Greek Hexameters, by the celebrated Eugenius, famous for his treatise of logic, published a few years since in antient Greek at Leipzig. He was made an archbishop, but chose to resign his dignity. He is now carrying on this translation under the protection of Prince Potemkin, but had as yet gone no farther, than to the end of the first Georgic.

The work is printed on a large folio paper, having the original on one side, and the translation on the other. Copious notes in Greek are at the bottom of the several pages.

Take a short specimen of the performance.

*Continuo, ventis surgentibus, aut freta ponti  
Incipiunt agitata tumescere, et aridus altis  
Montibus audiri fragor; aut resonantia longe  
Littora misceri, et nemorum increbrescere murmur.*

Geor. I. 356.

Ἀυτίκα, ἐγρομένων ἀνέμων, πορθμοῖς ἐπὶ πόντῳ

Ἄλς τε σαλευομένη οἰδαίνει, καὶ κορυφαὶδὲ  
Ουρεὸς ἄκραι τραχὺ βοᾷσιν ἅτάρ μακρύθεν γε

Ἀκλαὶ τ' ἐνάλιοι ῥὰ βρέμονται, αἰγιαλοὶ τε

Σμερδαλέον πνοιῇσι δὲ μυκάει' αἶα ὦλη.

Of these various printed works, the first six were sent me by the learned scholar above mentioned, Christianus Fridericus Matthæi, from Moscow; the last six I had the honour to receive from Prince Potemkin at Petersburg.

Besides the printed books, the learned professor at Moscow sent me a curious Latin narrative in manuscript.

In it he gives an account of a fine manuscript of Strabo, belonging to the Ecclesiastical Library at Moscow—He informs me, this MS. is in folio; contains 427 leaves: is beautifully written by one, whom he calls a learned and diligent scribe, at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century; and came, as appears by a memorandum in the manuscript, from the celebrated Greek monastery at Mount Athos.

He adds (which is worth attention) that almost all the Greek manuscripts, which are now preserved at Moscow, were originally brought thither from this monastery; and that, in the last century, by order of the Emperor Alexius Michaelowitz, and the Patriarch Nico, by means of the Monk Arsenius. So early in this country did a gleam of literature shew itself.

He strongly denies the fact, that there is any other MS. of Strabo besides this either at Moscow, or at Petersburg.

Of the present MS. he has been  
fo



so kind as to send me collations, taken from the first and second book.

After this he mentions the unpublished hymn of Homer upon Ceres, and the fragment of another by the same poet upon Bacchus; both of which, since I heard from him, have been published by Runkenius at Leyden, to whom my correspondent had sent them from the Moscovian Library.

He has been generous enough to send me copies of all the books he has published, for which valuable donation I take this public opportunity of making my grateful acknowledgments.

With regard to all the publications here mentioned, it is to be observed, that those from Petersburg are said to be printed in the Imperial Academy of Sciences; those from Moscow, by the Types of the Imperial University; each place by its stile indicating its establishment.

In justice to my son, his majesty's minister to the Court of Russia, it is incumbent upon me to say, that all this information, and these literary treasures have been procured for me by his help, and through his interest.

I must not conclude without observing (though perhaps it may be a repetition) that the efforts to civilize this country did not begin from Peter the Great, but were much older. A small glimmering, like the first day-break, was seen under Czar Iwan, in the middle of the sixteenth century.

This dawn of civilizing became more conspicuous a century afterwards, under Czar Alexis Michaelowitz; of whom, as well as

of his son Theodore or Fædor we have spoken already.

But under the Great Peter it burst forth, with all the splendor of a rising sun, and (if I may be permitted to continue my metaphor has continued ever since to ascend towards its meridian.

More than fifty years have past since the death of Peter; during which period, with very little exception, this vast empire has been governed by female sovereigns only. All of them have pursued more or less the plan of their great predecessor, and none of them more, than the illustrious princess, who now reigns.

And so much for literature in Russia, and for its progress towards being civilized.

*On the Advantages of a Taste for  
the general Beauties of Nature.  
By Dr. Percival, of Manchester.*

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia musæ  
Accipiant! —

—Rura mihi, et rigui placeant in vallibus  
amnes;

Flumina amem, sylvasque inglorius.

Virg. Georg. L. II. Lin. 475.

**T**HAT sensibility to beauty, which, when cultivated and improved, we term taste, is universally diffused through the human species: and it is most uniform with respect to those objects, which, being out of our power, are not liable to variation, from accident, caprice, or fashion. The verdant lawn, the shady grove, the variegated landscape, the boundless ocean, and the starry firmament, are contemplated with pleasure by every attentive beholder.



holder. But the emotions of different spectators, though similar in kind, differ widely in degree: and to relish, with full delight, the enchanting scenes of nature, the mind must be uncorrupted by avarice, sensuality, or ambition; quick in her sensibilities; elevated in her sentiments; and devout in her affections. He, who possesses such exalted powers of perception and enjoyment, may almost say, with the poet,

“ I care not, Fortune! what you me  
 “ deny;  
 “ You cannot rob me of free Nature’s  
 “ grace;  
 “ You cannot shut the windows of the  
 “ sky,  
 “ Thro’ which Aurora shews her bright-  
 “ ening face;  
 “ You cannot bar my constant feet to  
 “ trace  
 “ The woods and lawns, by living  
 “ stream, at eve:  
 “ Let health my nerves and finer fibres  
 “ brace,  
 “ And I their toys to the great children  
 “ leave:  
 “ Of fancy, reason, virtue, nought can  
 “ me bereave\*.”

Perhaps such ardent enthusiasm may not be compatible with the necessary toils, and active offices, which Providence has assigned to the generality of men. But there are none, to whom some portion of it may not prove advantageous; and if it were cherished, by each individual, in that degree, which is consistent with the indispensable duties of his station, the felicity of human life would be considerably augmented. From this source, the refined and vivid pleasures of the imagination are almost entirely derived: and the elegant arts owe

their choicest beauties to a taste for the contemplation of nature. Painting and sculpture are express imitations of visible objects: and where would be the charms of poetry, if divested of the imagery and embellishments, which she borrows from rural scenes? Painters, statuaries, and poets, therefore, are always ambitious to acknowledge themselves the pupils of nature; and as their skill increases, they grow more and more delighted with every view of the animal and vegetable world. But the pleasure resulting from admiration is transient; and to cultivate taste, without regard to its influence on the passions and affections, “ is to rear a tree for its blossoms, which is capable of yielding the richest, and most valuable fruit †.” Physical and moral beauty bear so intimate a relation to each other, that they may be considered as different gradations in the scale of excellence; and the knowledge and relish of the former, should be deemed only a step to the nobler and more permanent enjoyments of the latter.

Whoever has visited the Leasowes, in Warwickshire, must have felt the force and propriety of an inscription, which meets the eye, at the entrance into those delightful grounds.

“ Would you then taste the tranquil  
 “ scene?  
 “ Be sure your bosoms be serene;  
 “ Devoid of hate, devoid of strife,  
 “ Devoid of all that poisons life:  
 “ And much it ’vails you, in their place  
 “ To graft the love of human race ‡.”

Now such scenes contribute powerfully to inspire that sereni-

\* Thompson’s Castle of Indolence.

† Shenstone.

‡ Ib.



ty, which is necessary to enjoy, and to heighten their beauties. By a secret contagion, the soul catches the harmony, which she contemplates; and the frame within, assimilates itself to that which is without. For,

“ Who can forbear to smile with Nature ?  
 “ Can the stormy passions in the bosom  
     “ roll,  
 “ While every gale is peace, and every  
     “ grove  
 “ Is melody\* ?”

In this state of sweet composure, we become susceptible of virtuous impressions, from almost every surrounding object. The patient ox is viewed with generous complacency; the guileless sheep, with pity; and the playful lamb raises emotions of tenderness and love. We rejoice with the horse, in his liberty and exemption from toil, whilst he ranges at large through enamelled pastures: and the frolics of the colt would afford unmixed delight, did we not recollect the bondage, which he is soon to undergo.

We are charmed with the songs of birds, soothed with the buzz of insects, and pleased with the sportive motions of fishes, because these are expressions of enjoyment; and we exult in the felicity of the whole animated creation. Thus an equal and extensive benevolence is called forth into exertion; and having *felt* a common interest in the gratifications of inferior

beings, we shall be no longer indifferent to their sufferings, or become wantonly instrumental in producing them.

It seems to be the intention of Providence, that the lower orders of animals should be subservient to the comfort, convenience, and sustenance of man. But his right of dominion extends no farther; and if this right be exercised with mildness, humanity, and justice, the subjects of his power will be no less benefitted than himself. For various species of living creatures are annually multiplied by human art, improved in their perceptive powers by human culture, and plentifully fed by human industry. The relation, therefore, is reciprocal, between such animals and man; and he may supply his own wants by the use of their labour, the produce of their bodies, and even the sacrifice of their lives; whilst he co-operates with all gracious Heaven, in promoting happiness, the great end of existence.

But though it be true, that *partial evil*, with respect to different orders of sensitive beings, may be *universal good*; and that it is a wise and benevolent institution of nature, to make destruction itself, within certain limitations, the cause of an increase of life and enjoyment; yet a generous person will extend, his compassionate regards to every individual, that

\* Thomson's Season's first edit.

Horace when he breaks forth into the animated exclamation,

“ O, rus! quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit  
 “ Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis  
 “ Ducere sollicitæ jucunda obliuia vitæ ;”

Hor. Sat. VI.

seems to regret the want of that heartfelt complacency, which the bustle, pomp, and pleasures of imperial Rome could not afford.



suffers for his sake: and whilst he sighs

“ Ev’n for the kid, or lamb, that pours  
“ its life  
“ Beneath the bloody knife\* ;”

he will naturally be solicitous to mitigate pain, both in duration and degree, by the gentlest modes of inflicting it.

I am inclined to believe, however, that this sense of humanity would soon be obliterated, and that the heart would grow callous to every soft impression, were it not for the benignant influence of the smiling face of nature. The Count de Lauzun, when imprisoned by Louis XIV, in the castle of Pignerol, amused himself, during a long period of time, with catching flies, and delivering them to be devoured by a rapacious spider. Such an entertainment was equally singular and cruel; and inconsistent, I believe, with his former character, and subsequent turn of mind. But his cell had no window; and received only a glimmering light from an aperture in the roof. In less unfavourable circumstances, may we not presume, that instead of sporting with misery, he would have released the agonising flies; and

bid them enjoy that freedom, of which he himself was bereaved?

But the taste for natural beauty is subservient to higher purposes, than those which have been enumerated: and the cultivation of it not only refines and humanises, but dignifies and exalts the affections. It elevates them to the admiration and love of that Being, who is the Author of all that is fair, sublime, and good in the creation. Scepticism and irreligion are hardly compatible with the sensibility of heart†, which arises from a just and lively relish of the wisdom, harmony, and order subsisting in the world around us: and emotions of piety must spring up spontaneously in the bosom, that is in unison with all animated nature. Actuated by this divine inspiration, man finds “ a fane in every sacred grove ‡ :” and glowing with devout fervour, he joins his song to the universal chorus; or muses the praise of the Almighty, in silence more expressive. Thus they

“ Whom Nature’s works can charm, with  
“ God himself

“ Hold converse; grow familiar, day by  
“ day,

“ With his conceptions; act upon his plan;  
“ And form to his, the relish of their  
“ souls §”.

\* Lord Lyttelton.  
§ Akenfide.

† See Gregory’s Comparative View.

‡ Thomson.



## P O E T R Y.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1781. *Written by WILLIAM WHITEHEAD,  
Esq; Poet Laureat.*

A S K round the world, from age to age,  
 Not where alone th' historian's page  
 Or poet's song have just attention won,  
 But even the feeblest voice of fame  
 Has learnt to lisp Britannia's name,  
 Ask of her inborn worth, and deeds of high renown,  
 What power from Lusitania broke  
 The haughty Spaniard's galling yoke?  
 Who bade the Belgian mounds with freedom ring?  
 Who fix'd so oft, with strength supreme,  
 In balanc'd Europe's nodding beam,  
 And rais'd the Austrian eagle's drooping wing?  
 'Twas Britain! Britain heard the nations groan,  
 As jealous of their freedom as her own.  
 Where'er her valiant troops she led,  
 Check'd, and abash'd, and taught to fear,  
 The earth's proud tyrants stopp'd their mad career;  
 To Britain Gallia bow'd; from Britain Julius fled.  
 Why then when round her fair protectress' brow  
 The dark clouds gather, and the tempests blow,  
 With folded arms, at ease reclin'd,  
 Does Europe sit? or, more unkind,  
 Why fraudulently aid th' insidious plan?  
 The foes of Britain are the foes of man.  
 Alas! her glory soars too high,  
 Her radiant Star of Liberty  
 Has bid too long th' astonish'd nations gaze:  
 That glory which they once admir'd,  
 That glory in their cause acquir'd,  
 That glory burns too bright, they cannot bear the blaze!  
 Then Britons, by experience wise  
 Court not an envious or a timid friend;  
 Firm in thyself undaunted rise,  
 On thy own arm, and righteous Heaven depend.  
 So, as in great Eliza's days,  
 On Self-supported pinions borne,  
 Again shalt thou look down with scorn



On an opposing world, and all its wily ways :  
 Growing greater from distress,  
 And eager still to bless,  
 As truly generous as thou'rt truly brave,  
 Again shall crush the proud, again the conquer'd save.

ODE for the KING'S BIRTH-DAY, June 4, 1781. By W. WHITE-  
 HEAD, Esq; Poet Laureat.

**S**TILL does the rage of war prevail?  
 Still thirsts for blood th' insatiate spear?  
 Wast not, ye winds, th' invidious tale,  
 Nor let th' untutor'd nations hear  
 That passion baffles reason's boasted reign,  
 And half the peopled world is civilis'd in vain.

What are morals, what are laws,  
 What religion's sacred name?  
 Nor morals soften, nor religion awes ;  
 Pure though the precepts flow, the actions are the same.

Revenge, and pride, and deadly hate,  
 And avarice, tainting deep the mind,  
 With all the fury-fiends that wait,  
 As torturing plagues on human kind,  
 When shewn in their own native light,  
 In truth's clear mirror, heavenly bright,  
 Like real monsters rise ;  
 But, let illusion's powerful wand  
 Transform, arrange the hideous band,  
 They cheat us in disguise ;  
 We dress their horrid forms in borrow'd rays,  
 Then call them glory, and pursue the blaze.

O blind to Nature's social plan,  
 And Heaven's indulgent end !  
 Her kinder laws knit man to man  
 As brother and as friend.  
 Nature, intent alone to bless,  
 Bids strife and discord cease ;  
 " Her ways are ways of pleasantness,  
 " And all her paths are peace."

Even this auspicious day would wear  
 A brighter face of joy serene,  
 And not one ruffling gale of care  
 Disturb the halcyon scene ;  
 On lighter wings would Zephyr move,  
 The sun with added lustre shine ;  
 Did peace, descending from above,  
 Here fix her earthly shrine :

Here



Here to the Monarch's fondest prayer  
 A just attention yield,  
 And let him change the sword of war  
 For her protecting shield.

*Extract from "The TRIUMPHS OF TEMPER," a Poem, by  
 Mr. HAYLEY.*

**S**CARCE had her radiant eyes \* began to close,  
 When to her view a friendly vision rose :  
 A fairy Phantom struck her mental sight,  
 Light as the gossamer, as æther bright ;  
 Array'd like Pallas was the pigmy form,  
 When the sage Goddess stills the martial storm.  
 Her casque was amber, richly grac'd above  
 With down, collected from the callow dove :  
 Her burnish'd breast-plate, of a deeper dye,  
 Was once the armour of a golden fly :  
 A lynx's eye her little ægis shone,  
 By fairy spells converted into stone,  
 And worn of old, as elfin poets sing,  
 By Ægypt's lovely queen, a favourite ring :  
 Mysterious power was in the magic toy,  
 'To turn the frowns of care to smiles of joy,  
 Her tiny lance, whose radiance stream'd afar,  
 Was one bright sparkle from the bridal star.  
 A filmy mantle round her figure play'd,  
 Fine as the texture, by Arachne laid  
 O'er some young plant, when glittering to the view  
 With many an orient pearl of morning dew.  
 The Phantom hover'd o'er the conscious Fair  
 With such a lively smile of tender care,  
 As on her elfin lord Titania cast,  
 When first she found his angry spell was past.  
 Round her rich locks Serena chanc'd to tie  
 An ample ribband of cærulean dye :  
 High o'er her forehead rose the graceful bow,  
 Whose arch commanded the sweet scene below :  
 The hovering spirit view'd the tempting spot,  
 And lightly perch'd on this unbending knot ;  
 As the fair flutterer, of Psyche's race,  
 Is seen to terminate her airy chace,  
 When, pleas'd at length her quivering wings to close,  
 Fondly she settles on the fragrant rose.

Now in soft notes, more musically clear  
 Than ever Fairy breath'd in mortal ear,  
 These words the visionary voice convey'd  
 To the charm'd spirit of the sleeping maid :

\* Serena's

" Thou



" Thou darling of my care, whose ripen'd worth  
 Shall spread my empire o'er the smiling earth ;  
 Whom Nature blest, forbidding modish Art  
 To cramp thy spirit, or contract thy heart ;  
 Screen'd from thy thought, nor in thy visions felt,  
 Long on thy opening mind I've fondly dwelt ;  
 In childhood's sorrows brought thee quick relief,  
 And dry'd thy April showers of infant grief ;  
 Taught thee to laugh at the malicious boy,  
 Who broke thy playthings with a barbarous joy,  
 To bear what ills the little Female haunt,  
 The testy nurse, the imperious governante,  
 And that tyrannic pest, the prying maiden aunt. }  
 Now ripening years a nobler scene supply ;  
 For life now opens on thy sparkling eye :  
 Thy rising bosom swells with just desire  
 Rapture to feel, and rapture to inspire :  
 Not the vain bliss, the transitory joys,  
 That childish woman feels in radiant toys ;  
 The costly diamond, or the lighter pearl,  
 The massive Nabob, or the tinsel Earl.  
 Thy heart demands, each meaner aim above,  
 Th' imperishable wealth of sterling love ;  
 Thy wish, to please by ev'ry softer grace  
 Of elegance and ease, of form and face !  
 By lively fancy and by sense refin'd,  
 The stronger magic of the cultur'd mind !  
 Thy pure ambition, and thy virtuous plan,  
 To fix the variable heart of man !  
 Short is the worship paid at Beauty's shrine ;  
 But lasting love and happiness are mine :  
 Mine, tho' the earth's mistaken, blinded race  
 Despise my influence, and my name debase ;  
 Nor breathe one vow to that ætherial friend,  
 On whom the colours of their life depend.  
 But to thy innocence I'll now display  
 The mystic marvels of my secret sway ;  
 And tell, in this thy fate-deciding hour,  
 My race, my name, my office, and my power.

First, hear what wonders human forms contain !  
 And learn the texture of the female brain !  
 By Nature's care in curious order spread,  
 This living net is fram'd of tender thread ;  
 Fine, as thy hand, some favour'd youth to grace,  
 Knits with nice art to form the mimic lace.  
 Within the center of this fretted dome,  
 Her secret tower, her heaven-constructed home,  
 Soft Sensibility, sweet Beauty's soul !  
 Keeps her coy state, and animates the whole,



Invisible as Harmony, who springs,  
 Wak'd by young Zephyr, from Æolian strings ;  
 Her subtle power, more delicately fine,  
 Dwells in each thread, and lives in every line,  
 Whose quick vibrations, without end, impart  
 Pleasure and pain to the responsive heart.  
 As Zephyr's breath the willing chord inspires,  
 Whispering soft music to the trembling wires,  
 So with fond care I regulate, unseen,  
 The softer movements of this nice machine ;  
 TEMPER my earthly name, the nurse of love !  
 But call'd SOPHROSYNÉ in realms above !  
 When lovely woman, perfect at her birth,  
 Blest with her early charms the wand'ring earth,  
 Her soul, in sweet simplicity array'd,  
 Nor shar'd my guidance, nor requir'd my aid.  
 Her tender frame, nor confident nor coy,  
 Had every fibre tun'd to gentle joy :  
 No vain caprices swell'd her pouting lip ;  
 No gold produc'd a mercenary trip ;  
 Soft innocence inspir'd her willing kiss,  
 Her love was nature, and her life was bliss.  
 Guide of his reason, not his passion's prey,  
 She tamed the savage, man, who blest'd her sway.  
 No jarring wishes fill'd the world with woes,  
 But youth was ecstasy, and age repose."

DESCRIPTION of the SPHERE of SENSIBILITY ; *from the same Poem.*

" **W**ELL may'st thou bend o'er this congenial sphere ;  
 " For Sensibility is sovereign here.  
 " Thou seest her train of sprightly damsels sport,  
 " Where the soft Spirit holds her rural court :  
 " But fix thine eye attentive to the plain,  
 " And mark the varying wonders of her reign."  
 As thus she spoke, she pois'd her airy seat  
 High o'er a plain exhaling every sweet ;  
 For round its precincts all the flowers that bloom  
 Fill'd the delicious air with rich perfume ;  
 And in the midst a verdant throne appear'd,  
 In simplest form by graceful Fancy rear'd,  
 And deck'd with flowers ; not such whose flaunting dyes  
 Strike with the strongest taint our dazzled eyes ;  
 But those wild herbs that tenderest fibres bear,  
 And shun th' approaches of a damper air.  
 Here stood the lovely Ruler of the scene,  
 And Beauty, more than Pomp, announc'd the Queen.  
 The bending snow-drop, and the briar-rose,  
 The simple circle of her crown compose ;



Roses of every hue her robe adorn,  
Except th' insipid rose without a thorn.  
Thro' her thin vest her heighten'd beauties shine ;  
For earthly gauze was never half so fine.  
Of that enchanting age her figure seems,  
When smiling Nature with the vital beams  
Of vivid Youth, and Pleasure's purple flame,  
Gilds her accomplish'd work, the female frame,  
With rich luxuriance tender, sweetly wild,  
And just between the woman and the child.  
Her fair left arm around a vase she flings,  
From which the tender plant Mimosa springs :  
Towards its leaves, o'er which she fondly bends,  
The youthful fair her vacant hand extends  
With gentle motion, anxious to survey  
How far the feeling fibres own her sway :  
The leaves, as conscious of their Queen's command,  
Successive fall at her approaching hand ;  
While her soft breast with pity seems to pant,  
And shrinks at every shrinking of the plant.  
Around their Sovereign, on the verdant ground,  
Sweet airy forms in mystic measures bound.  
The mighty master of the revel, Love,  
In notes more soothing than his mother's dove,  
Prompts the soft strain that melting virgins sing,  
Or sportive trips around the frolic ring,  
Coupling, with radiant wreaths of lambent fire,  
Fair fluttering Hope and rapturous Desire.  
Unnumber'd damsels different charms display,  
Pensive with bliss, or in their pleasures gay ;  
And the wide prospect yields one touching sight  
Of tender, yet diversified delight.  
But, the bright triumphs of their joy to check,  
In the clear air there hangs a dusky speck ;  
It swells—it spreads—and rapid, as it grows,  
O'er the gay scene a chilling shadow throws.  
The soft Serena, who beheld its flight,  
Suspects no evil from a cloud so light ;  
For harmless round her the thin vapours wreath,  
Not hiding from her view the scene beneath ;  
But ah ! too soon, with Pity's tender pain,  
She saw its dire effect o'er all the plain :  
Sudden from thence the sounds of Anguish flow,  
And Joys sweet carols end in shrieks of woe :  
The wither'd flowers are fall'n, that bloom'd so fair,  
And poison all the pestilential air,  
From the rent earth dark demons force their way,  
And make the sportive revellers their prey.

Here



Here gloomy Terror, with a shadowy rope,  
 Seems like a Turkish Mute, to strangle Hope ;  
 There jealous Fury drowns in blood the fire  
 That sparkled in the eye of young Desire ;  
 And lifeless Love lets merciless Despair  
 From his crush'd frame his bleeding pinions tear.  
 But pangs more cruel, more intensely keen,  
 Wound and distract their sympathetic Queen :  
 With fruitless tears she o'er their misery bends ;  
 From her sweet brow the thorny rose she rends,  
 And, bow'd by Grief's insufferable weight,  
 Frantic she curses her immortal state :  
 The soft Serena, as this curse she hears,  
 Feels her bright eye suffus'd with kindred tears ;  
 And her kind breast, where quick compassion swell'd,  
 Shar'd in each bitter suffering she beheld.

The guardian Power survey'd her lovely grief,  
 And spoke in gentle terms of mild relief :  
 " For this soft tribe thy heaviest fear dismiss,  
 " And know their pains are transient as their bliss :  
 " Rapture and Agony, in Nature's loom,  
 " Have form'd the changing tissue of their doom ;  
 " Both interwoven with so nice an art,  
 " No power can tear the twisted threads apart :  
 " Yet happier these, to Nature's heart more dear,  
 " Than the dull offspring in the torpid sphere,  
 " Where her warm wishes, and affections kind,  
 " Lose their bright current in the stagnant mind.  
 " Here grief and joy so suddenly unite,  
 " That anguish serves to sublimate delight."

She spoke ; and, ere Serena could reply,  
 The vapour vanish'd from the lucid sky ;  
 The Nymphs revive, the shadowy Fiends are fled,  
 The new-born flowers a richer fragrance shed ;  
 The gentle ruler of the changeful land,  
 Smiling, resumed her symbol of command ;  
 Replac'd the roses of her regal wreath,  
 Still trembling at the thorns that lurk beneath :  
 But, to her wounded subjects quick to pay  
 The tender duties of imperial sway,  
 Their wants she succour'd, they her wish obey'd,  
 And all recover'd by alternate aid ;  
 While, on the lovely Queen's enchanting face,  
 Departed Sorrow's faint and fainter trace,  
 Gave to each touching charm a more attractive grace. }  
 Now, laughing Sport, from the enlighten'd plain,  
 Clear'd with quick foot the vestiges of Pain ;  
 The gay scene grows more beautifully bright,  
 Than when it first allur'd Serena's sight.



*Extracts from the LIBRARY, a Poem.*

**N**EAR these, and where the setting sun displays  
 Through the dim window his departing rays,  
 And gilds yon columns, there on either side  
 The huge abridgments of the law abide ;  
 Fruitful as vice the dread correctors stand,  
 And spread their guardian terrors round the land ;  
 Yet, as the best that human care can do,  
 Is mixt with error, oft with evil too ;  
 Skill'd in deceit, and practis'd to evade,  
 Knaves stand secure, for whom these laws were made,  
 And Justice vainly each expedient tries,  
 While Art eludes it, or while Power defies.

Ah ! happy age, the youthful Poet cries,  
 Ere laws arose, ere tyrants bade them rise ;  
 When all were blest to share a common store,  
 And none were proud of wealth, for none were poor ;  
 No wars, no tumults vext each still domain,  
 No thirst of empire, no desire of gain ;  
 No proud great man, nor one who would be great,  
 Drove modest Merit from its proper state ;  
 Nor into distant climes would Avarice roam,  
 To fetch delights for Luxury at home :  
 Bound by no ties but those by nature made,  
 Virtue was law, and gifts prevented trade.

Mistaken youth ! each nation first was rude,  
 Each man a chearless son of solitude,  
 To whom no joys of social life were known,  
 Nor felt a care that was not all his own ;  
 Or in some languid clime his abject soul  
 Bow'd to a little tyrant's stern controul ;  
 A slave, with slaves his monarch's throne he rais'd,  
 And in rude song his ruder idol prais'd ;  
 The meaner cares of life were all he knew,  
 Bounded his pleasures, and his wishes few :  
 But when by slow degrees the Arts arose,  
 Taught by some conquering friends, who came as foes ;  
 When Commerce, rising from the bed of ease,  
 Ran round the land and pointed to the seas ;  
 When Emulation, born with jealous eye,  
 And Avarice, lent their spurs to Industry ;  
 Then one by one the numerous laws were made,  
 Those to controul, and those to succour trade ;  
 To curb the insolence of rude command,  
 To snatch the victim from the Usurer's hand,



To awe the bold, to yield the wrong'd redress,  
And feed the poor with Luxury's excess.

Like some vast flood, unbounded, fierce, and strong,  
His nature leads ungovern'd man along ;  
Like mighty bulwarks made to stem that tide,  
The laws are form'd, and plac'd on every side ;  
Whene'er it breaks the bounds by these decreed,  
New statutes rise, and stronger laws succeed ;  
More and more gentle grows the dying stream,  
More and more strong the rising bulwarks seem ;  
'Till, like a miner working sure and slow,  
Luxury creeps on, and ruins all below ;  
The basis sinks, the ample piles decay,  
The stately fabric shakes and falls away ;  
Primæval Want and Ignorance come on,  
But Freedom, that exalts the savage state, is gone.

— — — — —  
— — — — —

Lo ! where of late the Book of Martyrs stood,  
O' pious tracts, and Bibles bound in wood ;  
There, such the taste of our degenerate age,  
Stand the prophane delusions of the stage ;  
Yet Virtue owns the Tragic Muse a friend,  
Fable her means, morality her end ;  
For this she rules all passions in their turns,  
And now the bosom bleeds, and now it burns ;  
Pity with weeping eye surveys her bowl,  
Her anger swells, her terror chills the soul ;  
She makes the vile to virtue yield applause,  
And own her sceptre while they break her laws :  
For vice in others is abhorr'd of all,  
And villains glory in a villain's fall.

Not thus her sister Comedy prevails,  
Who shoots at Folly, for her arrow fails ;  
Folly, by Dullness arm'd, receives no wound,  
But harmless sees the feather'd shafts rebound ;  
Unhurt she stands, applauds the archer's skill,  
Laughs at her malice, and is Folly still.  
Yet well she paints, in her descriptive scenes,  
What Pride will stoop to, what Profession means ;  
How formal fools the farce of State applaud,  
How Caution watches at the lips of Fraud ;  
The wordy variance of domestic life,  
The tyrant Husband, the retorting Wife ;  
The snares for Innocence, the lye of Trade,  
And the smooth tongue's habitual masquerade.

With her the Virtues to obtain a place,  
Each gentle passion, each becoming grace ;



The social joy in life' securer road,  
 Its easy pleasure, its substantial good ;  
 The happy thought that conscious virtue gives,  
 And all that ought to live, and all that lives.

But who are these ? Methinks a noble mien,  
 And awful grandeur in their form are seen,  
 Now in disgrace : what tho' neglect has shed  
 Polluting dust on every reverend head ;  
 What though beneath yon gilded tribe they lie,  
 And dull observers pass insulting by ;  
 Forbid it shame, forbid it decent awe,  
 What seems so grave should no attention draw :  
 Come let us then with reverend step advance,  
 And greet—the ancient worthies of Romance.

Hence, ye prophane ! I feel a former dread,  
 A thousand visions float around my head ;  
 Hark hollow blasts through empty courts resound,  
 And shadowy forms with staring eyes stalk round ;  
 See ! moats and bridges, walls and castles rise,  
 Ghosts, fairies, dæmons, dance before our eyes ;  
 Lo ! magic verse inscrib'd on golden gate,  
 And bloody hand that beckons on to fate :  
 “ And who art thou, thou little page, unfold ?  
 “ Say doth thy Lord my Claribel with-hold ?  
 “ Go tell him strait, Sir Knight, thou must resign  
 “ Thy captive Queen—for Claribel is mine.”  
 Away he flies ; and now for bloody deeds,  
 Black suits of armour, masks, and foaming steeds ;  
 The Giant falls—his recreant throat I seize,  
 And from his corslet take the massy keys ;  
 Dukes, Lords, and Knights in long procession move,  
 Releas'd from bondage with my virgin love ;——  
 She comes, she comes in all the charms of youth,  
 Unequall'd love and unsuspected truth !

Ah ! happy he who thus in magic themes,  
 O'er worlds bewitch'd, in early rapture dreams,  
 Where wild Enchantment waves her potent wand,  
 And Fancy's beauties fill her fairy land ;  
 Where doubtful objects strange desires excite,  
 And fear and ignorance afford delight.

But lost, for ever lost, to me these joys,  
 Which Reason scatters, and which Time destroys ;  
 Too dearly bought, maturer Judgment calls  
 My busied mind from tales and madrigals ;  
 My doughty Giants all are slain or fled,  
 And all my Knights, blue, green, and yellow, dead ;  
 No more the midnight Fairy tribe I view  
 All in the merry moonshine tipling dew ;



Ev'n the last lingering fiction of the brain,  
 The church-yard Ghost, is now at rest again;  
 And all these wayward wanderings of my youth,  
 Fly Reason's power, and shun the light of Truth.  
 With Fiction then does real joy reside,  
 And is our reason the delusive guide?  
 Is it then right to dream the Syrens sing?  
 Or mount enraptur'd on the Dragon's wing?  
 No, 'tis the infant mind, to care unknown,  
 That makes th' imagin'd paradise its own;  
 Soon as reflections in the bosom rise,  
 Light slumbers vanish from the clouded eyes;  
 The tear and smile, at once together rose,  
 Are then divorc'd; the head and heart are foes;  
 Enchantment bows to Wisdom's serious plan,  
 And pain and prudence make and mar the man.

*Extract from S Y M P A T H Y, a Poem. By Mr. PRATT.*

**O**NCE, and not far from where those seats are seen,  
 Just where yon white huts peep the copse between,  
 A damsel languish'd, all her kin were gone,  
 For God who lent, resum'd them one by one;  
 Disease and penury, in cruel strife,  
 Had ravish'd all the decent means of life,  
 E'en the mark'd crown, her lover's gift she gave,  
 In filial duty for a father's grave,  
 That so the honour'd clay which caus'd her birth  
 Might slumber peaceful in the sacred earth,  
 Chim'd to its grass-green home with pious peal,  
 While hollow'd dirges hymn the last farewell;  
 At length these piercing woes her sense invade,  
 And lone and long the hapless wanderer stray'd,  
 O'er the bleak heath, around th' unmeasur'd wood,  
 Up the huge precipice, or near the flood;  
 She mounts the rock at midnight's awful hour,  
 Enjoys the gloom, and idly mocks the shower;  
 Now scorns her fate, then patient bends the knee,  
 And courts each pitying star to set her free,  
 'Then starting wilder, thinks those stars her foes,  
 Smites her sad breast, and laughs amidst her woes;  
 Oft would she chace the bee, or braid the grass,  
 Or crop the hedge-flower, or disorder'd pass;  
 Else, restless loiter in the pathless mead,  
 Sing to the birds at roost, the lambs at feed;  
 Or if a nest she found the brakes among,  
 No hand of hers destroy'd the promis'd young;



And when kind nature brought the balmy sleep,  
 Too soon she woke to wander and to weep :  
 Across her breast the tangled tresses flew,  
 And frenzied glances all around she threw ;  
 Th' unsettled soul those frenzied glances speak,  
 And tears of terror hurry down her cheek ;  
 Yet still that eye was bright, that cheek was fair,  
 Though pale the rose, the lilly blossom'd there.  
 A wandering swain the beauteous Maniac found,  
 Her woes wild warbling to the rocks around ;  
 A river roll'd beside, aghast she ran,  
 Her vain fears startling at the sight of man ;  
 And, save me, God ! my father's ghost ! she cry'd,  
 Then headlong plung'd into the flashing tide.  
 The youth pursues—but wild the waters rose  
 And o'er their heads in circling surges close,  
 Not Heav'n-born Sympathy itself could save ;  
 Both, both alas ! were whelm'd beneath the wave.

And lives the man, who senseless could have stood  
 To see the victim buffet with the flood ?  
 Whose coward cheek no tinge of honour feels,  
 Flush'd with no pride at what the Muse reveals ?  
 If such a man, if such a wretch there be,  
 Thanks to this aching heart, I am not he.

Hail, lovely griefs, in tender mercy giv'n,  
 And hail, ye tears, like dew-drops fresh from heav'n ;  
 Hail, balmy breath of unaffected sighs,  
 More sweet than airs that breathe from eastern skies ;  
 Hail, sacred source of sympathies divine,  
 Each social pulse, each social fibre thine ;  
 Hail, symbols of the God, to whom we owe  
 The nerves that vibrate, and the hearts that glow ;  
 Love's tender tumult, Friendship's holy fires,  
 And all which beauty, all which worth inspires,  
 The joy that lights the hope-illumin'd eye,  
 The bliss supreme that melts in Pity's sigh,  
 Affection's bloom quick rushing to the face,  
 The choice acknowledg'd and the warm embrace :  
 Oh power of powers, whose magic thus can draw,  
 Earth, air, and ocean, by one central law ;  
 Join bird to bird, to insect insect link,  
 From those which grovel up to those which think ;  
 Oh, ever blest ! whose bounties opening wide  
 Fill the vast globe, for mortals to divide,  
 Thy Heav'nly favours stretch from pole to pole,  
 Encircle earth, and rivet soul to soul !

Cease then to wonder these lov'd scenes impart  
 No more the usual transport to my heart ;

Tho'



Tho' modest Twilight visit Eve again,  
 At whole soft summons homeward steps the swain;  
 Though from the breath of oxen in the vale,  
 I catch the spirit of the balmy gale,  
 And from the brakes the answering thrushes sing,  
 While the grey owl sails by on solemn wing;  
 Nor wonder, if when morning blooms again,  
 In discontent I quit the flowery plain.

Thus the poor mariner, his traffic o'er,  
 Crouds ev'ry sail to reach his native shore,  
 With smiles he marks the pennons stream to port,  
 And climbs the top-mast height to eye the fort;  
 Dim through the mist the distant land appears,  
 And far he slopes to hail it with his tears;  
 From foreign regions, foreign faces, come,  
 Anxious he seeks his much-lov'd friends at home,  
 Warm, and more warm, the social passion glows,  
 As near and nearer to the place he goes;  
 Quick beats his heart as pressing on he sees  
 His own fair cottage canopy'd with trees;  
 For there, in blessed health, he hopes to find  
 His wife and cradled infant left behind;  
 Panting, he plucks the latch that guards the door,  
 But finds his wife, his cradled babe, no more!  
 Like some sad ghost he wanders o'er the green,  
 Droops on the blossom'd waste, and loaths the scene.

*Extract from an EPISTLE to a Young Gentleman, on his having  
 addicted himself to the Study of Poetry. By WILLIAM PRESTON, Esq;  
 from the Gentleman's Magazine for Sept. 1781.*

AND would'st thou then in tasks of verse engage?  
 A Throbs thy young bosom with poetic rage?  
 Oh, trust th' experienc'd; trust me, dearest boy,  
 The walks of Pindus seldom lead to joy.  
 In those green paths, while yet 'tis morning play;  
 Cull the wild flowers that rise along the way;  
 In chasing butterflies consume thy prime,  
 Adorn thy temples with the shoots of rhyme:  
 Awhile thou may'st, if thus thy fancy leads;  
 But range not long in those enchanted meads.  
 To grave pursuits and serious tasks retire,  
 Ere manhood rises to meridian fire;  
 Lest thou should'st see (the noon in trifling past,)  
 Thy sun descend in poverty at last.  
 Yet Wisdom's voice, thy soul did wisdom sway,  
 Would *instant* turn thy self-deluding way;  
 Not one short moment given to youthful heat,  
 One pause of dalliance, in the Muses' seat:



Within their bowers a thousand demons bide,  
A thousand snakes within their flow'rets hide.

A plastic God informs the Poet's mind,  
He makes the beauteous which he does not find,  
Displays th' ideal paradise around,  
And smiles the barren heath to fairy ground ;  
His Midas' hands ennobled objects hold,  
And feel and touch the meanest dross to gold.  
Ah fatal gift, what comfort can'st thou bring ?  
Less to the Bard than to the Lydian king.  
Attendant Fancy, from the wilds of air,  
Convokes the smiling families of Fair,  
The beauteous elves that o'er creation rove,  
Delightful children of almighty Love :  
Prompt, at her call, the bright ideas throng,  
And rush profusely through the bloomy song.  
At Fancy's side, the young-ey'd Passions stand,  
Sweet blushing boys, in form, a cherub band ;  
The soul expands, to lodge the smiling train,  
Ah, little fearful of the future pain !  
Beneath his wings each veils a barbed dart,  
Till deep it quivers in the bleeding heart,  
Then mark', with cruel pride, his guilty skill,  
And flutters round, in wantonness of ill.

— — — — —  
Still thou would'st write.—To tame thy youthful fire,  
Recall to life the martyrs of the lyre.

Lo, every face the lines of sorrow bears,  
And every wreath is wet with dropping tears ;  
Such deadly damps the verdant mead bedew,  
It seems funereal as the Stygian yew.

Ask of the train, and they perhaps may tell,  
Around the bard what rising comforts dwell,  
What isles of bliss he finds in sorrow's deep,  
What golden visions clear his fatal sleep.

There Ovid mourns, along the Pontic plain,  
The luckless passion, and th' unguarded train ;  
How frail and brief imperial friendships prove,  
What giddy perils wait imperial love.

Once, the proud thing that met a Julia's fires,  
Once, the gay tutor of the young desires ;  
Now faint and womanish, to tears resign'd,  
The feeble numbers speak th' enervate mind.

His Julia's portrait all at random cast,  
His Art of Love is torn, and scatter'd o'er the waste.

There honest Juvenal, whose manly page  
Scourg'd the rank vices of a shameless age :



Swoln with the surfeit of luxurious wealth,  
 Proud Rome imbib'd the bitter draught of health ;  
 And what his portion ?—read th' indignant strain :  
 “ The lot of virtue \* is applause and pain.  
 “ Ah, vain applause ! the pain thou can’st not cure ;  
 “ Th’ applause is transient, but the pains endure.”  
 And he † who fitted to the deep-ton’d lyre  
 Polluted Thebes, th’ incestuous son and sire,  
 The father’s curse, the brother’s deathless hate,  
 Th’ eternal fiends that Cadmus’ line await.—  
 Must the proud Muse, in regal crimson dy’d,  
 Crouch at a manager’s insulting pride ?  
 When Paris’ ‡ nod proscrib’d the lofty song,  
 Vain were the sceptred pall, and vain the buskin’d throng.  
 Oh splendid impotence of barren praise !  
 No golden apples crown the starving bays §.  
 And hark, Laberius ||, from the guilty stage,  
 Mourns the sad remnant of dishonour’d age.  
 When Cæsar’s cruelty, with base controul,  
 Would rend the feelings of a generous soul ;  
 Imperial spite devis’d the wounding task,  
 The knight degraded in the jester’s mask ;  
 But shame recoiling mock’d th’ infernal aim,  
 Flew from the bard, and smote the tyrant’s name.  
 Ambition bade young Petrarch’s † eyes explore  
 The deep recesses of the legal store ;  
 Religion woo’d him to the hallow’d toil  
 Of sacred volumes by the midnight oil ;  
 From lurid cells he drew, with pious hand,  
 The precious reliques of the classic band.

\* Probitas laudatur & alget.

† Statius.

‡ Paris, a famous actor.

§ Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amicæ

Theobaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,

Promisitque diem, tantâ dulcedine captos

Afficit ille animos, tantâque libidine vulgi

Auditur; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,

Esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendat Agaven.

JUVENAL.

|| Julius Cæsar, by a most odious refinement in cruelty, desiring to outrage the feelings of an ingenious mind, compelled Laberius, a Roman knight, and a poet of some eminence, to perform a part in a farce on the public stage. His spirited and pathetic lamentation on that occasion is still extant, and must equally excite our esteem and compassion for the poet, and our detestation and contempt for the tyrant.

† Petrarch was designed for the study of the law by his father, and applied himself, for a while, with great application to that profession. He afterwards went into the church, and was in great favour at the Pope’s court. It is not generally known, that he was one of the great restorers of ancient literature, and made a very large collection of manuscripts of the classics.



Beneath a heap of Gothic rubbish hurl'd,  
 And mingled fragments of a wasted world,  
 (When, like an earthquake, the barbarians hate  
 Broke the colossus of the Roman state),  
 For ages sunk, the Muse of Tiber lay,  
 But Petrarch's hand reveal'd her to the day.  
 Unworthy passion came, with base controul,  
 And shrunk the sinews of the mighty soul;  
 It curs'd his life, it dwindled all his fame,  
 It sunk the scholar's in the lover's name.

What art shall sooth, what counsel shall controul,  
 Th' eternal storm of Tasso's madding soul?  
 He shone, unrivall'd for the sword and pen,  
 And curs'd he shone, beyond the lot of men.  
 Love, fear, resentment, jealousy, disdain,  
 In wild succession goad the tortur'd brain.  
 Might heavenly harpings sooth th' internal band,  
 Nor borrow'd lyre he needs, nor David's hand.—  
 Such strains are thine:—perturbed noble mind,  
 Where shalt thou rest?—or where a harbour find?  
 Thy days in exile or in prison past,  
 In madness must thou seek repose at last.

See the bold Muse exulting Tagus bore,  
 A wretched exile on a distant shore.  
 Hark, the swart east unwonted strains shall boast.  
 And chords angelic sooth the burning coast.  
 From pain to pain thy wandering steps were led,  
 And shames and sorrows crowded on thy head;  
 Wounds, want, and chains thy soul by turn essay,  
 And, worst and last, a petty tyrant's sway:  
 Such was thy lot, Camoens; and fortune's hate  
 Had mark'd thy numbers for a silent fate;  
 But thy strong hand her envious rage defy'd,  
 And snatch'd thy glory from th' oblivious tide;  
 High o'er his head th' immortal tome he bore,  
 And stem'd the faucy main, and proudly gained the shore.—  
 Illustrious poet, what returns of praise,  
 What beams of comfort cheer thy closing days?  
 An hospital receives th' indignant bard,  
 And beggars' alms the sacred song reward.  
 Alas, how little can the vulgar eyes  
 Revere the poet, through the mean disguise  
 Of abject want, and own th' aetherial flame,  
 And hail the nurseling of eternal fame!  
 Thus, at some masque, unhonour'd and unknown,  
 A prince is shrouded in the palmer's gown.



*An ODE in Imitation of ALCÆUS,*

Οὐ λίθος, ἔδ' ἐ ξύλα, ἔδ' ἐ  
 Τέχνη τεκτόνων αἱ πόλεις εἰ τιν',  
 Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ποτ' ἄν ὦσιν ἈΝΔΡΕΣ  
 Αὐτὰς σώζει εἰδότες,  
 Ἐπ' αὖθ' αὖ τείχη καὶ πόλεις.

ALC. quoted by ARISTIDES.

WHAT constitutes a state ?  
 Not high-rais'd battlement or labour'd mound,  
 Thick wall or moated gate ;  
 Not cities proud with spires and turrets crown'd ,  
 Not bays and broad-arm'd ports,  
 Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride ;  
 Nor starr'd and spangled courts,  
 Where low-brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride.  
 No :—MEN, high-minded MEN,  
 With pow'rs as far above dull brutes endued  
 In forest, brake, or den,  
 As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude :  
 Men, who their *duties* know,  
 But know their *rights*, and knowing, dare maintain,  
 Prevent the long-aim'd blow,  
 And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain :  
 These constitute a state,  
 And sov'reign LAW, *that state's collected will*,  
 O'er thrones and globes elate  
 Sits Empress, crowning good, repressing ill ;  
 Smit by her sacred frown  
 The fiend *Discretion* like a vapour sinks,  
 And e'en the all-dazzling *Crown*  
 Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks.  
 Such *was* this heav'n-lov'd isle,  
 Than Lesbos fairer and the Cretan shore !  
 No more shall Freedom smile ?  
 Shall Britons languish, and be MEN no more ?  
 Since all must life resign,  
 Those sweet rewards, which decorate the brave,  
 'Tis folly to decline,  
 And steal inglorious to the silent grave.

ABERGAVENNY,  
 March 31, 1781.



HONORIA, or the Day of ALL SOULS, a Poem. By  
Mr. JERNINGHAM.

*The Scene of the following little Poem is supposed to be in the great Church of St Ambrose at Milan the second of November, on which Day the most solemn Office is performed for the Repose of the Dead.*

YE hallow'd bells, whose voices thro' the air  
The awful summons of affliction bear ;  
Ye slowly-waving banners of the dead,  
That o'er yon altar your dark horrors spread :  
Ye curtain'd lamps, whose mitigated ray  
Casts round the fane, a pale, reluctant day :  
Ye walls, ye shrines, by melancholy drest,  
Well do ye suit the fashion of my breast !  
Have I not lost what language can't unfold,  
The form of valour cast in Beauty's mould !  
'Th' intrepid youth the path of battle tried,  
And foremost in the hour of peril died.  
Nor was I present to bewail his fate,  
With pity's lenient voice to soothe his state,  
To watch his looks, to read while death stood by,  
The last expression of his parting eye.

But other duties, other cares impend,  
Cares that beyond the mournful grave extend :  
Now, now I view conven'd the pious train,  
Whose bosom sorrows at another's pain,  
While recollection pleasingly severe  
Wakes for the awful dead the silent tear,  
And pictures (as to each her sway extends)  
The sacred forms of lovers, parents, friends.  
Now Charity a fiery seraph stands  
Beside yon altar with uplifted hands.

Yet, can this high solemnity of grief  
Yield to the youth I love the wish'd relief ?  
These rites of death—Ah ! what can they avail ?  
Honorius died beyond the hallow'd pale.  
Plung'd in the gulph of fear—distressful state !  
My anxious mind dares not enquire his fate :  
Yet why despond ? cou'd one slight error roll  
A flood of poison o'er the healthful soul ?  
Had not thy virtues full sufficing pow'r  
'To clear thee in the dread recording hour ?  
Did they before the judge abash'd remain ?  
Did they, weak advocates, all plead in vain ?

By



By love, by piety, by reason taught,  
 My soul revolts at the blaspheming thought :  
 Sure in the breast to pure religion true,  
 Where Virtue's templed, God is templed too.

Then while th' august procession moves along,  
 'Midst swelling organs, and the pomp of song ;  
 While the dread chaunt, still true to Nature's laws,  
 Is deepen'd by the terror-breathing pause ;  
 While 'midst encircling clouds of incense lost  
 The trembling priest upholds the *sacred host* ;  
 Amid these scenes shall I forget my suit ?  
 Amid these scene shall I alone be mute ?  
 Nor to the footsteps of the throne above  
 Breathe the warm requiem to the youth I love ?

Now silence reigns along the gloomy fane,  
 And wraps in dread repose the pausing strain :  
 When next it bursts my humble voice I'll join,  
 Disclose my trembling wish at Mercy's shrine,  
 Unveil my anguish to the throne above,  
 And sigh the requiem to the youth I love.

—Does fancy mock me with a false delight,  
 Or does some hallow'd vision cheer my sight ?  
 Methinks, emerging from the gloom below,  
 Th' immortal spirits leave the house of woe !  
 Inshrin'd in Glory's beams they reach the sky,  
 While choral songs of triumph burst from high !  
 See, at the voice of my accorded pray'r,  
 The radiant youth ascend the fields of air !  
 Behold !—He mounts unutterably bright,  
 Cloath'd in the sun-robe of unfading light !  
 Applauding seraphs hail him on his way,  
 And lead him to the gates of everlasting day.



## Account of Books for 1781.

*Philological Inquiries*; by James Harris, Esq; 2 vols. 8vo.

**I**N an eminent rank amongst the productions of this year is a treatise, entitled, *Philological Inquiries*, by the celebrated author of *Hermes*. A performance of this kind appears to be most suitable to, and what might naturally have been expected from the close of a life, spent in the pursuit of knowledge, and in habits of deep and speculative disquisitions. It is principally conversant with critical and historical reflections, and implies rather a judicial review of acquirements already made, than a laborious investigation of new subjects: it embraces a wide compass of learning, and abounds in a variety of such deep and philosophical remarks, as display the solidity and penetration of a judgment, evidently formed in the school of Aristotle.

It has been frequently and justly regretted, that a depth of erudition is by no means the greatest praise of modern writings; and that it is more the fashion, perhaps from a vain affectation of originality, to admire the illegitimate productions of fancy, than to recur for just principles to the pure models of antiquity. This gene-

eral failure, and contempt for ancient literature, Mr. Harris wished earnestly to remove, and it is to be hoped he has laboured with some degree of success, especially when we consider the great popularity of his writings, although professedly founded upon the Greek philosophy, and imitative in a close degree of the manner of Aristotle: indeed it is the opinion of some, that in this last instance he has gone further than the genius of the English language seems to admit. However, any peculiarity of this sort is abundantly compensated by an accuracy and precision peculiar to himself; and if our ingenious author hath not, upon this occasion, entered so deeply into logic and metaphysics, as he has done in his former more elaborate productions, it is to be remembered that the nature of the present work did not demand it; and it is a circumstance so far in its favour, that it is thereby rendered of more general use, as it professes to instruct by example, and not by demonstration, and exhibits a series of conclusions, rather than the principles, upon which those conclusions are founded.

That happy method of arrangement which distinguishes the works of



of Mr. Harris, is perhaps no where more eminently discoverable than in this treatise: in it he has introduced a great variety of subjects, and by an easy mode of transition has reconciled and reduced to a system and to an unity of design matters, which, if considered in a separate view, would appear of a nature perfectly extraneous. The author's own words will convey to the reader the most adequate idea of the plan of his work.

“ The treatise, which follows, is of the philological kind, and will consist of three parts, properly distinct from each other.

“ The first will be an investigation of the rise and different species of criticism, and critics.

“ The second will be an illustration of critical doctrines and principles, as they appear in distinguished authors, as well ancient as modern.

“ The third and last part will be rather historical than critical, being an Essay on the Taste and Literature of the middle Age.”

In speaking of the origin of criticism he illustrates his doctrine by a very apposite and sublime analogy.—“ As the great events of nature led men to admiration, so curiosity to learn the cause, whence such events should arise, was that, which, by due degrees, formed natural philosophy. What happened in the natural world happened also in the literary. Exquisite productions both in prose and verse induced men *here* likewise to seek the cause; and

“ such inquiries, often repeated, gave birth to philology.

“ Philology should hence appear to be of a most comprehensive character, and to include not only all accounts both of criticism and critics, but of every thing connected with letters, be it speculative, or historical.”

Agreeable to this introduction, he distinguishes the general word criticism, by three different species;—the *Philosophical*, the *Historical*, and the *Corrective*. By the *Philosophical*, he means “ that original criticism, which is a deep and philosophical search into the primary laws and elements of good writing, as far as they could be collected from the most approved performances.”

To prove that this species of criticism was subsequent to, and not productive of the first good writing; that there must have been good authors who made the first good critics, and not critics who made the first good authors, Mr. Harris argues thus. “ Can we doubt that men had music, such indeed as it was, before the principles of harmony were established into a science? that diseases were healed and buildings erected before medicine, and architecture were systematized into arts? that men reasoned and harangued upon matters of speculation and practice, long before there were professed teachers of logic or rhetoric?”

He accounts for the origin of the second species, or the *historical*, in a manner the most satisfactory.—“ We know from experience, that in progress of time, languages,



“ guages, customs, manners, laws,  
 “ government, and religions  
 “ change. The Macedonian ty-  
 “ rany, after the fatal battle of  
 “ Chæroneæ, wrought much of  
 “ this kind in Greece; and the  
 “ Roman tyranny after the fatal  
 “ battles of Pharsalia and Phi-  
 “ lippi, carried it throughout the  
 “ known world. Hence there-  
 “ fore of things obsolete, the  
 “ names became obsolete also,—  
 “ and authors who in their own  
 “ age were intelligible and easy,  
 “ in after days grew difficult and  
 “ obscure. Here then we be-  
 “ hold the rise of a second race  
 “ of critics, the tribe of scho-  
 “ liasts, commentators, and ex-  
 “ plainers.”

With regard to the third and remaining species of criticism, it is observed, that as all antient books were preserved by transcription, they were liable through ignorance, negligence, or fraud to be corrupted either by retrenchings, by additions, or alterations. —To remedy these evils, a third sort of criticism arose, and that was the *Criticism Corrective*. The business of this species was to collate all the various copies of authority, and from the variety of different readings in such copies, to establish by good reasons either the true, or most probable one.

In treating these three distinct branches of general criticism, our author has accurately developed their rise and progress, from the earliest ages of antiquity to the present times.

In the second part of the work, the author, agreeable to his plan, illustrates several critical principles, as they appear in distinguished authors, as well antient, as modern. The maxim he lays

down as the foundation of all critical knowledge or taste is, to seek the *cause* or *reason*, as often as we feel the works of art and ingenuity affect us. A variety of illustrative instances are here produced, and the principal effects of poetry and painting are ascribed to an opposition of contrary incidents, or to an accumulation of many that are similar and congenial. Examples of the effects arising both from opposition and combination of incidents, are taken from the works of the best poets and painters, and stand as tests of the truth of the principles themselves.

Aristotle's definitions of a whole and its parts are followed by Mr. Harris, and are treated as essentials to the constituting of a legitimate work. But here our author goes further than his great guide and master, and maintains that this theory is perfectly applicable and essential to the minutest works, as well as to an epic poem; in support of which position, an argument is drawn from Nature herself, which Art is said to imitate.—“ Not only the universe is one stupendous whole, but such also is a tree, a shrub, a flower; such those things, which, without the aid of glasses, even escape our perception.”—*Qualis ab incepto simplex duntaxat et unum*, is a rule, according to Mr. Harris, applicable to every literary production, of whatever stamp or character. In pursuing this Inquiry, he is led to the consideration of Sentiment, and as Sentiment, and Manners, naturally rise out of the fable in dramatic writings, he proceeds to a disquisition concerning the Drama, adopting the Aristotelic division of it into its four great



great constituent parts—the Fable—the Manners—the Sentiment—and the Diction : to these may be added the scenery and the music. Of each of these he treats severally and at large, and concludes the second part of his work with a vindication of rules in opposition to those, who affirm that they cramp Genius, and abridge it of certain principles.

The third and last part of these inquiries is an Essay on the Taste and Literature of the middle Age ; a period of near a thousand years, and comprizing the interval between the fall of the Western or Latin Empire in the fifth century, and the Eastern or Grecian in the fifteenth.

There are three classes of men conspicuous during this dark interval—the Byzantine Greeks—the Saracens or Arabians—and the Latins or Franks, inhabitants of Western Europe. Each of these classes is in the present work considered apart, and the whole disquisition is judiciously interspersed with a variety of historical anecdotes, and specimens of manners, which besides being entertaining, most exactly and best exhibit the character of the times.

Our author gives the precedence in this inquiry to the Greeks of Constantinople, and bestows the highest encomiums on the useful labours of Simplicius and Ammonius, Greek authors who flourished at Athens during the sixth century. They are both well known for their valuable comments on Aristotle. Mr. Harris, says, it is difficult to determine, to what age

we shall adjudge the two philosophers just mentioned ; “ whether, to use his own words, to the commencement of a baser age, or rather, if we regard their merit, to the conclusion of a purer. If we arrange them with the conclusion, it is as Brutus and Cassius were called the last of the Romans.”

In this part of his work our author is led into a digression, apparently from his pure veneration and love for the subject of it, in which he gives a short historical account of Athens\*. He traces, with the spirit and accuracy of a person concerned, the good and bad fortune, the political and literary state of that once flourishing seat of letters and of elegance, from the time of her Persian triumphs to that of her becoming subject to the Turks. He then resumes the tread of his history, and gives us a long list of Byzantine scholars, with critical remarks on their works. Much praise is bestowed on Suidas, Stobæus, Photius and others, who were the remaining luminaries of a darker age ; to whose labours and ingenuity the cause of letters is much indebted for the preservation and illustration of several precious remains of antiquity.

In the detail of this period we trace the gradual decline of humanity and good letters ; although an extract given by our author from the History of Nicetas the Chroniate proves, that a taste for the fine arts had not entirely deserted the imperial city even in the thirteenth century. This historian very feelingly laments the

\* See p. 148—163. of this volume (2d Part), where this account is inserted, and also two other extracts from our author.



violence committed upon several noble statues by the *Barbarians* of Baldwin's crusade in 1205, particularly upon one of most exquisite workmanship representing Helen.—These testimonies of a sense of refinement, and of a knowledge of the Arts being extant among the Greeks, are carried to a still later period, almost until the fatal time when Constantinople was taken by the Turks. Our author observes, that New Rome, or Constantinople, subsisted from its foundation to its capture, nearly the same number of years with Old Rome, and that between Romulus, the founder of Old Rome, and the Gothic Alaric, who took it, was an interval of about eleven hundred years; and that there was nearly the same interval between Constantine and Mahomet the Great.

Happily for mankind the fate of literature was not compleatly involved with that of Constantinople. For the number of learned Greeks, which this event drove into the western parts of Europe; the favour and protection of the popes, and of the family of the Medici, together with the recent invention of printing, tended to promote the cause of knowledge and of taste, and to put things into that train, in which, adds our author, we hope they may long continue.

The second class of Geniuses during the middle age recorded in this work, includes the Arabians or Saracens: they are represented to have been originally an ignorant race of mortals, as is amply demonstrated by the demolition of the famous library at Alexandria, and by other flagrant instances of the most stupid

barbarity. However, philosophy, and a taste for the arts having once gained admittance to this people, softened by degrees their native wildness to an eminent pitch of civilization and humanity.

Mr. Harris speaking of Almanzar, who was the first of the race of the Abassidæ, says, "that he was not only a great conqueror, but a lover of letters and of learned men. It was under him that Arabian literature, which had been at first confined to medicine, and a few other branches, was extended to sciences of almost every denomination." In another place, "The rapid victories of these eastern conquerors soon carried their empire from Asia even into the remote regions of Spain. Letters followed them as they went. Plato, Aristotle, and their best Greek commentators were soon translated into Arabic; so were Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Diophantus, and other Greek mathematicians; so Hippocrates, Galen, and the best professors of medicine; so Ptolemy, and the noted writers on astronomy. The study of these produced others like them; produced others, who not only explained them in Arabic comments, but composed themselves original pieces upon the same principles."

This detail gives us a high opinion of the variety and extent of their learning, and particularly of their poetry, which they cultivated with ardour and success. We have likewise in this work several samples of their manners, tending upon the whole to impress upon the reader favourable ideas of the hospitality, bravery, affability, and justice of this people.

The



The Latins or Franks, which are included in the third and last class which our author gives an account of, exhibit a melancholy view of ignorance and superstition. To use Mr. Harris's own words, "it was literally the age of Monks and Legends; of Lecture verie; (that is of bad Latin put in-to rhyme) of projects to decide truth by ploughshares and battoons; of crusades to conquer infidels and extirpate heretics, &c."

"However, amongst the thickest of this gloom, gleams of light, and geniuses superior to all difficulties, frequently darted forth, and anticipating the common progress of nature, rescued even those times from the charge of an entire want of learning or taste."

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*The History of English Poetry, from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century. To which are prefixed Two Dissertations: 1. On the Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe. 2. On the Introduction of Learning into England. Volume III. 4to. To this Volume is prefixed a third Dissertation, on the Gesta Romanorum. By Thomas Warton, B. D. Fellow of Trinity College Oxford, and of the Society of Antiquaries, and late Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford.*

OF the two preceding volumes of this work, we have given an account in our Annual Register for 1778, in which the Author has brought the history of our poetry down to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Much labour and sagacity, qua-

lities which Mr. Warton seems to possess in an eminent degree, were necessary to enter into an investigation of so intricate a nature as that of our poetry in her rude and gothic state. It is through the minute changes of manners, habits, and customs, that we must trace her progress, in order to catch her ruling features and character, during the different periods of her improvement. Nor must we expect to find in her, frequent or striking alterations. For from the day of sunshine which Chaucer bestowed upon us, to the time of the Reformation, our poetry gained but little ground. Not that our ancestors during this interval were totally ignorant of the learned languages, or of those models of antiquity which afterwards wrought so marvellous a change; but because they were so overwhelmed with sophistry, superstition, and with that extravagant mode of thinking which accompanied the romantic and credulous temper of the times, that the purer sources of antiquity, and the *humaniores literæ*, were overpowered and lost in the vortex.

To the volume now before us, which contains the history of our poetry from the commencement to the close of the sixteenth century, our author has prefixed a dissertation on a Latin compilation of tales and legends, entitled *GESTA ROMANORUM*, wrote by *Petrus Berchorius*, or *Peter Bercheur*, a native of Poitou, and who died prior of the Benedictine convent of St. Eloi at Paris, in the year 1362. The account our author gives us of this work is as follows.

"The *GESTA ROMANORUM* were first printed without date, but



as it is supposed before or about the year 1473, in folio, with this title, *Incipiunt HISTORIE NOTABILES collectæ ex GESTIS ROMANORUM et quibusdam aliis libris cum applicationibus eorundem*\*. This edition has one hundred and fifty-two chapters, or GESTS, and one hundred and seventeen leaves†. It is in the Gothic letter, and in two columns. The first chapter is of King Pompey, and the last of prince, or king, Cleonicus. The initials are written in red and blue ink. This edition, slightly mutilated, is among Bishop Tanner's printed books in the Bodleian library. The reverend and learned Doctor Farmer, Master of Emanuel college in Cambridge, has the second edition, as it seems, printed at Louvain, in quarto, the same or the subsequent year, by John de Westfalia, under the title. *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM HISTORIE NOTABILES de viciis virtutibusque tractantes cum applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis*. And with this colophon, *GESTA ROMANORUM cum quibusdam aliis HISTORIIS eisdem annexis ad MORALITATES dilucide redacta hic finem habent. Quæ, diligenter correctis aliorum viciis, impressit Joannes de Westfalia in alma Universitate Louvaniensi*. It has one hundred and eighty-one chapters‡. That is, twenty-nine more than are

contained in the former edition: the first of the additional chapters being the story of Antiochus, or the substance of the romance of APOLLONIUS of TYRE. The initials are inserted in red ink§. Another followed soon afterwards, in quarto, *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM Historie notabiles moralizatæ, per Girardum Lieu, Goudæ, 1480*. The next edition, with the use of which I have been politely favoured by George Mason, Esquire, of Aldenham-Lodge in Hertfordshire, was printed in folio, and in the year 1488, with this title, *GESTA ROMANORUM cum Applicationibus moralisatis et mysticis*. The colophon is, *Ex GESTIS ROMANORUM cum pluribus applicatis Historiis de virtutibus et viciis mystice ad intellectum transsumptis Recollectorii finis. Anno ære sanctis MCCCCLXXX viij kalendas vero februarii xviii*. A general, and alphabetical table, are subjoined. The book, which is printed in two columns, and in the Gothic character, abounding with abbreviations, contains ninety-three leaves. The initials are written or flourished in red and blue, and all the capitals in the body of the text are miniated with a pen. There were many other later editions§. I must add, that the *GESTA ROMANORUM* were translated into Dutch, so early as the year 1484.

\* Much the same title occurs to a manuscript of this work in the Vatican, "Historiæ Notabiles collectæ ex Gestis Romanorum et quibusdam aliis libris cum explicationibus eorundem." Montfauc. Bibl. MANUSCR. tom. i. pag. 17. Numb. 172.

† Without initials, paging, signatures, or catch-words.

‡ The first is of King Pompey, as before. The last is entitled *DE ADULTERIO*.

§ It has signatures to K k.

§ For which see sup. vol. ii. p. 15.



There is an old French version in the British Museum.

This work is compiled from the obsolete Latin chronicles of the later Roman or rather German story, heightened by romantic inventions, from Legends of the Saints, oriental apologues, and many of the shorter fictitious narratives which came into Europe with the Arabian literature, and were familiar in the ages of ignorance and imagination. The classics are sometimes cited for authorities; but these are of the lower order, such as Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Aulus Gellius, Seneca, Pliny, and Boethius. To every tale a MORALISATION is subjoined, reducing it into a Christian or moral lesson.

Most of the oriental apologues are taken from the CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA, or a Latin dialogue between an Arabian philosopher and Edric \* his son, never printed †, written by Peter Alphonsus, a baptized Jew, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and collected from Arabian fables, apothegms, and examples ‡. Some are also borrowed from an old Latin translation of the CALILAH U DAMNAH, a celebrated fable of eastern fables, to which Alphonsus was indebted.

On the whole, this is the collection in which a curious enquirer

might expect to find the original of Chaucer's Cambuscan :

Or,—if aught else great bards beside  
In sage and solemn tunes have sung,  
Of turneys and of trophies hung,  
Of forests and enchantments drear,  
Where more is meant than meets the ear||.

Having given this account of the GESTA ROMANORUM, he proceeds to analyse its contents with great accuracy, interspersing such critical illustrations and remarks as the different subjects seem to demand, either from their own importance, or from the connection they may have with subsequent poets. For it is from this work of vision and mystery, where we frequently find Oriental, Roman, and Feudal history and customs clashing together in the same story, and where the fables of the classics are often made emblematical of the truths of the Christian religion, that we are to look for the tales of Chaucer and Boccace. Many of these legends seem to exhibit foundations not unworthy of the superstructures which were afterwards raised upon them.

Having concluded this dissertation, Mr. Warton proceeds to give the history of our poetry during the sixteenth century. It was about the beginning of this period, that classical literature, which had been confined for so long a time within the cells of the

\* EDRIC was the name of ENOCH among the Arabians, to whom they attribute many fabulous compositions. Herbelot, in V. Lydgate's CHORLE and THE BIRD, mentioned above, is taken from the CLERICALIS DISCIPLINA of Alphonsus.

† MSS. HARL. 3861. And in many other libraries. It occurs in old French verse, MSS. DISP. 86. membran. "*Le Romaunz de Peres Aunseur coment il aprist et chastia son fils belement.*" [See *supr.* vol. ii. EMEND. and ADD. at pag. 103.]

‡ See Tyrwhitt's CHAUCER, vol. iv. p. 325. seq.

|| Milton's IL. PENSEROSO.



Monkish clergy, began to be more generally diffused, and to find its way into the company of the laity in general, but most especially of those of the highest rank and consideration. Henry the Eighth, our author observes, was for those times a man of by no means a poor literary taste. With the Italian manners and customs Henry introduced into his court their language, and the spirit of their poetry. The ruder genius of our own muse soon began to take a polish in the hands of Lord Surrey, who at once transplanted into it all the grace and sweetness of the Italian. He was the most graceful courtier, the most refined poet, and the most gallant soldier of this reign. He had formed himself upon the model of Petrarch, and in our author's opinion considerably improved upon him. His own words are, "In the sonnets of Surrey, we are surprized to find nothing of that metaphysical cast which marks

the Italian poets, his supposed masters, especially Petrarch. Surrey's sentiments are for the most part natural and unaffected; arising from his own feelings, and dictated by the present circumstances. His poetry is alike unembarrassed by learned allusions, or elaborate conceits. If our author copies Petrarch, it is Petrarch's better manner: when he descends from his Platonic abstractions, his refinements of passion, his exaggerated compliments, and his play upon opposite sentiments, into a track of tenderness, simplicity, and nature. Petrarch would have been a better poet had he been a worse scholar. Our author's mind was not too much overlaid by learning.

The following is the poem above-mentioned, in which he laments his imprisonment in Windsor-castle. But it is rather an elegy than a sonnet.

So cruel prison, how coude betyde, alas,  
As proude Windfor\* ! where I, in lust and joyet†,  
With a kynges sonne ‡ my childishe yeares did passe,  
In greater feast than Priam's sonnes of Troye.

Where eche sweete place retournes a taste full sower :  
The large grene courts where we were wont to hove||,  
With eyes cast up into the mayden's tower§,  
And easie sighes, such as men drawe in love :

The

\* How could the stately castle of Windsor become so miserable a prison.

† In unrestrained gaiety and pleasure.

‡ With the young Duke of Richmond.

|| To hover, to loiter in expectation. So Chaucer, *TROIL. CRESS. B. 5.*  
ver. 33.

But at the yate there she should outride  
With certain folk he *lowid* her t' abide.

§ Swift's joke about the maids of honour being lodged at Windsor in the round tower, in Queen Anne's time, is too well known and too indelicate to be repeated here. But in the present instance, Surrey speaks loosely and poetically



The stately feates, the ladies bright of hewe,  
 The daunces shorte, long tales of great delight,  
 With wordes and lookes that tigers could but rewe (a);  
 Where ech of us did pleade the others right.

The palme-play (b), where, dispoyled for the game (c),  
 With dazed yies (d), oft we by gleams of love,  
 Have mist the ball, and got sight of our dame,  
 To bayte (e) her eyes which kept the leads above (f).

The gravell ground (g), with sleeves tied on the helme (h).  
 On fomyng horse, with swordes and friendly hartes;  
 With cheare (i) as though one should another whelme (k),  
 Where we have fought and chased oft with dartes.—

The secret groves, which ofte we made resounde  
 Of pleasaunt playnt, and of our ladies praise,  
 Recording ofte what grace (l) ech one had founde,  
 What hope of speede (m), what drede of long delays.

The wilde forest, the clothed holtes with grene,  
 With raynes avayled (n), and swift ybreathed horse,  
 With crie of houndes, and merry blastes betwene  
 Where we did chase the fearful harte of force.

ally in making the MAIDEN-TOWER, the true reading, the residence of the women. The maiden-tower was common in other castles, and means the principal tower, of the greatest strength and defence. MAIDEN is a corruption of the old French *Magne*, or *Mayne*, great. Thus Maidenhead (properly Maydenhithe) in Berkshire, signifies the *great* port or wharf on the river Thames. So also, *Mayden-Bradley* in Wiltshire is the *great Bradley*. The old Roman camp near Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a noble work, is called *Maiden castle*, the capital fortress in those parts. We have Maiden-down, in Somersetshire with the same signification. A thousand other instances might be given. Hearne, not attending to this etymology, absurdly supposes, in one of his Prefaces, that a strong bastion in the old walls of the city of Oxford, called the MAIDEN-TOWER, was a prison for confining the prostitutes of the town.

(a) Pity. (b) At ball. (c) Rendered unfit, or unable, to play.

(d) Dazzled eyes. (e) To tempt, to catch.

(f) The ladies were ranged on the leads, or battlements, of the castle to see the play.

(g) The ground, or area, was strown with gravel, where they were trained in chivalry.

(h) At tournaments they fixed the sleeves of their mistresses on some part of their armour.

(i) Looks. (k) Destroy. (l) Favour with his mistress

(m) Or, Success.

(n) The holtes, or thick woods, clothed in green. So in another place he says, fol. 3.

My speckled cheeks with Cupid's hue.

That is, "Cheeks speckled with, &c.



The wide vales (a) eke, that harboured us ech night,  
 Wherewith, alas, reviveth in my brest  
 The sweete accorde! Such slepes as yet delight :  
 The pleasant dreames, the quiet bed of rest.

The secret thoughtes imparted with such trust ;  
 The wanton talke, the divers change of play ;  
 The friendship sworne, eche promise kept so just,  
 Wherewith we past the winter night away.

And with this thought the bloud forsakes the face ;  
 The teares berayne my chekes of deadly hewe,  
 The whych as sone as fobbing sighs, alas,  
 Upsupped have, thus I my plaint renewe!

“ O place of blisse, renewer of my woes !  
 “ Give me accompt, where is my noble fere (b),  
 “ Whom in thy walles thou dost (c) ech night enclose,  
 “ To other leefe (d), but unto me most dere !”

(a) With loofened reins. So, in his fourth Aeneid, the fleet is “ ready to *avale*.” That is, to *loosen* from shore. So again, in Spencer’s FEBRUARIE.

They wont in the wind wagge their wriggle tayles  
 Pearke as a peacocke, but now it AVALES.

“ *Avayle* their tayles,” to drop or lower. So also in his DECEMBER.

By that the welked Phebus gan AVAYLE  
 His wearie waine.—

And in the Faerie Queene, with the true spelling, i. i. 21. Of Nilus.

But when his latter ebbs gins to AVALE.

To VALE, or *avale*, the *bonnet*, was a phrase for lowering the bonnet, or pulling off the hat. The word occurs in Chaucer, TR. CRESS. iii. 627.

That such a raine from heaven gan AVAYLE.

And in the fourth book of his BOETHIUS, “ The light fire ariseth into height, and “ the hevie yerthes AVAILEN by their weightes.” pag. 394. col. 2. edit. Urr. From the French verb AVALER, which is from their adverb AVAL, *downward*. See also Hearne’s GLOSS. ROB. BR. p. 524. Drayton uses this word, where perhaps it is not properly understood, ECL. iv. p. 1404. edit. 1753.

With that, she gan to VALE her head,  
 Her cheeks were like the roses red,  
 But not a word she said, &c.

That is, she did not *veil*, or cover, but *valed*, held down her head for shame.

(a) Probably the true reading is *wales* or *walls*. That is, lodgings, apartments, &c. These poems were very corruptly printed by Tottel.

(b) Companion.

(c) We should read, *didst*.

(d) Dear to others, to all.



Eccho, alas, that doth my sorrow rewe (a)  
 Returnes thereto a hollow founde of playnte.  
 Thus I alone, where all my freedom grewe,  
 In prison pine, with bondage and restrainte.  
 And with remembrance of the greater greefe  
 To banish th' lesse, I find my chief relief (b)."

With Lord Surrey flourished Sir Thomas Wyatt; a man of very extensive knowledge and great acquirements, but as a poet, in our author's opinion, much inferior to the former.

The limits of this short account will not allow us to speak of all the various writers, who, according to Mr. Warton, were in esteem about this time. Most of their works are contained in a miscellaneous collection, of which he gives a particular account. However, for the following reasons, which our author himself gives, it may

not be thought improper to insert here the first English pastoral. He says, "From the same collection, the following is perhaps the first example in our language now remaining, of the pure and unmixed pastoral: and in the erotic species, for ease of numbers, elegance of rural allusion, and simplicity of imagery, excels every thing of the kind in Spenser, who is erroneously ranked as our earliest English bucolic. I therefore hope to be pardoned for the length of the quotation.

Phyllida was a faire mayde,  
 As fresh as any flour;  
 Whom Harpalus the herdman prayde  
 To be her paramour.

Harpalus and eke Corin  
 Were herdmen both yfere (c):  
 And Phyllida could twist and spin,  
 And thereto sing full clere.

But Phyllida was all too coy  
 For Harpalus to winne;  
 For Corin was her only joy  
 Who forst her not a pinne (d).

How often would she flowers twine?  
 How often garlandes make  
 Of cowslips and of columbine?  
 And al for Corin's sake.

But Corin he had hawkes to lure,  
 And forced more the felde (e);  
 Of lovers lawe he took no cure,  
 For once he was beguilde (f).

(a) Pity.

(b) Fol. 6. 7.

(c) Together.

(d) Loved her not in the least.

(e) More engaged in field-sports.

(f) Deceived. Had once been in love.



Harpalus prevailed nought,  
His labour all was lost;  
For he was farthest from her thought,  
And yet he loved her most.

Therefore waxt he both pale and leane,  
And dry as clot (a) of clay;  
His fleshe it was consumed cleane,  
His colour gone away.

His beard it had not long he shave,  
His heare hong all unkempt (b);  
A man fit even for the grave,  
Whom spiteful love had spent.

His eyes were red, and all forewatched (c).  
His face besprent with teares;  
It semde Vnhap had him long hatched  
In mids of his dispaire.

His clothes were blacke and also bare.  
As one forlorne was he:  
Upon his head always he ware  
A wreath of wyllow tree.

His beastes he kept upon the hyll  
And he fate in the dale;  
And thus with sighes and sorrows shryll  
He gan to tell his tale.

“ O Harpalus, thus would he say,  
“ Unhappiest under sunne!  
“ The cause of thine unhappy day  
“ By love was first begunne!  
“ For thou wentst first by fute to seke  
“ A tigre to make tame,  
“ That settes not by thy love a leeke,  
“ But makes thy grief her game.  
“ As easy it were to convert  
“ The frost into the flame,  
“ As for to turne a froward hert  
“ Whom thou so faine wouldst frame.  
“ Corin he liveth carelesse,  
“ He leapes among the leaves;  
“ He eates the frutes of thy redresse (d),  
“ Thou reapes, he takes the sheaves.  
“ My beastes, awhile your food refraine,  
“ And hark your herdsman's founde;  
“ Whom spiteful love, alas, hath slaine  
“ Through-girt (e) with many a wounde!

(a) Clod.  
her eyes were always awake, never closed by sleep.

(b) Uncombed.

(c) Over-watched. That is,

(d) Labour, Pains.

(e) Pierce through. So fol. 113. infr.

His entrails with a launce *through-girded* quite.

“ O happy



“ O happy be ye, beastes wilde,  
 “ That here your pasture takes !  
 “ I fe that ye be not begilde  
 “ Of theſe your faithfull makes (a).  
 “ The hart he fedeth by the hinde,  
 “ The buck hard by the do :  
 “ The turtle dove is not unkinde  
 “ To him that loves her ſo. ———  
 “ But welaway, that nature wrought,  
 “ Thee, Phyllida, ſo faire ;  
 “ For I may ſay, that I have bought  
 “ Thy beauty all too deare ! &c. (b).”

In this part of his work, Mr. Warton has inſerted ſeveral extracts from the manuſcript Romance *YWAIAN* and *GAWAIN*, written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, in order to lay before his reader a comparative view of our language during that period, and this he is now treating of, and by ſo doing the better to illuſtrate the reſpective ages of ſuch pieces as he has already, or intends to produce.

The *NUTBROWN MAYDE*, and the ſatyricall ballad called the *TOURNAMENT OF TOTENHAM*, are by our author claſſed under the reign of Henry the Eighth, and apparently with good reaſon, although our antiquarians have always aſcribed them to that of Henry the Sixth. Both of theſe pieces, but more eſpecially the firſt, bear ſtrong marks of that dawn of genius and taſte which took place during this period, and the language which it exhibits, is not of that harſh and gothic caſt which characteriſes the poetical performances of Henry the Sixth's time. It is true that the *NUT-BROWN MAID* does not contain any of thoſe clafſical

images and fanciful conceits which the introduction of the Roman poets, and the Italian models had rendered ſo abundant ; but it is equally true that Lord Surrey, notwithstanding he refined our poetry on theſe very models, yet retained a ſimplicity in his poems which could only be the effect of a judgment naturally chaſte and correct ; and it is as reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that whoever wrote the *NUT-BROWN MAID* had, with the ſame advantages, as good and as pure a taſte as Lord Surrey.

The violence with which the Reformation was carried on during the ſhort reign of Edward the Sixth, rendered poetry ſubſervient to its views and intereſts, and to them alone. The character and ſpirit of our compositions underwent a conſiderable alteration, and had not that mixture and diſplay of love and gallantry in them which was ſo conſpicuous in the writings of the former reign. The metrical verſion of the *Pſalms* and of different portions of the ſcripture, became the only ſubjects for the muſe : almoſt the whole of the Old and New Teſtament was turned into verſe by many of our

(a) Mates.

(b) Fol. 55.



reverend prelates, and by such as were accounted the best scholars of their time.

The translation of the Bible, which even during the reign of Henry the Eighth was not allowed but with numberless restrictions, was now admitted into the churches, and into the hands of the vulgar in general—The effect this translation had on our language, is remarked upon with great judgment by our author. He says, “I must add here, in reference to my general subject, that the translation of the Bible, which in the reign of Edward the Sixth was admitted into the churches, is supposed to have fixed our language. It certainly has transmitted and perpetuated many antient words which would otherwise have been obsolete or unintelligible. I have never seen it remarked, that at the same time this translation contributed to enrich our native English at an early period, by importing and familiarising many Latin words (a)

These were suggested by the Latin vulgate, which was used as a medium by the translators. Some of these, however, now interwoven into our common speech, could not have been understood by many readers even above the rank of the vulgar, when the Bible first appeared in English. Bishop Gardiner had therefore much less rea-

son than we now imagine, for complaining of the too great clearness of the translation, when with an insidious view of keeping the people in their antient ignorance, he proposed, that instead of always using English phrases, many Latin words should still be preserved, because they contained an inherent significance and a genuine dignity, to which the common tongue afforded no correspondent expressions of sufficient energy (b)”

We now come to the reign of Queen Mary, during the commotions of which was wrote *A MIRROR FOR MAJISTRATES*, a poem planned and chiefly executed by Thomas Sackville, the first Lord Buckhurst, and Earl of Dorset, and which our author says, illuminates with no common lustre that interval of darkness which occupies the annals of English poetry from Surrey to Spencer. As we have, in another part of our Annual Register (c), inserted Mr. Wharton’s literary character of this nobleman, we shall not dwell upon it here, but only add what he says of the poem in question.

“About the year 1557, he formed the plan of a poem, in which all the illustrious but unfortunate characters of the English history, from the conquest to the end of the fourteenth century, were to pass in review before the poet, who de-

(a) More particularly in the Latin derivative substantives, such as, *divination, perdition, adoption, manifestation, consolation, contribution, administration, consummation, reconciliation, operation, communication, retribution, preparation, immortality, principality, &c. &c.* And in other words, *frustrate, inexcusable, transfigure, concupiscence, &c. &c.*

(b) Such as, *Idololatria, contritus, holocausta, sacramentum, elementa, humilitas, satisfactio, ceremonia, absolutio, mysterium, penitentia, &c.* See Gardiner’s proposals in Burnet, *HIST. REF.* vol. i. B. iii. p. 315. And Fuller, *CH. HIST.* Book v. Cent. xvi. p. 238.

(c) See *CHARACTERS*, p. 14. of this volume.



scends like Dante into the infernal region, and is conducted by Sorrow. Although a descent into hell had been suggested by other poets, the application of such a fiction to the present design, is a conspicuous proof of genius and even of invention. Every personage was to recite his own misfortune in a separate soliloquy. But Sackville had leisure only to finish a poetical preface called an INDUCTION, and one legend, which is the life of Henry Stafford Duke of Buckingham. Relinquishing therefore the design abruptly, and hastily adapting the close of his INDUCTION to the appearance of Buckingham, the only story he had yet written, and which was to have been the last in his series, he recommended the completion of the whole to Richard Baldwyne and George Ferrers."

In this induction just mentioned, there are many beautiful, as well as grand and sublime parts; of the latter species is the following extract from a part of it, which Mr. Warton has inserted, and speaking of which, he uses the following words.

"Our author appears to have felt and to have conceived with true taste, that very romantic part of Virgil's Eneid which he has here happily copied and heightened. The imaginary beings which fate within the porch of hell, are all his own. I must not omit a single figure of this dreadful groupe, nor one compartment of the portraitures which are feigned to be sculptured or painted on the SHIELD of WAR, indented *with gasbes deepe and wide.*

And, first, within the porch and jaws of hell  
Sat deep REMORSE OF CONSCIENCE, all besprent  
With tears; and to herself oft would she tell  
Her Wretchedness, and, cursing, never stent  
'To sob and sigh, but ever thus lament  
With thoughtful care; as she that, all in vain,  
Would wear and waste continually in pain:

Her eyes unsteadfast, rolling here and there,  
Whirl'd on each place, as place that vengeance brought,  
So was her mind continually in fear,  
Toft and tormented with the tedious thought  
Of those detested crimes which she had wrought;  
With dreadful cheer, and looks thrown to the sky,  
Wishing for death, and yet she could not die.

Next, saw we DREAD, all trembling how he shook,  
With foot uncertain, proser'd here and there;  
Benumb'd with speech; and, with a gasty look,  
Search'd every place, all pale and dead for fear,  
His cap born up with staring of his hair;  
'Stoin'd and amazed at his own shade for dread,  
And fearing greater dangers than was need.

And,



And, next, within the entry of this lake,  
 Sat fell REVENGE, gnashing her teeth for ire ;  
 Devising means how she may vengeance take ;  
 Never in rest, 'till she have her desire ;  
 But frets within so far forth with the fire  
 Of wreaking flames, that now determines she  
 To die by death, or 'veng'd by death to be.

When fell REVENGE, with bloody foul pretence,  
 Had shew'd herself, as next in order set,  
 With trembling limbs we softly parted thence,  
 'Till in our eyes another sight we met ;  
 When from my heart a sigh forthwith I set,  
 Ruing, alas, upon the woeful plight  
 Of MISERY, that next appear'd in sight :

His face was lean, and some-deal pin'd away,  
 And eke his hands consumed to the bone ;  
 But, what his body was, I cannot say,  
 For on his carcase rayment had he none,  
 Save clouts and patches pieced one by one ;  
 With staff in hand, and scrip on shoulder cast,  
 His chief defence against the winter's blast :

His food, for most, was wild fruits of the tree,  
 Unless sometime some crumbs fell to his share,  
 Which in his wallet long, God wot, kept he,  
 As on the which full daint'ly would he fare ;  
 His drink, the running stream, his cup the bare  
 Of his palm closed ; his bed, the hard cold ground :  
 To this poor life was MISERY ybound."

Our author compares Dante's Inferno with Sackville's Descent into Hell. They have both for their foundation the sixth book of Virgil, and their different modes of treating the subject, arise in a great measure from the different periods at which they wrote. Dante composed his poem about the year 1310, and when the spirit of chivalry and romance was at the highest. It is this spirit that renders many of his sublime parts more fearful and terrible by infusing into them an air of mysteriousness, and it is the same spirit that often exhibits effects of the

most ridiculous and incongruous nature, when incorporated with the ideas of the antient classics. In treating the softer passions Dante is incomparable: his descriptions are the most natural and graceful that can be conceived, and tinged with a degree of sentiment and refinement (for the source of which we must look to chivalry and romance), not easily to be found in the best classical authors.

Sackville wrote about the year 1557, when the models of antiquity were better understood than they were in Dante's time, and when



when they began to have their true and genuine effect. His compositions are therefore more natural and correct, although inferior, as there are few but are so, in point of sublimity to Dante. Mr. Warton has been particularly attentive to the works of these two poets, not only on account of their intrinsic merit, but also from their being the models which Spencer and Milton afterwards studied with great attention.

During this reign several critical and rhetorical works were published, and the cultivation of our language began to be attended to by men of learning.—The pedantry of treating all subjects in the Latin tongue was first broke through by the *TOXOPHILUS* of Roger Ascham in English, and by some regular systems of *logic* and *rhetoric* in the same language, by Thomas Wilson, in 1553, tutor to Henry and Charles Brandon, Dukes of Suffolk, afterwards secretary of state and privy counsellor. We shall not attempt to follow our author through a regular account of the writers of these times, contenting ourselves with remarking only upon the more grand and decisive periods of the improvement of our poetry.

In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign appeared the play of *GORNOBUC*, written by the same Lord Buckhurst we have before spoken of. As this is the first regular tragedy in our language, our author has given it an attention beyond what it claimed as forming a part of his system: the character he gives of it is as follows.

“That this tragedy was never a favourite among our ancestors, and has long fallen into general

oblivion, is to be attributed to the nakedness and uninteresting nature of the plot, the tedious length of the speeches, the want of a discrimination of character, and almost a total absence of pathetic or critical situations. It is true that a mother kills her own son. But this act of barbarous and unnatural impiety, to say nothing of its almost unexampled atrocity in the tender sex, proceeds only from a brutal principle of sudden and impetuous revenge. It is not the consequence of any deep machination, nor is it founded in a proper preparation of previous circumstances. She is never before introduced to our notice as a wicked or designing character. She murders her son Porrex, because in the commotions of a civil dissention, in self-defence, after repeated provocations, and the strongest proofs of the basest ingratitude and treachery, he had slain his rival brother, not without the deepest compunction and remorse for what he had done. A mother murdering a son is a fact which must be received with horror; but it required to be complicated with other motives, and prompted by a co-operation of other causes, to rouse our attention, and work upon our passions. I do not mean that any other motive could have been found, to palliate a murder of such a nature. Yet it was possible to heighten and to divide the distress, by rendering this bloody mother, under the notions of human frailty, an object of our compassion as well as of our abhorrence. But perhaps these artifices were not yet known or wanted. The general story of the play is great in its



its political consequences; and the leading incidents are important, but not sufficiently intricate to awaken our curiosity, and hold us in suspense. Nothing is perplexed and nothing unravelled. The opposition of interests is such as does not affect our nicer feelings. In the plot of a play, our pleasure arises in proportion as our expectation is excited.

Yet it must be granted, that the language of *GORDOBUK* has great purity and perspicuity; and that it is entirely free from that tumid phraseology, which does not seem to have taken place till play-writing had become a trade, and our poets found it their interest to captivate the multitude by the false sublime, and by those exaggerated imageries and pedantic metaphors, which are the chief blemishes of the scenes of Shakespeare, and which are at this day mistaken for his capital beauties by too many readers. Here also we perceive another and a strong reason why this play was never popular."

This tragedy, coming out of the hands of a man of such reputation and abilities as Lord Buckhurst, was immediately followed by English translations of the *Jocasta* of Euripedes, by George Gascoign and Francis Kilwen-

merth, both of Gray's-Inn, and of the Ten Tragedies of Seneca, by different hands. The antient drama was by these means introduced and laid open to our ancestors, and it must be confessed that many parts of their translations, if we may judge from the quotations Mr. Warton has given us, appear to have considerable merit. Besides the antient drama, almost all the classical poets whether Greek or Roman were translated into our language during this reign. The versions of Homer, Musæus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Martial appeared in English before the year 1580; these, says our author, "while they contributed to familiarize the ideas of the antient poets to English readers, improved our language and versification; and that in a general view they ought to be considered as valuable and important accessions to the stock of our poetical literature. These were the classics of Shakespear."

From amongst the various extracts Mr. Warton has given us of the translations in question, we beg leave to lay before our reader the following one from the transformation of Athamas and Ino in the fourth Book of Ovid, by Arthur Golding.

"The furious fiend Tisiphone, doth cloth her out of hand,  
In garment streaming gory blood, and taketh in her hand  
A burning cresset (a) steeped in blood, and girdeth her about  
With wreathed snakes, and so goes forth, and at her going out,  
Feare, terror, grieve, and pensiveness, for company she tooke,  
And also madnesse with his flaight and gasty-staring looke.  
Within the house of Athamas no sooner foote she set,  
But that the postes began to quake, and doores looke black as iet.

(a) A torch. The word is used by Milton.



The funne withdrew him : Athamas and eke his wife were cast  
 With ougly fightes in such a feare, that out of doores agast  
 They would have fled. There stood the fiend, and stopt their pas-  
 sage out;

And splaying (a) foorth her filthy armes beknit with snakes about,  
 Did tosse and waue her hateful head. The swarme of scaled snakes  
 Did make an yrksome noyce to heare, as she her tresses shakes.

About her shoulders some did craule, some trayling down her brest,  
 Did hisse, and spit out poison greene, and spirt with tongues infest.  
 Then from amid her haire two snakes, with venymd hand she drew,  
 Of which she one at Athamas, and one at Ino threw.

The snakes did craule about their brests, inspiring in their heart  
 Most grievous motions of the minde : the body had no smart  
 Of any wound : it was the minde that felt the cruell stinges.

A poyson made in syrup-wise, she also with her brings,  
 The filthy some of Cerberus, the casting of the snake  
 Echidna, bred among the fennes, about the Stygian lake.  
 Desire of gadding forth abroad, Forgetfulness of minde,  
 Delight in mischiefe, Woodnesse (b), Tears, and Purpose whole in-  
 clinde

To cruell murther : all the which, she did together grinde.  
 And mingling them with new-shed blood, she boyled them in brasse,  
 And stird them with a hemlock stalke. Now while that Athamas  
 And Ino stood, and quakt for feare, this poyson ranke and fell  
 She turned into both their brests, and made their hearts to swell.  
 Then whisking often round about her head, her balefull brand,  
 She made it soone, by gathering winde, to kindle in her hand.  
 Thus, as it were in triumph-wise, accomplishing her hest,  
 To duskie Pluto's emptie realme, she gets her home to rest,  
 And putteth off the snarled snakes that girded-in her brest."

The loves of Hero and Leander ascribed to Musæus, and the first book of Lucan, were translated by Christopher Marlowe, the contemporary of Shakespear, and a dramatic poet of great reputation. He was also the author of many beautiful sonnets, and of that remarkable one called the *Passionate Shepherd to his Love*, which appears in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*."

"That Marlowe, (our author

observes) was admirably qualified for what Mr. Mason, with a happy and judicious propriety, calls PURE POETRY, will appear from the following passage of his forgotten tragedy of EDWARD THE SECOND, written in the year 1590, and first printed in 1598. The highest entertainments, then in fashion, are contrived for the gratification of the infatuated Edward, by his profligate minion Piers Gaveston.

I must haue wanton poets, pleasant wits.  
 Musicians, that with touching of a string

(a) Displaying.

(b) Madnesse.

May



May drawe the plyant king which way I please.  
 Music and poetry are his delight;  
 Therefore I'll have Italian masques by night,  
 Sweet speeches, comedies, and pleasing shewes.  
 And in day, when he shall walk abroad,  
 Like sylvan Nymphs my pages shall be clad,  
 My men like Satyrs, grazing on the lawnes,  
 Shall with their goat-feet dance the antick hay.  
 Sometimes a Louely Boy, in Dian's shape (a),  
 With haire that gildes the water as it glides,  
 Crownets of pearle about his naked armes,  
 And in his sportfull handes an oliue-tree,

\* \* \* \* \*

Shall bathe him in a spring: and there hard by,  
 One, lyke Acteon, peeping through the groue,  
 Shall by the angry goddess be transform'd.—  
 Such things as these best please his majestie."

The Iliad of Homer was translated by George Chapman, towards the latter end of this reign. Mr. Warton's account of this poet is as follows.

"In the Preface, he declares that the last twelve books were translated in fifteen weeks: yet with the advice of his learned and valued friends, *Master Robert Hews* (b), and *Master Harriots*. It is certain that the whole performance betrays the negligence of haste. He pays his acknowledgments to his "most ancient, learned, and right noble friend, *Master Richard Stapilton* (c), "the first most desertful mouer "in the frame of our Homer." He endeavours to obviate a popu-

lar objection, perhaps not totally groundless, that he consulted the prose Latin version more than the Greek original. He says, sensibly enough, "it is the part of "euery knowing and iudicious "interpreter, not to follow the "number and order of words, but "the material things themselves, "and sentences to weigh dilligently; and to clothe and adorne them with words, and "such a stile and forme of oration, as are most apt for the "language into which they are "conuerted." The danger lies, in too lavish an application of this sort of cloathing, that it may not disguise what it should only adorn. I do not say that this is Chapman's

(a) That is, acting the part of Diana.

(b) This Robert Hues, or Hufius, was a scholar, and a good geographer and mathematician, and published a tract in Latin on the Globes, Lond. 1593. 8vo. With other pieces in that way. There was also a Robert Hughes who wrote a Dictionary of the English and Persic. See Wood, *ATH. OXON.* i. 571. *HIST. ANTIQVIT. UNIV. OXON.* Lib. ii. p. 288. b.

(c) Already mentioned as the publisher of a poetical miscellany in 1593. *Supr.* p. 401. "The spiritual poems or hymnes of R. S." are entered to J. Busbie. Oct. 17. 1595. *REGISTR. STATION. C.* fol. 3. b.



fault: but he has by no means represented the dignity or the simplicity of Homer. He is sometimes paraphrastic and redundant, but more frequently retrenches or impoverishes what he could not feel and express. In the mean time, he labours with the inconvenience of an awkward, inharmonious, and unheroic measure, imposed by custom, but disgusting to modern ears. Yet he is not always without strength or spirit. He has enriched our language with many compound epithets, so much in the manner of Homer, such as the *silver-footed* Thetis, the *silver-throned* Juno, the *triple-feathered* helms, the *high-walled* Thebes, the *faire-haired* boy, the *silver-flowing* floods, the *hugely-peopled* towns, the Grecians *navy-bound*, the *strong-winged* lance, and many more which might be collected. Dryden reports, that Waller never could read Chapman's Homer without a degree of transport. Pope is of opinion, that Chapman covers his defects "by a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something like what one might imagine Homer himself to have writ before he arrived to years of discretion." But his fire is too frequently darkened, by that sort of fustian which now disfigured the diction of our tragedy."

Chapman also, in the year 1614,


published the *Odyssey*, which he dedicated to Carr Earl of Somerset.

In addition to the ancient authors of Greece and Rome, translations of most of the Italian Poets into English, took place towards the close of this century. Ariosto, the tales of Boccace, Bandello, and of other Italian authors, were translated into our language, and became the foundation of many of the works of Shakespear, Dryden and others. Whatever could enrich, or furnish with matter our future poets, was now showered down upon them with uncommon exuberance. Our language was considerably improved, the beauties of ancient literature were studied and copied with success, the works of the modern classics, if I may so call them, were laid open to our ancestors *et in medium proferuntur*, and finally our poetry was arrived at that point, when she had neither contracted the severity of age, nor was so much a child as to be pleased most with what was most strange and unnatural.

As a considerable part of the last section of this volume, containing a general view and character of the poetry of Queen Elizabeth's age, is inserted in another part of our Register for this year\*, we shall not touch upon it here.

\* See p. 141. of this last part.





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*Great loss sustained by the Spanish fleet in a hurricane, on its way to the attack of West Florida. Is refitted, and again proceeds from the Havana. Pensacola invested by sea and land. Gallant defence. Principal redoubt blown up by accident, which compels Governor Chester, and General Campbell, to a surrender. West Indies. Ineffectual attempt on the island of St. Vincent. Dutch island of St. Eustatius taken by the British fleet and army, under Sir George Rodney and General Vaughan. Prodigious booty. Islands of St. Martin and Saba surrender. Dutch man of war and convoy, on their return to Europe, pursued and taken. The settlements of Demerary, Issequibo, and the Berbices, on the coast of Surinam, make a tender of submission to the British government, and are granted favourable conditions. Discontents, complaints, and law suits, occasioned by the confiscation of private property at St. Eustatius. M. de Grasse arrives with a fleet and great convoy in the West Indies from Europe. Engagement between him and the Admirals Sir Samuel Hood and Drake, in the Channel of St. Lucia. Sir George Rodney departs from St. Eustatius to oppose the progress of the enemy. Ineffective attempt made by the Marquis de Bouille on the island of St. Lucia. French invasion of the island of Tobago. Vigorous defence. Public spirit of the planters. Surrendered by capitulation. M. de Grasse, having escorted a vast convoy on its way to Europe, proceeds with his fleet to the Chesapeake. Sir George Rodney returns to England; and Sir Samuel Hood sails with a squadron to counteract the designs of De Grasse at the Chesapeake.* [98

## C H A P. VII.

*Lord Cornwallis's progress in Virginia. Passes the River James, and the South Anna. Parties detached to scour the interior country. Arms and stores destroyed. Army falls back towards the sea. Rear attacked on the march to Williamsburg. Action previous to passing the River James. Lord Cornwallis fortifies the posts of York Town, and Gloucester Point. Transactions on the side of New York. Junction of the American army under General Washington, and the French forces under the Count de Rochambeau, on the White Plains. Appearances of an attack on New York, Staten Island, and Sandy Hook. Combined army suddenly march to the Delaware, which they pass at Trenton, and continuing their course through Philadelphia, arrived at the head of Elk. Expedition, under the conduct of Gen. Arnold, to New London. Desperate defence made at Fort Griswold, which is taken by storm, with considerable loss. New London burnt. Great loss sustained by the Americans, in the destruction of naval stores and merchandize. Sir Samuel Hood*



# C O N T E N T S.

*Hood arrives off the Chesapeak; and not meeting the Squadron from New York, proceeds to Sandy Hook. M. de Barras sails from Rhode Island to join the Count de Grasse. Admiral Graves departs from New York. M. de Grasse arrives from the West Indies in the Chesapeak. Engagement between the British and French fleets. Lord Cornwallis's army closely blockaded up on the side of the Chesapeak. The combined army are conveyed by water from Baltimore, and join the Marquis de la Fayette's forces at Williamsburg. Posts at York and Gloucester closely invested. Siege regularly formed, and trenches opened by the enemy. Resolution of a council of war at New York, to use every exertion of the fleet and army for the succour of the forces in Virginia. Unavoidable delay in refitting the fleet. Sir Henry Clinton embarks, with 7000 land forces, on board the men of war. Defences of York Town ruined, and the batteries silenced, by the superior weight of the enemy's artillery. Take two redoubts, and complete their second parallel. Successful sally. The post being no longer tenable, Lord Cornwallis attempts to pass the troops over to Gloucester Point in the night, but the design is frustrated by a sudden storm. He is obliged to enter into a capitulation with Gen. Washington. Conditions. The British fleet and army arrive off the Chesapeak, five days after the surrender.*

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## C H A P VIII.

*State of affairs during the recess. Consequences of the riots in London. Causes which led to the dissolution of parliament. Resolutions of the Yorkshire committee, and of other associated bodies. Delegates appointed to attend in London. General election. Capture of Mr. Laurens, and his committal to the Tower. Effect produced by his papers in precipitating the war with Holland. Sir Joseph Yorke withdraws from the Hague. Manifesto. New lords created. Earl of Carlisle appointed to the government of Ireland. Meeting of parliament. Debates on the choice of a speaker. Mr. Cornwall chosen. Speech from the throne. Addresses. Amendments proposed, and rejected in both houses. Grant of seamen. Vote of thanks to the late speaker.—To the British generals and admiral in America. Debate on the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich hospital. Recess.*

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## C H A P IX.

*Declaration of war against Holland, and hostilities commenced. Message from the throne. Debates on the Dutch war. Address moved by the minister. Amendment moved by Lord John Cavendish. The amendment rejected upon a division, second amendment by Lord Mahon rejected, and the original address passed. Address moved for in the House of Lords by Lord Stormont; and an amendment by the Duke of Richmond. Unusually late debate. Amendment rejected on a division. Two protests. Mr.*



# C O N T E N T S.

*Fox's motion relative to the appointment of Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich Hospital. Amenament moved by the minister, and after much debate carried upon a division. Mr. Fox's concluding motion evaded, by moving for the order of the day. India affairs. Complaints against the supreme judicature of Bengal. Two petitions from India; one, from the governor general and council at Calcutta; the other, from the British subjects residing in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. Select committee of fifteen ballotted for, to examine the grounds of the petitions.* [\*162

## C H A P. X.

*Debates on Mr. Burke's bill for the regulation of the civil list establishments.*

*Question for the second reading over-ruled upon a division, and the bill put off for six months. Debates on the subject of the loan. Mr. Fox's motion for omitting the lottery clause, rejected upon a division. Farther debates and strictures upon the loan. Another motion against the lottery, which is again over-ruled upon a division. Mr. Byng's motion for a list of subscribers to the loan, agreed to; other motions rejected. Motion for the commitment of Sir P. J. Clerke's contractor's bill, over-ruled upon a division. Mr. Crewe's bill for restraining revenue officers from voting on elections of members of parliament, rejected upon a division. Debate on the Duke of Bolton's motion for an enquiry into the conduct of the navy; motion withdrawn. Loan bill opposed by the Marquis of Rockingham. Protest against it. Report from the select committee on India affairs. Debates on the minister's motion for a secret committee to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic. Motion for an amendment, that the committee might be open, rejected on a division. Great debates on Sir George Saville's motion, for referring the petition from the delegated counties for a redress of grievances, to a committee of the whole house. The motion rejected upon a division. Debate on Mr. Burke's motion for papers, tending to an enquiry into the seizure and confiscation of private property in the island of St. Eustatius. Motion rejected on a division. Bill for new-modelling the supreme court of judicature in Bengal. Various propositions, motions, and debates, relative to the affairs of the East-India company. Debates on the minister's bill, for securing to the public a certain participation in the profits of the East-India company. Great debates on Mr. Fox's motion, that the house do resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war. Motion rejected on a division. Lord Beauchamp's bill, for affording relief in certain cases of difficulty produced by the marriage act. Mr. Fox's bill for amending the marriage act. Mr. Fox's marriage bill, lost in the house of lords. Speech, from the throne.* [\*179

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